The
Modern
Review

V. 63
1938

LIB. G. K. V.

110958

गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार
पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

January 1938
to
June 1938

पुस्तक पर किसी प्रकार का निशान लगाना वर्जित है। कृपया १५ दिन से अधिक समय तक पुस्तक अपने पास न रखें।

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

~~76330~~

~~76,896~~

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय
हरिद्वार

MODERN REVIEW

ओ३म्

जनवरी १९३८ से जून १९३८ तक

नम्बर ३६३ से नम्बर ३६८ तक

~~70396~~

G.K. Library
Saharanpur.
20-5-56
3-9-38

HE JANUARY 1938

MODERN REVIEW

Jagadish-Chandra Bose : *Rabindranath Tagore*

The Recent Crisis in Fiji : *C. F. Andrews*

Prohibition : *Frederick Grubb*

Towards a Better Understanding : *Graham Pole*

Conventions of the Constitution : *Bool Chand*

Interview with Chu Teh : *Agnes Smedley*

Five Months in the "States" : *Bepin Chandra Pal*

Women's Equality : *Krishna Prasanna Mukerji*

"Militarism" in Modern Japan (illust.) : *Dagmar Lynn*

The Vision of History : *Shishir Coomar Mitra*

Foreign Experts and the Indian Civil Service : *N. C. Roy*

Electroculture (illust.) : *Swami Sevananda*

Educated Unemployment & Large-scale Farming (illust.) : *N. L. Chatterji*

Provincial Finance under the Federation : *B. M. Piplani*

Amendment of the Reserve Bank Act : *Amar Krishna Ghose*

Inland : Rs. 8-8 Foreign : Rs. 11-8

EDITOR
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

BENOY

MIRRORING
REALITIES OF AMERICAN LIFE
IN
MOTHER AMERICA
SUDHINDRA BOSE, Ph. D.
Lecturer in Political Science at the State University of Iowa, U.S.A.

This is an unusual book dealing with American ideals, religion, crime, politics, Negroes, newspapers, education and many other subjects which have special significance for India. It is written with the directness and simplicity of American journalism, and has many photographic illustrations. Every Indian, who wants to understand the United States, should read this authoritative volume.

The noted American friend of India, **Dr. J. T. Sunderland,** says: "I know of no other book that gives to the Indian people so much valuable information about America, American life and American institutions, as Dr. Sudhindra Bose's interesting and attractive work which bears the happy title of **Mother America.**"

The **Unity** Magazine (Chicago): "Dr. Bose is doing for America what Washington Irving did for England."

Prabuddha Bharata (Calcutta): "We recommend the book to all who want to have not only an impetus but many practical hints for building up India as a nation."

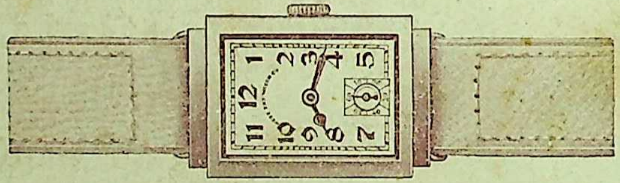
Amrita Bazar Patrika (Calcutta): "A perusal of this book will mean a healthy education in international fellowship and citizenship."

The Hindu (Madras): "The great features in American national life have been very graphically described by Dr. Bose, often through personal reminiscences."

The Leader (Allahabad): "It shows both sides of the medal and shows them in a sober and truthful manner."

Rs. 3 Per Copy.
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, CALCUTTA

GIFTS OF UNSURPASSED
BEAUTY AND UTILITY!



THE NEW CALIBRE "E"
West End Patent Everbright Steel ... ... Rs. 33
18-ct. Solid Gold ... ... Rs. 125

SECUNDUS
MINIATURE TONNEAU
9-ct. Solid Gold ... Rs. 37
18-ct. Solid Gold ... Rs. 52

MIDGET "A"
18-ct. Solid Gold ... Rs. 120
Profusely illustrated Catalogue FREE on demand.

West-End Watch Co.
BOMBAY CALCUTTA

VOL.

THERE
heard
definit
come
first f
Party
Electi
particu
leaders
wheth
difficul
sufficie
ments
promp
now b
Bomba
added
not be
W
our st
countr
gress i
somew
of Te
tions t
achieve
Of
initial
must a
nation-
institut
to the
cannot
years,
measur

110858

110858

THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1938

Vol. LXIII., No. 1 Whole No. 373

PROHIBITION

Some Comments from London

By FREDERICK GRUBB

There are many people in England who have heard with much satisfaction that India has definitely taken the path of Prohibition. It has come as a surprise to some that one of the first fruits of the victory won by the Congress Party in most of the Provinces at the General Election should be the inauguration of this particular policy. Even when the Congress leaders decided to accept office it was doubted whether, in view of the tremendous financial difficulties confronting them, there would be sufficient driving force behind the new Governments to enable them to put through so promptly the experimental measures which have now been adopted, particularly in Madras and Bombay. Let us hope that Bengal will soon be added to the same category, although it may not be a Congress Province (as yet).

We have little enough to encourage us in our struggle against the liquor traffic in this country, and the news of such substantial progress in India comes as a ray of light upon a somewhat depressing horizon. British friends of Temperance send their hearty congratulations to fellow-workers in India upon having achieved so notable an advance.

Of course it is recognized that only the initial steps have so far been taken in what we must all hope, with Mahatma Gandhi will be a nation-wide drive against the drink evil. An institution so strongly entrenched as this (owing to the indefensible policy of past Governments) cannot be wiped out in a day or even in three years, but all must acknowledge that the measures already in operation do mark a beginning of India's liberation from a traffic which threatened to become a dire menace to her moral and material progress.

A Lead from Madras

Madras has been particularly fortunate in having as its first Prime Minister, especially at this juncture, a man who proved his devotion to total abstinence principles long before he reached his present responsible position. What Mr. Rajagopalachari preached in opposition he has practised in office. Persecution, imprisonment and apparent failure never daunted him. When he was Honorary Secretary of the Prohibition League of India he suffered much for the cause. Now that he is at the head of the Madras Government he has shown an equal readiness to venture all in his determination to implement the pledges then given. He is probably under no illusion as to the obstacles which have to be overcome before Prohibition can be made universal, even in Madras, but he will be encouraged to persevere by the sympathy and support which his policy has already won and which, I feel sure, will be forthcoming to a yet greater extent in the future.

The same remarks apply to our friends in Bombay and the other Provinces where experimental prohibitory measures have been adopted. The seed sown in days gone by is indeed bringing forth an abundant harvest. Some of those who laboured for the temperance cause in times when there was little reward for so doing are now in a position to give effect to what they then advocated. Ministers like Dr. M. D.

Gilder in Bombay, and others who could be named, are now proving to be as good as their word. All India is indebted to them for their pioneering work on behalf of this great reform. They have blazed a trail which others will gladly follow until the whole of India is free from an incubus which, if allowed to continue, would seriously hinder her national development.

SUPPORTED BY ACCLAMATION

The unanimity with which the public rallied to the support of Prohibition has been most significant. In Madras the Legislative Assembly, after a full debate, passed the Bill without a division. All parties avowed their sympathy with its object. Equally noteworthy was the reception accorded to the Prime Minister and his colleague, Mr. Munishwami Pillai, when they toured the Salem District (to which the Act applies in the first instance) after the passage of the measure. If the arguments of drink trade apologists had any substance in them it might have been expected that those accustomed to drink would protest against a policy which deprived them of their liquor. Quite the opposite. The authors of the Act were hailed as liberators. They were everywhere greeted with enthusiasm by large public gatherings. It seemed hardly necessary for them to explain the purpose of a measure which was acclaimed on all hands by those who were most affected by it.

Not the least interesting feature of these demonstrations was the symbolic destruction of toddy pots and other paraphernalia of the old habits. The two Ministers found themselves preaching to the converted. From October 1, when the Act came into operation, a remarkable change was evident in the attitude of the drinking classes, and nowhere in the Salem District was any protest made against the closing of shops.

The moral and economic advantage of abstinence were at once in evidence. The slender resources of the workers were diverted into more beneficial channels. Poverty, which is bad enough in any case, became a little less grinding, and self-respect had a better chance to develop. The women and children soon began to realize the change which had taken place. They are the first to suffer from man's intemperance, and they will be as eager as anyone to maintain a reform which means so much to them. No wonder the inauguration of Prohibition was a day of rejoicing for "the mothers of Salem."

Nor is it a merely negative Prohibition which has been enacted. Both in Madras and Bombay steps have been taken to provide the people with other places of resort where they will not be subjected to the demoralizing temptations of the liquor shop. Temperance reform goes hand in hand with other means of social uplift. No moral advance is possible where the lives of men and women are being ruined by the drink habit. Once get that out of the way and the path is opened to progress in many directions. The Provincial Governments which have grappled with the drink problem are not losing sight of this aspect of it, and most of them have already introduced constructive measures, administrative or otherwise, designed to take advantage of the new opportunities now presenting themselves.

APPEALS FOR EXTENSION

As I have previously remarked, the general support given to prohibitory legislation is a cheering factor in the situation. The masses, no less than the leaders, are thoroughly in sympathy with the new departure. This makes it probable that illicit manufacture and sale will be less formidable obstacles than some critics have predicted. One thing is clear that the legislatures have not legislated in advance of public opinion, and that makes all the difference. It is noteworthy that in Madras a number of Municipalities have passed resolutions asking to be included in the Prohibition areas. Ministers have also been urged in many quarters to get this legislation extended to the whole of the Province as soon as practicable.

No representative Indian, so far as I am aware, has opposed the Government's policy in this regard. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, who is not a Congressman, has said that to give the poor people drinking water and to wean them from the drink evil were, if there was nothing else, achievements of which any Ministry might be proud. Whatever efforts the Prime Minister and his colleagues might make, he added, they must certainly see that the people were weaned away from the drink habit. It was a great undertaking, and he prayed for God's blessing on their labours.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS' ATTITUDE

It is sometimes said that the Christian community in India is not in favour of Prohibition. I can adduce plenty of evidence to the contrary. The General Assembly of the South India United Church passed a resolution on October 16, expressing appreciation of the Madras Government's efforts in this connection and assuring the Prime Minister of its hearty support of the various agencies working for the success of Prohibition.

Shri P. O. Phillip, Indian Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, has written in Mahatma Gandhi's journal *Harijan* :

> "Christian Indians who love India and care for the real welfare of the Indian masses cannot but rejoice at the prospect of Prohibition in the six Provinces. They should not have any difficulty in whole-heartedly co-operating with their fellow-countrymen in making Prohibition a complete success."

Rev. A. Ralla Ram, General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma and Ceylon, says :

> "I give my full support to the objective of the Congress to bring about complete Prohibition in the country. Those who are asking that we should be satisfied with temperance should not be listened to. In my opinion Europeans who come to this country should fall in with our aspirations, and I am afraid that if we respect their feelings in this matter (referring to the proposed exemptions), we shall leave a loop-hole for many others."

Commenting on these letters, Mr. Gandhi remarks :

> "It is for Europeans to make the choice. I know how difficult it is for them to give up the habit of a life-time, considered respectable. But if they will fall in with the great national reform, the incentive should prove strong enough to wean them from the habit. Anyway, even if in the end exemption within well-defined limits has to be given, let us hope that they will be graceful enough to taboo alcohol from their parties and banquets."

LIQUOR LICENCES IN BRITAIN

Whilst welcoming signs of progress in India, I am afraid there is little of it to report in Great Britain. The Licensing Statistics for 1936 (England and Wales) were published as a Blue Book last week. The number of on-licences in force on December 31, was 74,681, a decrease of 381 compared with the previous year, making a total decrease of 24,797 since 1905. These results have been obtained under the Licensing Act of 1904, which was anything but a satisfactory measure from the temperance point of view. A 25 per cent reduction over a period of 32 years is not enough, especially when it is remembered that the drink shops weeded out have been small ones which were more or less unprofitable to their owners.

Moreover, the falling-off in the number of licensed premises has been largely counterbalanced by the growth in the number of clubs where the sale of drink is less restricted. There were 16,297 registered clubs in 1936, an increase of 315 on the previous year. The total increase since 1905 is 9,708. That many of these clubs are centres of demoralization is acknowledged even by those who are not abstainers, and the Government are pledged to deal with this particular evil. A Bill was promised in the King's Speech at the opening of the present session of Parliament, but there is little hope of a really satisfactory measure being introduced.

Further figures in the Blue Book clearly demonstrate that drunkenness is growing at an alarming rate. Five years ago the total convictions numbered 30,146. Last year they had reached the figure of 44,525. There has been a steady annual increase during the last six years, and if the present tendency continues we shall again reach the swollen totals prevailing before the War. And yet there are people who say that the drink problem in this country is solving itself !

DRINK ON THE AIR

Many complaints are being made about the undue prominence given to drink items by the British Broadcasting Company in their wireless programmes. A fortnight ago, on the national transmitter, there was a 45 minutes' programme entitled "Wine," and this week we are getting another dose of the same length described as "White Ladies : A Radio Roadhouse" (roadhouses being licensed premises where too many motorists become addicted to drink). In the interests of safety, sobriety and common-sense it is important that nothing should be done to popularise habits of drinking which have already got too strong a hold upon large sections of the British public, including motor drivers and transport workers generally. Frivolous references to drinking, with the implied encouragement of this harmful practice, are far too frequent on radio programmes in this country, and something ought to be done to put a stop to what is going on.

In reply to numerous protests which have reached Broadcasting House, Sir John Keith, on behalf of the B. B. C., has issued a statement to the effect that a careful note has been made of the objections raised. Says the Director :

> "We must give you every assurance that the B. B. C. does not go out of its way to mention drink in its programmes. It is not thought, however, that such references can justifiably be excluded altogether."

The policy of the B. B. C. is, in fact, inconsistent in this matter. Liquor advertisements are rigidly excluded from all its publications, including the widely-circulated *Radio Times* and *Listener*. Is not this an admission (and we gladly welcome it) that publicity ought not to be given to drink and drinking ? That being so, the B. B. C. would be well advised to extend the same wise rule to its broadcast programmes.

TOWARDS A BETTER UNDERSTANDING

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

PERHAPS the chief event of outstanding importance in the world of politics here at present is the attempt that is being made to negotiate a Trade Agreement with the United States. The chief hurdle in the way of the completion of such an agreement is the fact that soon after their coming into office under the title of the "National" Government the Conservatives concluded the Ottawa Agreements with the Dominions. These Agreements have probably helped the Dominions more than the United Kingdom and they have at the same time antagonized the rest of the world. For if economic nationalism is bad it is only one degree better when it is applied to the Empire instead of the nation.

But by now wiser counsels are beginning to prevail. Canada is quite rightly thinking of making a new Trade Agreement with the United States. So is Australia. And the sooner we get such a Trade Agreement completed the better for the trade both of this country and of the United States. But unless all this is merely a move towards freer trade throughout the world it is of comparatively little use and indeed it is a menace to those countries outside its scope. In such agreements, that exclude other countries that want and require more trade, we have the seeds of war.

In this connection, it may be added, it is necessary to be quite clear in our minds as to what we really intend the new Trade Agreement with America to be. Is it political or economic? Unfortunately there is a lot of confusion on this point.

In some quarters in America it is heralded as an economic alliance between the English-speaking nations of the world. And this is echoed from Australia where Mr. Thomas White, Trade and Customs Minister, declared that:

> "Transcending the purely trade aspect of the Anglo-American announcement is a united front of the two greatest democracies."

Then again it is well known that President Roosevelt is most anxious for the democracies to co-operate with one another. And France is the greatest democracy on the Continent. And while all this is in the wind the French Ministers have come to London (to discuss with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary the outcome of the recent visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin). So it is not surprising if Germany looks on the proposed Trade Agreement as primarily a *political* instrument—and is already sending messages to Italy that they must continue to consult on measures to be taken "to resist possible Anglo-French-American economic pressure."

Of course, it may not be possible for some time to get such countries as Italy, Germany and Japan into the ambit of such agreements because it is their policy to be economically self-sufficient. This seems a futile doctrine in this twentieth century when there is abundance of everything in the world and only the problem of distribution remains to be solved. No doubt as we grow more used to the realization of the interdependence and real unity of all the nations of the world we shall grow wiser.

And even in Germany today there are highly placed individuals who have the courage of different convictions. The President of the Reichsbank, Dr. Schacht, has several times dissociated himself from nationalist economics. At the moment of writing it is announced that Herr Hitler has accepted the resignation of Dr. Schacht from the Ministry of Economics "in assent to his request."

So we must go on with the negotiations for the new Trade Agreement—and hope that it will not be long before its principles have a wider application. It *does* represent a real step forward. As the *Economist* points out:

> "The agreement will embody a change in the commercial policy which Great Britain has pursued for six years past. For the first time Great Britain will be signing a trade agreement whose net effect is to lower barriers on both sides. Hitherto, British policy has always been subject to the criticism that, when all its results have been worked out, trade has been diverted rather than encouraged, restricted as much as freed. The fact that the world's greatest trading nations are about to sign an agreement to which this criticism manifestly does not apply, cannot fail to be a signal encouragement to all other nations who are striving to free their trade from restriction and paralysis."

Signs are not lacking that all is not well in the totalitarian States. Italy was far from being a contented nation and seemed to be heading for bankruptcy when Mussolini began his Abyssinian gamble to distract attention from Italian internal affairs. Japan distracted attention from her serious internal economic position by starting her undeclared "defensive war" against China. Dictators can never stand still. They are always on the march for something. And probably before long Germany will be incorporating Danzig within her boundaries—and trying to extend her influence in the directions of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. For she is anxious to gather into the Reich not only her former colonies but also the German-speaking countries.

Signor Mussolini publicly backs up the German claim for the return of her former colonies. He conveniently forgets that Italy annexed quite a large German-speaking population in the Tyrol at the end of the war. Indeed Italy and Germany are and remain strange bedfellows and in spite of the Rome-Berlin axis, and the totalitarian outlook, there are important points on which the two Dictators are far from seeing eye to eye.

Perhaps in his heart of hearts the Italian Dictator knows that the Rome-Berlin axis is dissolving into thin air. Italy cannot any longer compete with Germany on equal terms for dominance in Central and Eastern Europe. A few years ago it seemed as if she could. Italy made Dollfuss her creature and then Germany murdered Dollfuss—power see-sawed between them. But it will not do so in the future. Italy has more than enough on her hands to maintain her position in Abyssinia and in the Mediterranean. And so Germany will have the stage all to herself.

What is to be done about Germany? It is easy enough to discuss ways of repressing her. In the words of Mr. Bernard Shaw the other day everyone knows that so long as we hold fast to the Anglo-French Pact a European war is impossible. And to that he added:

> "An alliance of U. S. S. R. with the British Empire and France is the ace of trumps for our diplomatists."

But repression is a morally unsatisfying weapon. The more so in the present instance because English people, at any rate, cannot but feel that Germany has a legitimate case. Return of her colonies and absorption of the German-speaking peoples. *They* sound quite natural ambitions. But the ambition to overshadow the whole of Central and Eastern Europe —that is another thing. And it is the vision which dazzles Germany. It is the reason for her enthusiastic support of Japan. (An enthusiasm not shared by Dr. Schacht who refused this week to take part in functions given by the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin to celebrate the Anti-Communist Pact).

The question of the return of Germany's colonies is a very vexed one. So many herrings are drawn across the trail! First of all it is said that before the War, when Germany had colonies, far more Germans lived abroad in other European countries than there lived in her colonies. Next, that giving her back her colonies will not appease Germany since she went to war anyway in the days when she had them. Both these arguments of course are irrelevant. It is no use telling people who *want* something that they do not *need* it. The really vital objection to returning Germany's colonies —that we cannot hand over the people in them to a ruthless dictatorship, and that the day for colonies (for usurping government over others) is over—these arguments, strangely enough, contain in themselves the seeds of a solution.

Both these serious objections, it will be seen on reflection, can be met if we apply to them the League principle. Germany must be given a mandate. The terms of the mandate must safeguard the position of minorities in the mandated area. But, and it is a very big but, would Germany accept a mandate?

In the days when Disarmament was still a live issue, Germany said over and over again that she would accept any terms provided that these terms were the same as those accepted by the other Great Powers. Will she say the same about mandates—and if so what will we answer?

It is to be feared that our present rulers would sooner go to the extreme limit of war than yield up any part of what they consider to be "British interests." Nothing seems to influence them, not Abyssinia, nor Spain, nor China. Why cannot they see they are living in the past? Would it not be a wonderful world if Britain and France and Russia, instead of seeing themselves in the role of peace*keepers*, took a fancy to the role of peace*makers*—and adopted the Resolution passed this week at Bristol by the British Youth Peace Assembly to the effect that:

> "All colonies and mandates be transferred to an international administration, which should work for the complete emancipation of the peoples concerned."

The question of the absorption by Germany of the other German-speaking peoples is of course a far more serious one. It is incapable of peaceful solution in the present mood of Germany and her neighbours. Germany thinks it can only be done by force—and her neighbours are prepared to meet force with force. But here again the application of League principles would greatly modify the situation. It is suggested by the *Economist* that Germany's reasonable claim should be conceded *in principle* "but only on one condition, which must be the very essence of the bargain":

> "That condition must be designed to guarantee that Germany's policy shall not in fact overstep the moderate and reasonable limits which are now publicly admitted. . . . There is only one form which such a guarantee can take : the willing adhesion of Germany to a complete system of collective security, buttressed by disarmament."

The threatened States, it might be added, are making a valiant effort to stand on their own feet. We might help them to do so by giving every encouragement, for instance, to the idea of the Danube Confederation or the Balkan Confederation. Not only would this help to free them from the fatal idea that they must revolve round some Great Power, it would in fact help on the idea of the eventual peaceful alliance or absorption of the German-speaking peoples. Confederations can increase their membership.

All these things, once again, hinge on bringing Germany back into the League System. They may sound like the far-off counsels of perfection. But the alternative, let us not forget, is not the least far-off. Germany is preparing night and day for war. "An axis of steel," says General Goering, "runs through Central Europe. It is widened as far as Tokyo." Yes it is—and what does this mean to the rest of us. Listen again to the *Economist* :

> "If Germany were ever to impose her military yoke on Poland and the Danubian States and to push Russia back north-eastwards until she disappeared beneath the Siberian horizon, then Italy would become Germany's slave, and the four west European colonial powers—Holland, Belgium, France and England—would lie at Germany's mercy."

To turn to Spain. As I pointed out in my article two months ago financial interests in this country were determined to pull every string to induce the British Government to give belligerent rights to General Franco. They have succeeded so far that our Government have now appointed special Commercial Agents for the territory controlled by General Franco and have agreed to General Franco appointing Agents in this country. As we already had Consuls in the territory controlled by General Franco, the appointment of special Commercial Agents and the agreement to accept General Franco's Agents in this country does appear like a recognition of Franco—and indeed has been interpreted as such abroad. As far back as 29th August last the *New York Times* wrote that :

> "Important British mining and business interests are said to have supported urgently General Franco's argument that in return for British Consular Representatives in the Basque country, nationalist Spaniards should have official and diplomatic Consular Representatives in London. Moreover, Salamanca believes that the British Government under Neville Chamberlain is more sympathetic towards General Franco than it was under Stanley Baldwin."

There seems to be some justification for these remarks. And certainly our latest move does not seem to be in keeping with the spirit of the Non-Intervention Agreement.

The German Press has welcomed our appointment of special Agents to Franco's territory as denoting a change of attitude and policy on the part of the British Government towards Franco. And Franco himself has declared plainly his view. In an official communique issued from his headquarters, on November 12th, it is stated that :

> "The National Government (the rebels) considers this a temporary arrangement, leading to normal relations. It is not a recognition of belligerency, but it is much more, because the recognition of belligerency is much less important than the recognition of sovereignty implied in the conclusion of this agreement. Such agreements are not concluded with 'pirate' States. Although tardy, it is still welcome as a sign that our victory and the justice of our cause have been recognized by Britain."

We are still a long way from the withdrawal of the "volunteers" in Spain. Both Mussolini and Hitler go on repeating that the "volunteers" are there in view of the Bolshevist menace—in spite of the fact that when Franco began his attack on the Spanish Government there was not a single Communist and not even a Socialist in the Spanish Government.

Mr. Eden, the Foreign Secretary, was careful not to suggest that Communist propaganda was responsible for the state of Spain. No one knows better than he that before the Franco rebellion the Communist Party in Spain was practically without influence. The rebellion which led to the present war in Spain was not anti-Communist but anti-democratic and so fitted in with the views both of Mussolini and Hitler.

The present position in Spain, with so many Italian and German troops there, is full of anxiety for the peace of the world. Italy no doubt wishes to occupy in Spain the kind of position that Great Britain for so long occupied in Egypt. (There are strong grounds for suspecting that Italian Agents may be behind some of the recent troubles in Palestine and in the French possessions in Northern Africa—and Mussolini, after his Concordat with the Pope, is now the self-styled "Protector of Islam". But before she does so many thousands of millions of pounds will be expended on munitions and armaments with the necessary consequent deterioration in the standard of living of the people.

One cannot forget the words used by Mussolini on 26th May, 1927 :

> "The precise, fundamental and paramount duty of Fascist Italy is that of putting in a state of preparedness

> all her armed forces . . . We must be in a position at a certain moment, to mobilize five million men and we must be in a position to arm them. Our Navy must be reinforced and our Air Force—in which I have more and more faith—must be so numerous and so powerful that the roar of its engines should drown any other noise in the Peninsula and the span of its wings should hide the sun from our country. We shall be in a position then—to-morrow—when, between 1925 and 1940, we shall find ourselves at a point which I should call a crucial point in European history—we shall be in a position to make our voices felt and to see, at last, our rights recognized.”

The League of Nations was an ideal that could be made effective only if nations were prepared to give up that part of their sovereignty by which they claimed to be judges in their own cause. But we are still a long way off from giving up that sovereignty. When the Foreign Secretary was tackled in the House of Commons for his failure to support Spain as a member of the League of Nations, he said :

> “There will be no indifference on the part of the Government where it is clear that *vital British interests* are threatened.”

Could there be a more glaring example of the old Adam ?

Indeed the brotherhood of man seems a long way from being realized, but sooner or later the nations will have to realize it. As Lord Hugh Cecil wrote to the *Times* recently :

> “The sin of excessive nationalist sympathy and deficient Christian loyalty is a heinous and damnable one . . . we are punished for it as we deserve.”

The punishment at present is taking the form of excessive taxation, with its corollary of rising prices and depression of the standard of living. The extra defence of this country is costing us at least £1,500 millions. But this rearmament is largely nullified by the rearmament of other nations who refuse to be left behind in the armaments race. The only way to preserve the peace of the world is to maintain a strong League of Nations and to stand as part of that League against aggression in any part of the world. Side by side with this we should seek, by means of tariff agreements and so on, to weld nation States into a Confederation. Armaments by themselves do not and cannot bring security. Guns ultimately go off.

“MILITARISM” IN MODERN JAPAN

By DAGMAR LYNN

The tourist from Japan is often asked today, “Did you find the Japanese aggressively military ?” Militarism, like every other ism—except, perhaps, rheumatism—is capable of a variety of interpretations and the brand of militarism evolved by Japan has certain national, perhaps oriental, characteristics which make it somewhat unlike the brand produced in the West.

In the Japan of today militarism is a religion, perhaps the only religion that really counts there and certainly the only religion that is accepted by every good Japanese citizen, old or young. The newspapers recently told the story of a Japanese youth, rejected for military training, who jumped overboard in order to give his insurance money to his Government for their military operations in China. Another story of the last Sino-Japanese war tells how a capable young Japanese officer was wounded and taken prisoner by the Chinese. He was nursed back to health and allowed to return to his regiment. He thanked his captors with the utmost courtesy, went back to his own lines, and promptly shot himself. Martyrs both, to the mental attitude typical of modern Japan which takes its military honour more seriously than any religion.

While I was in Tokyo, last April, there was a great religious festival to celebrate the deification of sons of Japan who had died in the service of their country. At the military shrine on Kudan Hill 1148 new spirits were solemnly added to the Japanese Pantheon. Of these, 30 were immigrants to Manchuria, 120 were sailors and 998 were soldiers—which gives the soldier ten times the chance of becoming a deity in Japan as is vouchsafed to any ordinary mortal. The august spirits of these heroes were solemnly invited, and then solemnly welcomed, to the ark in the innermost sanctuary of the shrine. No one might enter here but the chief priests, high officers of the army and the navy, and members of the bereaved families of the newly-deified spirits. But to the outer sanctuary of this shrine—a picture of which appears elsewhere

—flocked all good citizens and true. They walked reverently up the stairs, stood there for a few moments bowed in prayer, then clapped their hands loudly and slowly three times, and threw in coins. From the outer shrine, impressively draped, one caught glimpses of the bereaved relatives who held their vigil before the ark.

As new spirits are constantly being deified, the total number of spirits deified at this shrine has reached 1,30,967. Most of them are the spirits of soldiers who were killed in battle. Japan calls this *The Yasakuni Shrine* and a Japanese interpreter explained :

> "It is known among foreigners as the military shrine but, according to the authorities of the shrine the 'Peace Shrine' is a more appropriate translation of the name."

Is it because those gallant war-worn spirits have at last found peace ?

This religion of militarism has its poetry, too. Exquisite gardens, planned as only Japan's intense love of nature can plan them, with little miniature rocks and pools, with dark-green pine and soft-green willow and flowers of varied hue, circle the shrine. Avenues of cherry trees shed their delicate pink and white blossoms along the paths that lead from the shrine to the Military Museum. It is a little incongruous to the foreigner—this setting of a Military Museum with cannon, gun and every implement of war amid beautiful gardens and soft masses of the exquisite cherry blossom. But it is only one more proof of the fact that, in the Japanese conception of the Life Beautiful, the soldier plays as important a part as the beloved flower itself. Said a Japanese poet to me—they are all poets in Japan over their cherry-blossoms,—

> "The life of our cherry blossom, is like the life of our Japanese soldiers. They do not fade—they are scattered."

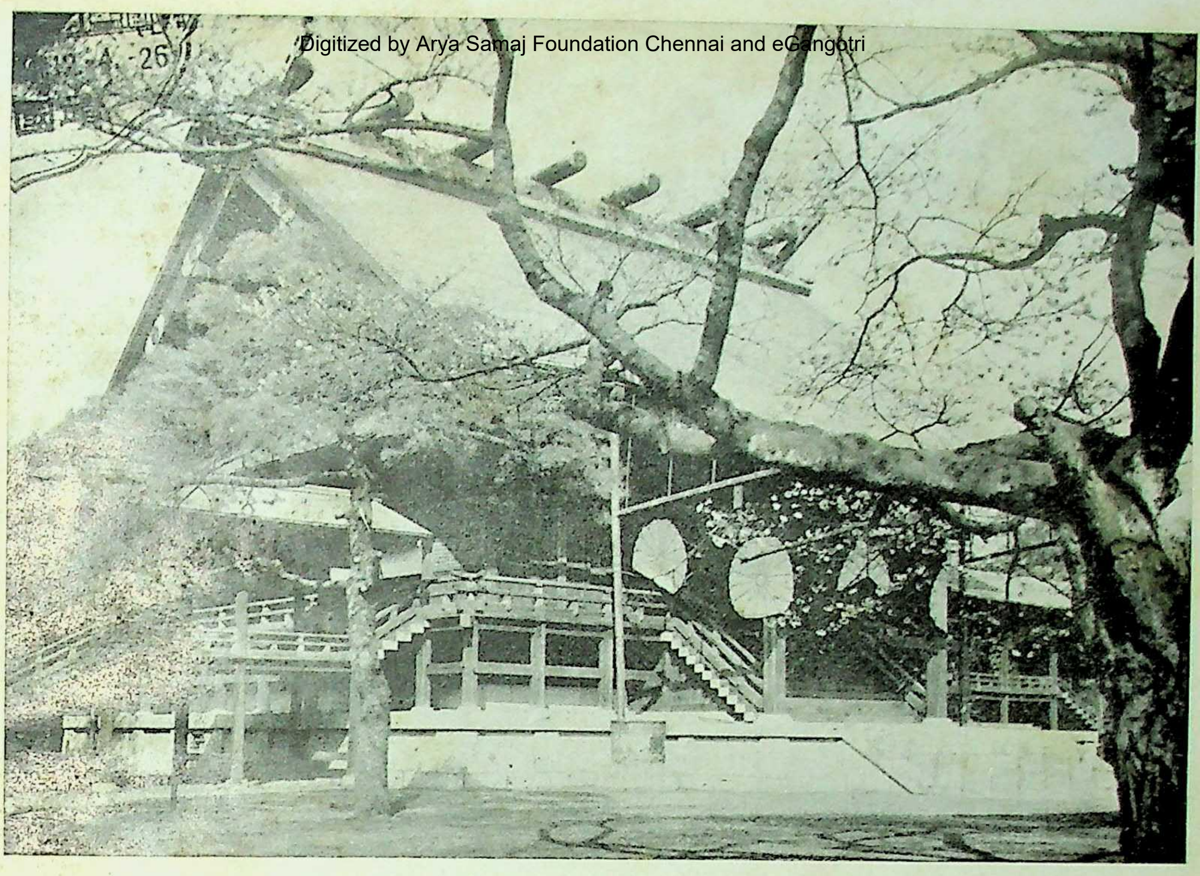
The Military Museum stands amidst its beautiful surroundings on Kudan Hill to show how weapons of war have developed from the crude products of the stone and flint age to the polished instruments of torture known today. Exhibits like these might find a place in any museum, but there is a whole section of the Military Museum of Tokyo which is perhaps like nothing in any other museum in the world —it is so essentially a part of the soul of Japan. The exhibits here, filling three or four long rooms, are the bruised and battered uniforms of the sons of Japan who have fallen in recent wars—a coat with a great jagged hole in it through which a splinter of shell once found a gallant young heart, the actual blood congealed in a dark-brown stain all round, another coat with the sleeve torn off, hanging limp and ragged, also blood-stained, a helmet with a hole in it through which a bullet found the brain, handkerchiefs, shirts and vests drenched in blood—and over each tragic souvenir is a photograph of the man—often a mere boy—who fell, wearing it for the last time. The people of Tokyo go round everyday and look at these things without flinching. I saw them there—young military students, young mothers with toddler sons all growing-up to be soldiers, old bowed mothers who had already given their sons, and army veterans who had, perhaps, seen these boys die. And the photographs of those boys look back at the visitor, each face the impassive mask that its country's etiquette demands, steady-eyed, tight-lipped, inscrutable. But the challenge of their youth is there : "Their lives they gave, their immortality" Was it worth while ?

Even if one did become a deified spirit after it all, was it worth while ? After the Great War, a host of novels, films and plays—*Journey's End, All Quiet on the Western Front, Flowers of the Forest, Bury the Dead, The Road to Glory, Post Mortem*—asked this question of the western world. But the youth of Japan has not openly questioned yet. He has passed on, unsmiling, to his ancestors and we can only hope he has found more happiness there than he knew here. But will he still continue not to question ? Will he always accept the dictum of the Japanese poet—once again a poet !—who said :

> "There will never be any conscientious objectors in Japan. Refusal to face the enemy would be accounted fear—to us, in Japan, the worst possible crime."

When her youth does begin to question, militarism will cease to be a religion in Japan.

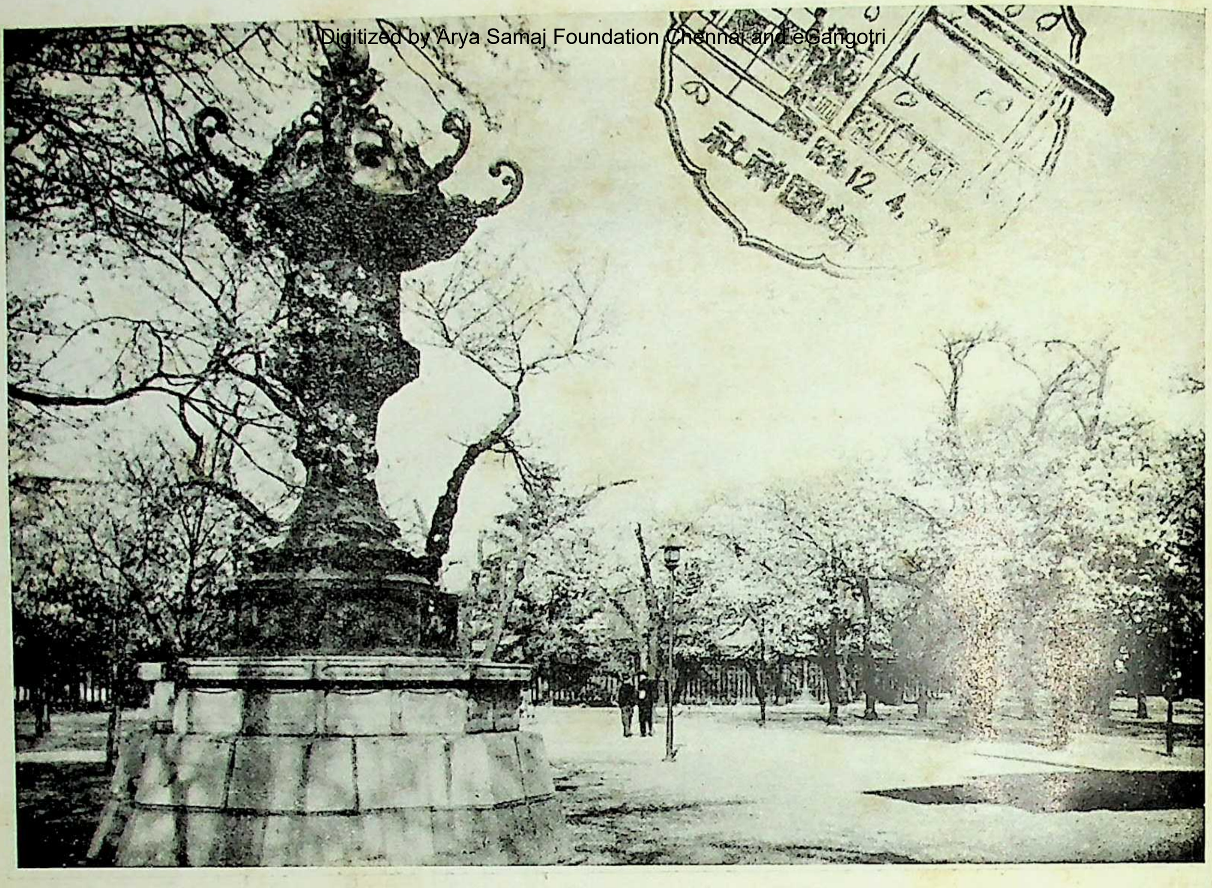
* * *



The Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo. The abode of 1,30,967 deified spirits, most of whom were Japanese soldiers killed in battle

靖國神社
昭和12.-4.-2

The Military Museum, Kudan Hill. Among the exhibits are the battered, blood-stained uniforms of sons of Japan killed in recent wars



Cherry blossoms and a stone lantern on Kudan Hill, Tokyo

A corner of the beautiful garden on Kudan Hill

The circular stamps on the pictures mark them as authentic ones sold by the authorities of the shrine to visitors during the festival which followed the deification ceremony in April 1937

INTERVIEW WITH CHU TEH, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE CHINESE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY

By AGNES SMEDLEY

Headquarters of the Eighth Route Army
North Shansi, October 24, 1937

THE condition along the North Shansi battlefront was discussed in an informal way today by Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army, at the headquarters of this Army in North Shansi.

The Japanese have not very strong resistance along the three northern railways of China —the Tinghan, Tsinpu and Peiping-Suiyuan line,—Chu Teh said. They have been able to roll over the Chinese troops pretty much as they liked, and because of this they have thought they could carry out their old plans for the enslavement of China. Their general plans are quite well known, and are very old. They have long had in their service many leading men as traitors, and a small army of small traitors.

" It was only after the Eighth Route Army came to the Front that the situation has changed," Chu Teh said. " The Eighth Route Army has had a long succession of victories at many places in North Shansi and, recently, in western Hopei. These victories have changed the whole spirit of the other Chinese armies and of the Chinese people, so that the Japanese have begun to meet with strong resistance. The Eighth Route Army had shown the Kuomintang armies and the people that the Chinese can really fight the Japanese and be victorious. The Chinese people have felt themselves helpless before Japanese airplanes, but here in this mountainous territory of North Shansi, these airplanes, as well as their fieldpieces, are almost useless. Here in the north they cannot use their big guns, and our tactics negate damage from airplanes. Here the invading enemy must fight with rifles and in hand-to-hand battles with the Eighth Route Army. In this they are weak, and they fear hand-to-hand battles above all else.

" The Japanese have tried to scare foreign powers by saying the Eighth Route Army is marching across North China to the sea. To this I must say that it will not be so very easy for us to occupy Peiping and Tientsin just at this moment. But our army can do this even though the Japanese occupy them. We can continue to fight and be victorious even if the Japanese occupy all the big cities and the main railway lines. We can carry on our fight and our work at all times and in all places because we fight by partisan warfare. Even if the enemy should succeed in occupying all North China, we can continue our fight. The Japanese will never dare leave the big cities and go into the country, for they will be destroyed. We can always organize the people, arm them for struggle, and build our strength and the strength of the whole anti-Japanese struggle, on the masses of the people. We have done this here in North Shansi. The Kuomintang has no force in these places, and so we can organize the people along the entire front and in the rear of the enemy. We have already organized, trained and armed thousands of them to conduct partisan warfare, and we have hardly begun yet. We are capturing arms and ammunition from the Japanese and using these to arm the people. General Yen Hsi-shan has also given us rifles for the people.

" The problem of whether we can save Shansi Province, and the city of Taiyuanfu, from the enemy, must be analyzed from many viewpoints. On the northern front the enemy is in a bad situation at present because our partisan groups are in their rear, cutting all their communications, capturing all their supplies. The enemy must now use airplanes to transport food and ammunition to their troops, but such transport is limited. They cannot transport many things by such means.

" Our partisan groups have killed more Japanese in the rear than have been killed on most fronts. Apart from Pinghsingkwan, where we killed nearly two thousand in one battle, we have killed from three to four thousand more. Many more have been wounded. This is easy work for us, and in it we have not even lost a thousand men. The Japanese come rolling along on motor trucks, unprepared to fight. At the front it is not such easy work, for the Japanese can use fieldpieces and airplanes against the Kuomintang armies which continue to fight by positional warfare.

" On October 18th, at Yenmenkwan, our partisan units just scored another victory. Two companies of them attacked the enemy airdrome and destroyed twenty-one airplanes. It was night and our men did not see the three additional planes. So these three escaped. We used hand grenades to destroy them. Since then the enemy has had a hard time with their airplanes. They have sent about eight here, but these fly over from Paotingfu in Hopei, and return after bombing.

" Our Army attacks the rear of the Japanese ceaselessly. We have now completely cut them off from the rear so that they are unable to get reinforcements or supplies of any kind except the limited quantities sent by air. Because we have cut them off from the rear, the 40,000 to 50,000 of them fighting in the Sinkow region (180 li north of Taiyuanfu) cannot retreat, but must fight forward desperately. They must attack at the front, and so they have had heavy losses in the last week. Because of this situation, our northern front is not in a very bad condition. Our Eighth Route Army will not retreat.

" However, the defence of Taiyuanfu depends on the eastern front. If that front can hold, then Taiyuanfu is saved. If not, then it is in a dangerous position. The situation on both the Tsinpu and Pinghan railways is, we know, very serious. At Ningtsiangkwan, the pass on the railway line leading from Hopei up to Taiyuanfu, is also serious. If the enemy is victorious there, they can attack us along from the eastern, southwestern and southern fronts. In such a way they can encircle Taiyuanfu.

" General Yen Shih-shan has just ordered our 129th Division, commanded by Liu Pehcheng, to Ningtsiangkwan, where they are to fight by positional warfare. This is not at all good for our troops. Our troops are relatively few in number, and positional warfare is suicidal for us. The Japanese also are very much afraid of partisan warfare. They can fight only by positional warfare. No Japanese small groups dare attempt partisan warfare. They would be wiped out by the people. Wherever they go, they must move in large groups. Cavalry escort the infantry, and tanks escort their motor cars. But we have destroyed them despite this, capturing their tanks and motor cars. They now openly threaten to use poison gas against us. But we are not afraid of that either. We are not afraid of their airplanes, their tanks, field guns, or their poison gas. Our tactics are such that none of these can cause much damage to us.

" We have learned certain things about this enemy. They always use a division at least, in fighting positional warfare, and they depend on big guns, tanks, airplanes, etc. In every 30,000 of them, they have only 5,000 to 6,000 who can fight in hand-to-hand battles. This is their weakpoint. Their ammunition and arms are better than ours, however. But their use is conditional. In order to use them, they must have roads and railways, gasoline and oil. They must also have many, many people to transport these things. If we cut their roads and kill their transporters, there is no help for them. We do not understand why the Kuomintang armies cannot learn this fact, why they cannot learn our tactics. The Kuomintang armies insist on sticking to tactics that can result in nothing but defeat for them.

" The Kuomintang could also use our tactics, but they would have to change the elements in the army. Only revolutionary elements can use partisan warfare with success. If soldiers who are not revolutionary, go out in small groups without their officers, they merely turn bandit and loot and rape. The one and only condition for partisan warfare is that the troops must be imbued with anti-Japanese revolutionary spirit. But if, in fighting, the generals run away and the soldiers retreat in small groups and continue to fight, it is quite certain that only the most revolutionary elements among the soldiers will continue the struggle. Such men, if brought under our leadership, can be a great force leading to victory.

" General Yen Hsi-shan gave our army 10,000 men to train, but for some unknown reason he called them back after ten days and sent them to another front. Under the command of the Eighth Route Army, General Yen Hsi-shan's army could also fight and be victorious over the Japanese. The soldiers were enthusiastic. So it is not the soldiers who cannot fight. It is the Generals."

When asked if the Nanking Government had given the Eighth Route Army arms and ammunition before this army went to the front, Chu Teh remarked that Nanking gave them no arms at all. They gave some bullets, however, but most of their arms and ammunition they have had to capture from the Japanese. General Yen Hsi-shan gave them some guns, though few. The medical supplies were sufficient for only a couple of weeks, but were supposed to be for three months.

" Nanking has given us almost nothing," Chu Teh said, " but the Japanese have involuntarily and unwillingly given us a lot."

When asked what he considered the strong and weak points of the Japanese, Chu Teh replied :

" Our experience in fighting the Japanese enable me to list these. The six strong points of the Japanese are, in my estimation, as follows :

"1. Their weapons of war are stronger than ours, and they can use them well.
2. They can keep their military plans secret.
3. They do not surrender their guns, but fight until killed. But for this there are definite reasons. They do not surrender their guns out of fear of death. They have salughtered so many of our people, and they are engaged in such a savage task of conquering our country, that they believe we will kill them when we take them captive. They also believe the propaganda of their officers that Chinese kill all captives. There is also in some of the divisions the spirit of Bushido.
4. They can act according to their plans.
5. When they retreat, they can retreat more quickly than the Chinese can.
6. They can bring in reinforcements quickly.

" Their weakpoints are as follows :

"(1) Their war spirit is very low at present, especially among the rank and file soldiers. (2) Their soldiers also do not want to build defence works. (3) Because they are relatively few in comparison with our people, their intelligence service works slowly. They also have the belief that the Chinese can be easily defeated, so they work slowly. (4) Another weakness is their inability to climb mountains as we can. (5) One of their main weaknesses also is their fear of hand-to-hand battles."

In discussing these points, Chu Teh said that a majority of the wounded of the Eighth Route Army were wounded in hand-to-hand battles. Without heavy weapons of war, the Eighth Route Army partisan units fall upon the enemy in hand-to-hand battles of life and death. Most of the Japanese they have killed have been killed by hand, though at the famous Pinghsiangkwan battle about five hundred of the Japanese were killed with hand grenades. In some battles, the Eighth Route Army have used hand grenades as clubs to beat in the brains of the Japanese. In the many peasant partisan units recently trained and armed, there are only about fifteen to twenty rifles in a group of a hundred, while the rest are armed with hand grenades. These serve a douple purpose —to hurl at a distance, or as clubs in close encounters. Yet with all the hand-to-hand fighting of the Eighth Route Army, Chu Teh says that the Japanese have not captured one man of his army. Chinese soldiers from other armies who are captured, are killed without exception.

FIVE MONTHS IN THE "STATES"

BY BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

MY steamer left Liverpool in the afternoon, but in February, 4 o'clock in England is practically evening. After dinner we entered the British Channel from the Mersey, and almost immediately after I went to my bed and fell asleep. At about midnight I woke to find that the ship was not moving. We were at anchor, as I found next morning, in the Queen's Town Harbour in Ireland, where she had to take the overnight mail from London. After lunch it sailed again and entered the high seas. The Atlantic is always more or less boisterous; in the winter it is particularly so. And I soon found myself in the throes of sea-sickness, which forced me to keep to my cabin, which meant practically to my bed, until I smelt American soil after passing the Statue of Liberty at the mouth of the Hudson.

One incident of my life on board the steamer deserves mention. In those days it used to take about a week to reach New York from Liverpool. About the middle of the week the steward of my cabin came with a present of fruits from a fellow passenger, a lady, who asked me to put my hand out so that she might be sure that I had received her gift. She sent me her gift with a friendly greeting—a greeting to a countryman of Swami Vivekananda's from an

American who owed her spiritual illumination to him. This was the first direct evidence I had of Vivekananda's influence in America.

I had not as yet made his personal acquaintance. Before going to Paramhansa Ramakrishna, Vivekananda had been in close touch with the Brahmo Samaj. He was a regular attendant in our services in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. I think he was a member of the choir of the Samaj, and his help in this connection was highly appreciated. But that was during the year when I was working as a school master in Sylhet and Bangalore. I had no personal acquaintance with him when he crossed over to America to attend the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, where he suddenly leapt into almost world fame. Before his appearance on the platform of the Parliament of Religions in Chicago he was hardly known in his own country. His wonderful success as a powerful orator and defender of the religion of his people had a remarkable repercussion in India, lending a new force and inspiration to the infant national consciousness among us. This was practically our first foreign mission.

The Brahmo Samaj had its foreign delegation or deputation first to the United Kingdom in the person of Keshub Chunder Sen, and next to both England and America through the Rev. Bhai Protap Chandra Mazumdar, Keshub's lieutenant.

But Keshub's message was really the message of a reformed Unitarian Christianity. So also was the message which Protap Chandra Mazumdar delivered to his British and American audiences. Neither Keshub nor Protap Chandra had come in intimate touch with the ancient thoughts and realizations of their own people. They were both the product of the new education and illumination which our British masters had brought to us. Keshub certainly impressed his British audiences by his inspired eloquence and his personal magnetism. Protap Chandra did not attain Keshub's level in either. Keshub had not been to America, and in America Protap Chandra was the first Indian preacher. Protap Chandra had a fine presence, so had Keshub, though of a different character. Protap Chandra was of a much stronger built than Keshub. His straight nose, large eyes, high cheek-bones, broad forehead and flowing beard (Keshub was always clean shaven) gave him the appearance of a Hebrew prophet. He had a wonderful capacity of word-painting. His diction was more florid than Keshub's. But his strongest point was his spiritual imagination. We find it in his "Oriental Christ," and more particularly in his "Heart Beats" and "The Spirit of God." These last two were American publications, and they secured for their author a place among the spiritual teachers of the world like Marcus Aurelius, St. Augustine and Thomas a'Kempis. But Protap Chandra only helped to lift his audience and readers to higher reaches of their own familiar thoughts and realizations. The essence of his teachings was essentially Christian.

Vivekananda, however, captured American imagination by the force of his "impudent" courage. Keshub and Protap had been more or less apologetic in their reference to Hinduism. Hinduism, as they knew it, had no claims to either superior ethics or deep spirituality. It was all practically idolatry and polytheism and caste. This was in those days the universal judgment of Europe and America upon the religion of the Hindus. Vivekananda first offered a challenge to this universal British and American estimate of his national religion. It took his American audience by surprise. It offered a stupendous shock to their old convictions and prejudices. There was no hesitancy, no suspicion of apology, no attempt to explain away, not the least little trace of any "inferiority complex" in this bold challenge to civilized conceit in Vivekananda's message of Hinduism to the crowded galleries of the Parliament of Religions. Vivekananda did not assign any reason, did not argue his position, but delivered his message with soul-compelling directness and simplicity, like the ancient seers and sages of our own country or the prophets of the Old Testament, as truths that could not possibly be contested or controverted. This was the real secret of Vivekananda's success in the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. And this success had an inevitable repercussion in India, lending a new strength to the Hindu religious revival movement in the country.

Vivekananda was himself at this time in America, though I did not meet him, because he was living then far away from New York, which was my headquarters. But the intellectual and moral commotion which he had produced in that continent was unmistakable, the first evidence of which I had on board the Star liner by which I crossed the Atlantic.

When I got up on the deck at New York harbour, the unknown friend who had sent me the plate of fruits during my sea-sickness, came and introduced herself to me as a friend of Vivekananda, saying that Vivekananda had forged a spiritual bond between her and every countryman of his. Though my interpretation of Hinduism was not identical with that of Vivekananda's, and we differed very widely from one another in our estimates of India's mission to the modern world, this statement of my first American acquaintance did my heart good and helped me to appraise correctly the great work which Vivekananda had been doing for India in the American continent.

An episode of my landing in New York deserves record, as evidence of an aspect of American mentality. America is aggressively proud of her society and administration. This helped me to pass my luggage without trouble through the Customs. I had a big box of books, mostly Sanskrit and Bengalee, besides my wearing apparel that was my only heavy luggage. And I was asked to pay the customary duty on it. I protested because these books were not meant for sale but for my personal use only. They were old books. But the customs officer shook his head and said, "Old or new, duty must be paid on it: that was the law." I turned round and said, "All right, if I must pay I must; but I thought America was a civilized and cultured country. I am disillusioned, because it is unthinkable that the Government of a civilized and cultured people would tax the intellectual instruments of a public lecturer visiting their shores on an intellectual and moral mission." At this the customs officer at once passed my luggage without asking for any duty.

The National Temperance Association of New York had undertaken to arrange for my hospitality during my tour in the States, on temperance work. At New York they had engaged a room for me in a family hotel in West 39th Street. New York is divided into two sections, east and west, by a central avenue, called the Maddison Avenue. This Avenue is the only street in New York bearing the name of one of its prominent citizens. All the other streets are designated by mere number. This struck me as an evidence of the uncompromising democratic mind of America. When I visited the States, American society was passing through a transformation. These family hotels were a sign of it. In these hotels people lived with their families, taking a suite of rooms and freeing themselves from the worries of the usual domestic life, engaging their own servants and doing their own shopping and having their own tables. All these were transferred to the management of the hotel, where they could entertain their guests by paying extras for it. The privacy of the family life was secured by the isolation of their suite of living rooms. In all other matters they lived a common life. The advantage of these family hotels was that they found ample leisure to the housewives of the upper middle class families for the pursuit of their hobbies or the culture of their intellect or art sense. The unnatural aloofness in which the Englishman and the Englishwoman holds himself or herself in the hotels and lodging houses in London was very agreeably absent in New York. In my London appartments I had lived for months together without exchanging a single word with my co-lodgers whom I was constantly meeting in the stairs or the entrance hall. It was not so in America. My hotel in New York was fairly crowded when I arrived. But within 24 hours I found myself on fair terms of familiarity with most of my co-lodgers.

My first acquaintance here was a gentleman who had been an inmate of this hotel for many years. As soon as I arrived the manager of the hotel asked me if I would like to go up to my room first or meet a gentleman who had been waiting to see me from the time my steamer was signalled. Knowing that he must have left his business for three or four hours with this object, naturally I asked the manager to immediately take me to him. He was waiting in the reading room of the hotel. As soon as I entered he got up and putting forward both his hands gave me a most cordial greeting, saying, "You come from a great counrty, Sir, you are a representative of a great nation, who are destined to be the teachers of the world." This enthusiastic greeting almost took my breath away. My first idea was that he must be a disciple of Vivekananda, a convert to our neo-Hinduism, of which Vivekananda was an apostle in America. I have an instinctive mistrust of the judgment of converts. But before long I discovered that this new friend of mine was not a disciple of Vivekananda nor a convert to Hinduism. He was a loyal member of the American Presbyterian church. In fact, when he found that I was lecturing on the religion of the Brahmo Samaj, criticising orthodox Christian doctrines and dogmas, he openly condemned my propaganda, saying that my place was not in America but in my own country, where I must work for the emancipation of my people to qualify them for discharging their high mission as teachers of the modern world. He told me that with a view to discharge this great mission, we people of India must be able to "look civilized humanity horizontally into the face." This expression struck me as original. He explained himself by adding that the world would not receive its lessons, however true or lofty these might be, from a slave. Our first duty therefore was to work for the liberation of our country from the British yoke. Until we had achieved this, we had no business in America.

This gentleman had a romantic story in his life. He was unmarried, but was attached to a lady who had already passed the first flush of her youth and was quite middle-aged like himself. They had been attached to one another for a very long time, the lady herself earning her own living in New York. Both were living in the same hotel, tending one another during their lighter ailments, the lady looking after the comforts of her friend with the loyalty and tenderness of a devoted wife. They took their meals at the same table, and spent their leisure together in common studies or recreations. The gentleman was, I think, a stock-broker; and the lady, a school teacher. Theirs was an example of plantonic friendship, such as I had never come across in actual life. Their life in the hotel was an absolutely open life, and the breath of scandal never touched it. Their co-lodgers in the hotel only admired and enjoyed their romance.

My first day in America had another pleasant surprise for me. In the evening while going to dinner, I heard some one calling me from behind : "Is this Mr. Pal from India ?" I turned and saw a stately Romanesque matron far advanced in age but still preserving the memories of her earlier beauty of form, walking behind leaning on the arms of a younger companion. She came up to me and extending her hand greeted me with great cordiality, saying that she had heard that I had come to this hotel and wanted to make my acquaintance and invited me to her table. Thus commenced a friendship the memories of which live green in my mind even today after a lapse of more than thirty years. She was more than 85 when I first met her, and must have long passed over to the other side. But she has not as yet passed out of my mind. Hers also was a sad romantic story. Married at the age of 19 she lost her husband on the first day of her honeymoon. He had gone out for a morning ride, and less than an hour later his dead body was brought on a door torn off from its hinges by kindly neighbours. His horse had shied and throwing him off on his head had killed him outright. The blow crushed the young bride, and within six months as a result of continuous weeping she lost her sight. Time heals every wound, however deep and heart-rending. Time helped also to dull the edge of her bereavement. The lady had to look out for her future; and in the hope of making herself useful in life she took her admission into an institution for the blind. For three years I think she lived there; and had the second romance of her life in her intimacy with a fellow student, who recovered his eye-sight, and went back to his home in Palestine with a promise to soon return to claim his blind fiancee. He never returned. He was a Jew, and his fiancee lived, I think to the end of her day, in the hope of his return, so firm was she in her faith in the man. Another idea possessed her mind. She believed evidently on the testimony of her sixth sense that her lover would come back to America, when the Government of the United States would introduce Gold Currency and the American "green backs," the popular name of American paper currency, would be converted into yellow. And when he came he would come as a multi-millionaire, a master of finance. In the meantime, even while she was in the institution for the blind she turned her hand to literature, trying to earn her living by her pen. Her first book was *Alice*, the story of the romance of a blind girl. With the publication of this short story, the history of her own life also came to be widely known; and the background of real romance which it supplied to her first work, made it a fairly good seller. Since then she had been living by her pen. Other stories followed; one of which was the story of her second romance. It was as an author of fair repute that she was living at that time in the family hotel where I met her in New York. She had a secretary and amenuensis, who was almost like a daughter to her. These two made a small family; and I found a friendly welcome to their table in my hotel. As long as I was in this New York family hotel, I had my meals in their company, and they attended almost all my public functions in New York and its neighbourhood.

My first public function in the States was a reception organized by the National Temperance Association. There were welcome speeches to which I had, of course, to reply. It was a fairly well-attended meeting, which broke up after 9 p.m. As I came out of the hall, I found a group of men standing on the road. The Boer War was then going on, and was the talk of the whole world. Neither in England nor in America did I affect European dress, necktie and bowler or top hat, but went about in my coat and *choga* and a turban of yellow silk. This strange dress of mine became an object of wonder to the group of Americans on the street. Someone seeing me cried out, "Gee! Kruger !" But they did not cause any annoyance to me, though this simple incident gave birth to a legend of my first night's experience in the streets of New York. Mr. Caine wrote to the Indian papers, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and another English daily published from

Madras of which he was at that time the London correspondent, that I had been mobbed in the streets of New York by a crowd that followed me calling me "Kruger."

As in England, so also in America, my temperance engagements did not bring me into contact with the really cultured sections of the community. The supporters of the temperance cause were mostly narrow-minded Non-Conformists. For the first few weeks I lived in New York, going to and from for my temperance lectures in its neighbourhood.

The colour sense is very strong in the white population of the States. But only on one occasion in a neighbouring State of New York. New Jersey, was I insulted by a group of low class Americans while walking from the station to the place of my meeting. Otherwise, neither in my hotel nor in the streets of New York nor in any other town which I visited was I ever taken for either a Negro or a Mulatto, the only two classes of the American population who are socially untouchables like our *pariahs*. And my American friends oftentimes assured me that it was impossible for any one to mistake me for either. Besides in the Eastern States the colour sense was much less keen than in the Southern States which had been the centre of the American Civil War over the Negro question. But even in the Eastern States the social cleavage between the white and the coloured was marked and even cruel. No Negro or Mulatto could be served in any public restaurant patronized by the white men. Neither in New York nor in Boston did I ever meet a single Negro or Mulatto in any eating place patronized by the white Americans. The Negroes were the attendants in all these places, but they would not entertain any Negro guest, whatever might be his position, culture or character. The Negroes had their own eating houses or restaurants, mostly situate in their quarter of the town. Like our Madras towns or villages where the Brahmins live apart from the *pariahs* or *panchamas,* in the American cities the white population also lived apart from the Negroes.

When I went to Boston on a week's lecturing tour in the city and its neighbourhood, I heard a pitiful story of a Negro of culture and position who had built at considerable expense a house in one of the suburb of the city. My host was himself a resident of it. This suburb was then just growing, and he pointed out to me an empty house in front of his own which had been built by this Negro gentleman. He removed to it with his family, but found it impossible to live in it for more than a few months. None of their neighbours would exchange a single word with him or his wife; even their children were shunned as social lepers by the children of their white neighbours. No man or woman can live in this social isolation in an atmosphere of unremitting and studied insult of their neighbours, and this Negro family had to remove from their house, and evidently as a punishment for their impudent social ambition no one was found either to rent or buy that house.

Travelling up and down the States, I never found a single Negro passenger in what might be called by us the upper classes of a railway carriage. In America there is only one class of railway carriage, corresponding to our third. But they have managed to get out of this democratic arrangement with the help of special Parlour Cars and Sleeping Cars. These Parlour Cars are not owned by the railway companies, but belonging to the Pullman Car Company, which by arrangement with the railway companies have their cars attached to the more important trains. The railways book only one class of passengers, but by securing seats or beds in the Pullman Cars on payment of an extra fee one may avail oneself of the luxuries of the Pullman Car. For day journeys and short distances they give you an easy chair cushioned and a small table and provide an attendant who brings you from the dining car whatever you may want, drink or food. In these Pullman Cars travelling up and down the States during my five months sojourn there I never met a single Negro or Mulatto passenger. So rigid is the social boycott of Negroes and Mulattos by the white population of the States that even those among the former who can pay for the extra charge do not care to use them.

I had one curious experience while travelling once from Boston to New York in a Parlour Car. Leaving New York immediately after breakfast, I had to take my lunch in this car; and seeing in the menu "pickled mangoes" my heart leapt with joy at the prospect of testing mangoes, the favourite fruit of my country, in that distant land. How great, however, was my disappointment when having called for this rare delicacy, I found, when it was brought to me, that it was not mango at all but pickled cucumbers!

The American dietary, I found, was somewhat different from the English dietary. For one thing, the Americans take a lot of more vegetables than the English and a much larger variety of dishes. The usual vegetable in England are cabbage, cauliflower and turnip with vegetable marrow in season and spinach. In America I found, in addition to these, stewed corn or maize as well as a very fine and very small species of rice; these are really similar to what we know as *ragi* in southern India. All vegetables are served, however, always with a pat of butter. In New York besides the familiar fishes placed on the table in England, I found our own *hilsa,* the Americans call it "shad," which has the same form and the same multiplicity of fine bones and the same flavour as our own favourite fish. The *hilsa* is not found in Madras or Bombay, it is found in Sind in the Indus in its lower reaches. It is called by our Sindhi friends Balla fish and is considered by them as a great delicacy. The American cookery is also richer than the English cookery. In fact, what we know as English cookery except roast beef or ham or mutton is not English but really French as every menu in all high class hotels testify. The American cookery is richer and of a more varied character than English cookery.

As regards drinks, the Americans are not, like the English, great tea drinkers. They drink their tea not with milk nor steaming hot, but cold, frequently iced, flavoured with slices of lemon. Another peculiar American habit is that they rarely or never drink plain water, but use ice in their water in the coldest season of the year. Ices are also found almost always with their desserts. Judging from my experience it seemed to me that the Americans do not consume as much strong drink as the natives of Europe. It may be that my connection with the New York Temperance Association and my position as a temperance lecturer did not bring me into contact with the class of people who are used to alcoholic beverages.

The Americans are, however, great coffee drinkers. There were no tea-shops in New York, but one found decent coffee-shops almost at every corner. And the American coffee with whipped cream is really something very delectable. These coffee-shops, when I visited the States, were replacing the saloons rapidly, showing the progress of the teetotal hab among all classes of its population.

The great height of American building earned for them the appellation of sky scrapers. The hotel where I was put up i New York was, however, only three stories hig with a garret making the fourth story, and ther was, therefore, no lift provided for us. I most of the other buildings in New York the had lifts. The mechanism of the lift had no as yet been perfected, and accidents were no very rare either. One particularly bad acciden was reported in the papers while I was i New York. A lift in one of the sky-scraper suddenly broke down and was stuck with it passengers midway between one floor an another. And the unfortunate men and wome spent an exceedingly bad hour confined in thei lift until means were found to rescue them.

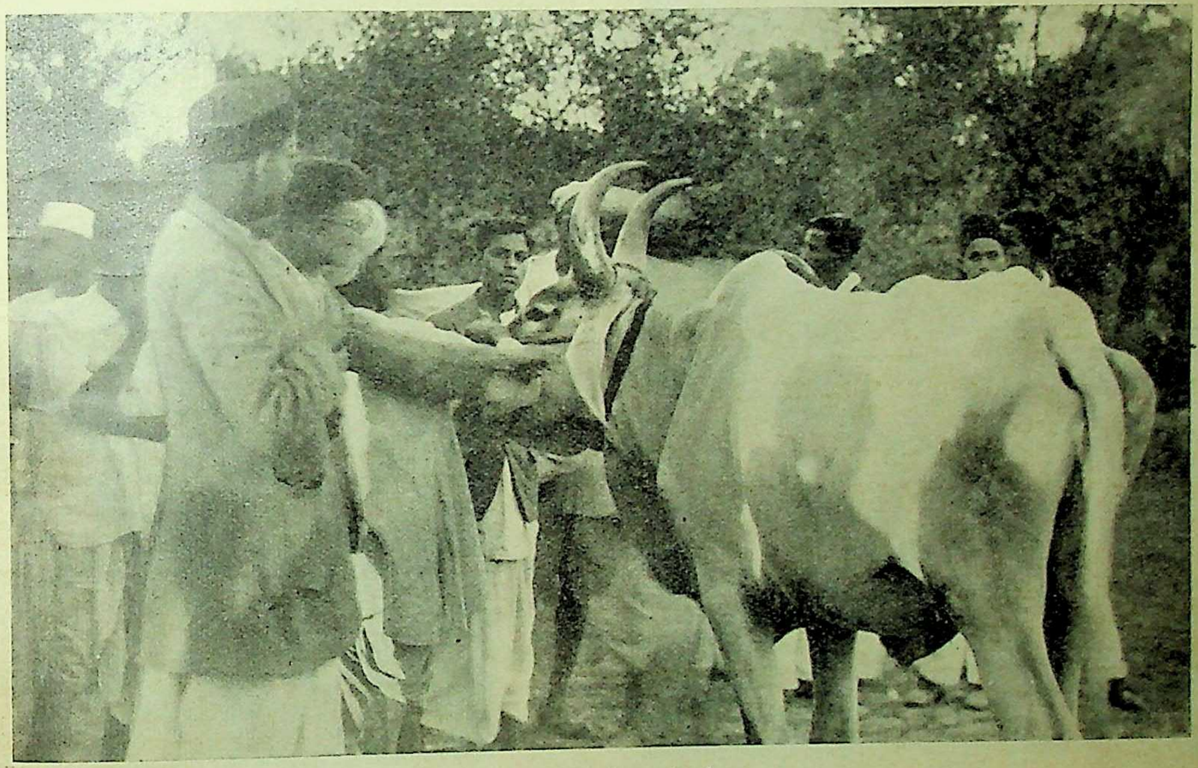
As regards the American mind, one thin that struck me most was its comparative freedom from the bondage of old ideas and traditions. The American people seemed to me t have all the door and windows of their sou absolutely open to God's free light and ai They were more receptive to new ideas than th conservative Englishmen and Englishwomen. Except the one besetting prejudice agains colour, the American people had really no othe prejudices and very few prepossessions. They were free also from the conceit of superio civilization; that is a very unattractive featur of the general English character. On the whole the Americans, particularly their women, ar more devoted to intellectual pursuits than thei cousins on the other side of the Atlantic. I did not take me long to discover this peculia trait of the higher classes of American society The men toiled from morning to evening t make money, and their womenfolk instead o spending their time in shopping or society smal talks engaged themselves in the pursuit o literature and the fine arts. It is the wome of America who kept up the cultural life o that continent.

* * *

ELECTROCULTURE : ITS THEORY AND APPLICATION

By SWAMI SEVANANDA

ELECTROCULTURE, as conceived by its author Dr. Nehru, I.C.S., is the science of capturing and harnessing cosmo-radio-magnetic energy and applying it towards the solution of problems that are engaging the attention of the social workers, village reconstructionists and the administrators who have the well-being of the public at heart. Its laboratory aspect may baffle the orthodox electrician and the biologist, but its practical methods laid down by Dr. Nehru after a great deal of theorising and experiments are so marvellously simple that even the dullest villager can put them into operation at almost no costs. And yet its results are no less astounding and far-reaching. It has been more widely known and practised in the Western and Far Eastern Countries than in the land of its birth, but of late some information has been filtering through the columns of vernacular journals.[1] The present writer was so struck with the bold originality of the experiments suggestive of infinite possibilities—all for the good of mankind—that he resolved to make a special pilgrimage to Mainpuri, U. P. with a view to study the theory of Electroculture and its varied applications on Plant, Animal and Human lives and also their bearings on the socio-economical life of the Indian villages. Accordingly the present article is based not on hearsay reports but on personal observations of a number of farms and gardens, various experiments that have not yet reached their final stage but nevertheless fraught with possibilities and also the official records of the Fruit Growers' Association, Mainpuri.



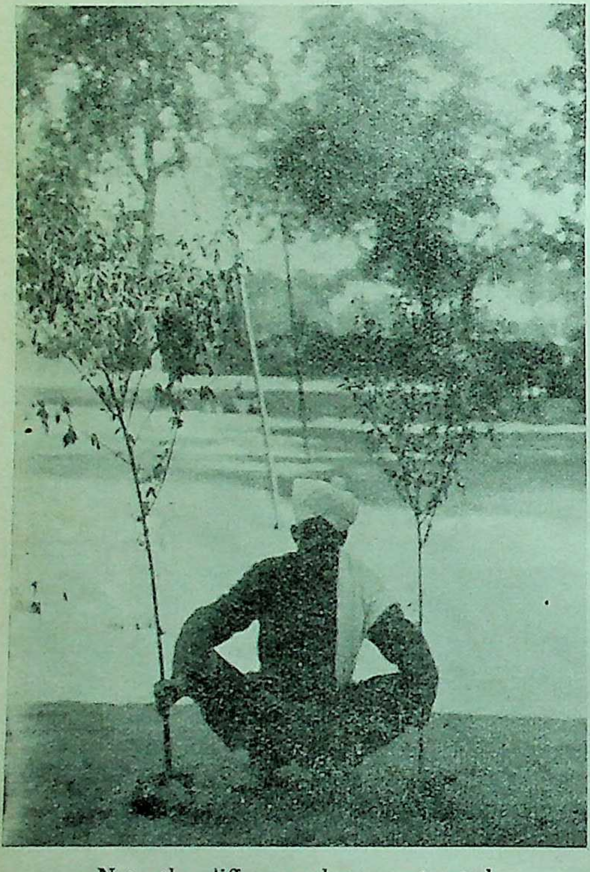
Sparking the animal

Dr. Nehru, who conceived and worked out this idea cannot be more aptly introduced to the reading public than in the words of Sir Stanley Reed,[2] the late Editor of *The Times of India*, who writes : "A distinguished Indian administrator told me that Dr. Nehru, I.C.S., made him feel humble minded. The range of his interests was so wide, the catholicity of his knowledge so embracing that he despaired of keeping abreast of him." Once a Professor of Physics at Allahabad University, then a winner of a Doctorate at Berlin, then a successful candidate for the Indian Civil Service, now Collector and District Magistrate of Mainpuri, Dr. Nehru does not let his administrative work overshadow his real life-work *i.e.*, the amelioration of the Indian masses and for that matter of the whole human family through Electroculture. His scientific knowledge brought him honours. Continental Universities bestowed on him honorary degrees. The Indian Science Congress elected him President of the Agricultural Section. The Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research received him as a member. But these are only his external functions. The real Dr. Nehru is to be seen when he is in the midst of villagers. He is nothing if not intensely human. Electroculture is the breadth of his life, the mistress of his affections. He has the enthusiasm of a lover, the vision of an idealist and intense love for all living beings. His residential bungalow is freely visited by sufferers of all descriptions and wherever he pitches up his camp during his official tour in the rural areas, there becomes a regular *mela* of men, women, children and even poultry birds, seeking relief from various bodily troubles. This much for the progenitor of the science and now we pass on to its theoretical and practical details.

---

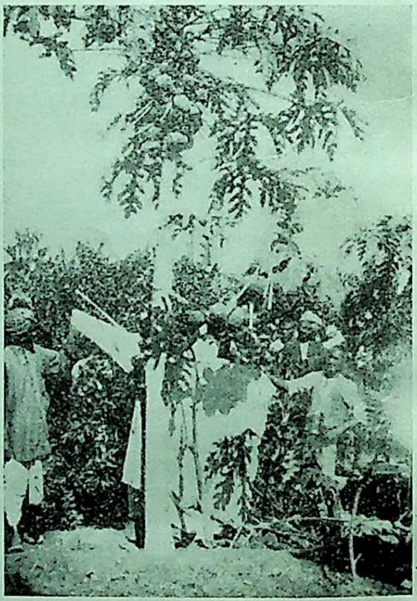
[1] One such article appeared in the May number of *Vishal Bharat.*

[2] Sir Stanley Reed's Foreword to Dr. Nehru's *Men and Money in Muscovy.*



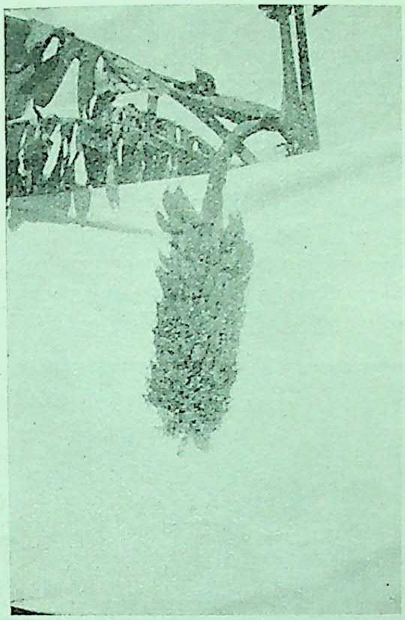
Note the difference between treated and untreated *arhar* tree

It is a matter of common knowledge that living organisms consist of life cells. Each cell has its own nucleus and surrounding protoplasmic matter. And as long as there is an activity of the life process, there is also a corresponding activity in the electrical condition of the cell. In other words, where there is cellular activity there is also electrical activity and *vice versa*. So any cause that tends to activate or retard cellular function activates or retards the current of electricity operating in that particular cell; and if by any process electric energy within a life cell is stimulated, it results in the corresponding stimulation in the activity of that cell and ultimately in the whole organism to which the aforesaid cell belongs. This is of course the basic idea underlying all the ramifications of Electroculture. It cannot be claimed as a new discovery of Dr. Nehru. Electricity has been for a long time applied in the industrial, agricultural and healing operations. The therapeutic value of electricity has been recognized and there has sprung up clinical centres in all civilized countries using electricity as a healing agency. But they

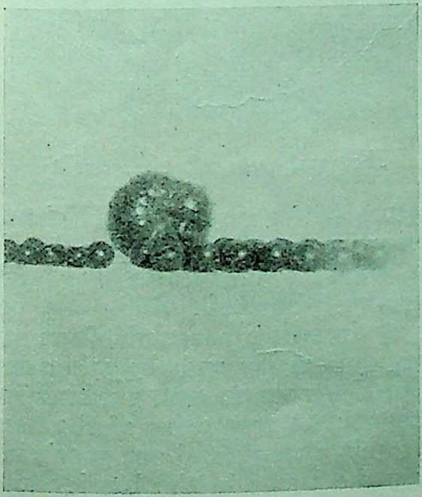


Sterile papya tree after Electroculture

depend upon technical skill of a high order and the use of costly machines and instruments which make them inaccessible to the poor. It was reserved for Dr. Nehru to bring about the same results in a very simple manner and by instruments more simple so that modern machine-minded section will raise their eyebrows in wonder. His methods are a marvel in simplicity and economy and yet the results as tested and verified by responsible scientists of the day are so prolific as to break all past records.

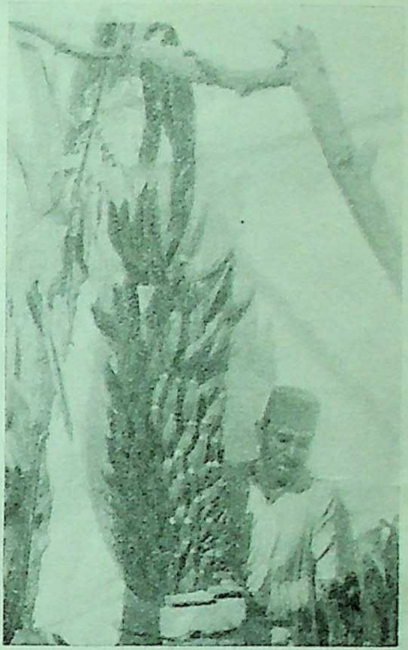


Plantain cluster
before Electroculture

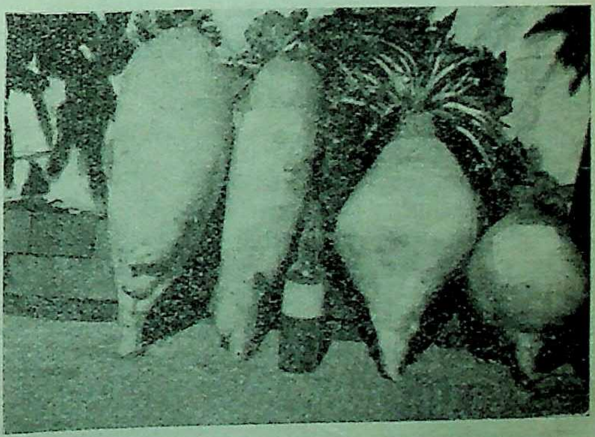


Electrocultured oranges
and tomatoes

Dr. Nehru always thinks in the terms of the masses. His genius is characteristically Indian. He began his experiments with costly apparatus but his natural bent of mind which was tuned to the needs of the masses was urging him to discard the costly and complex in favour of the cheap and simple. So from costly generators and insulators he has come down to instruments so cheap as the poorest villager in India can buy and so simple as the dullest head can operate. They are to Dr. Nehru what the Charka and the carding bow are to Mahatma Gandhi. The reader must be by this time anxious to know what his instruments and working methods are. They consist of a discarded motor car magneto, a piece or two of



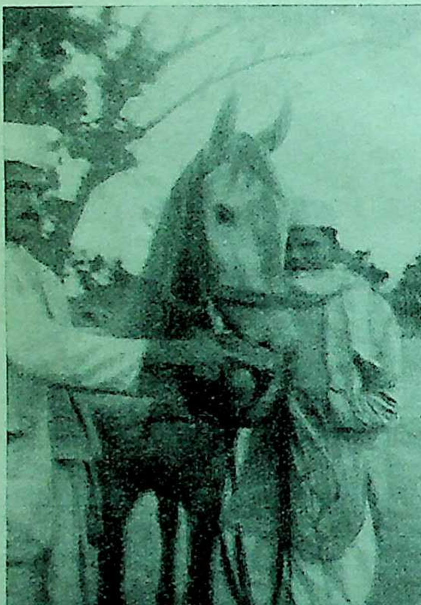
Plantain cluster after
Electroculture



Giant radish

India rubber cut off from old motor car tubes, a second-hand chicken wire-netting and a few iron wires strung with glass beads hardly worth a pice! These are his instruments and his laboratory as wide as the world. With these rude implements this wizard works wonders. In the words of Sir John Russell, who lately visited Mainpuri, "He has electrified the whole district." And time is not far off when the gospel of Electroculture will find wide acceptance. What its repercussions on agriculture and trade will be, time alone can tell.

It will be difficult to condense within the compass of one article all what this Electroculture has done or claims to do. Without going into the details it will be enough for the purpose of this article to present in a concise form what it has achieved in the direction of helping biological growth, since all life—vegetable, animal or human—falls under one category. And therefore it is self-evident that the technique of stimulating and sustaining growth and retarding decay in all the three strata of life must with the exception of some variations be based on a common principle.



Sick mare under treatment

The same mare after treatment

It has been already said that all life is a manifestation of electric energy working in, through and around life cells and therefore Electroculture which is an application of electricity and Cosmo-radio-magnetic energy is equally applicable to vegetable, animal and human life.

At first Dr. Nehru started with Plant life, and was gradually led on by the logic of facts that came within his range of observations to extend the system to animals and then to human beings. His theory is that a jacket consisting of chicken wire-netting of 4 inches to 6 inches in width and long enough to be coiled round the trunk of a tree at its base touching its roots will by itself form an electric field for the inflow of radio-magnetic energy. This will attract and capture the aforesaid energy, which the tree will absorb and utilize for the purpose of stimulating and sustaining its growth, will be passed on to every tissue and will be ultimately converted into reproductive energy endowing the tree with richer flowers and fruits. To supplement this jacket and to secure better results, Dr. Nehru recommends irrigation by electrifying or as he calls it Agaskarised water, after its discoverer Mr. Agaskar of Bombay. This can be easily prepared by inserting one end of an insulated wire in an earthen jar and the other end to be attached to the magneto and working it with a wooden handle. A few turns of the handle are enough to emit a spark and one spark is enough to electrify the water in the big jar and make an entire change in its properties. In this way not only a jar but wells, tanks and even flowing canals can be easily electrified and used for irrigation purposes. To give further stimulation to weakened or decayed vegetable tissues occasional sparking with the aid of the magneto is another efficacious remedy. In case of de-

76306
110858

Sick horse given electrified water to drink. Dr. Nehru standing at the right

caying branches a thin wire-gauze collar attached to the root of the branch will arrest the decay and the branch will be called back to life. In case of grains and for that matter in case of all seeds and seedlings they are to be soaked in Agaskarised water for an hour and then sown with India rubber gloves on the hand without touching them with bare hands. This is in brief the outline of Electroculture in its application to the Plant life but the results which the present writer has discerned in the farms and gardens in and around Mainpuri are worth all the trouble of going there and seeing them with one's own eyes, for to see is to believe. The most notable features may be briefly summarised as follows :

(1) The growth of the plant becomes more vigorous.

(2) The leaves become richer in colour.

(3) The pests such as aphis, and Mahu are either immediately killed or frightened away.

(4) The fruits are strong enough to withstand storm and hail-stones.

(5) The fruits are bigger, richer in pulp and more delicious.

(6) The increase in the yield is estimated to 20% to 25% if all the aforesaid methods are applied.

(7) Quicker sprouting.

(8) Early, late and unseasonal fructification.

(9) Reviving of the decaying and almost dried out trees.

(10) Barren waste-lands have been reclaimed and are now blooming with vegetation.

(11) In case of fruits not one but two to three crops have been obtained.

(12) Flora, not growing in a particular zone or altitude have been compelled to grow.

This sounds almost like a fairy tale, for horticulturists equipped with all that the modern physical sciences can bring to the aid of agriculture have not been able to secure such brilliant results in so short a time and here in a backward district of U. P. a revenue officer is working all these wonders and changing the whole face of the land with an old second-hand magneto and teaching the rude illiterate peasant to do the same ! In Mainpuri this little thing of a magneto is the talk of the day and so marvellous are its achievements that those who came to scoff have remained to pray.

Col. Noel, the Director of the Agriculture and Allied Industries, N.-W. F. P., has conducted experiments at the Government Farm, Peshawar, on fruit trees and grains on the lines indicated by Dr. Nehru and in order to help the over-sceptical reader to realize what has been said in the foregoing paragraph, I am quoting at length from the official reports of Col. Noel and leave the reader to judge for himself ;

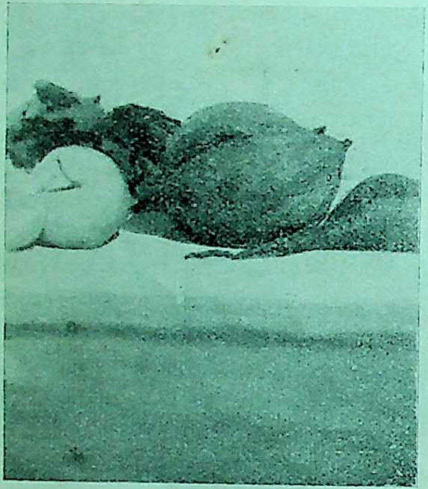
(REPORT DATED 9TH JULY, 1937)

"An orchard of peach trees consisting of 28 lines of 4 trees each was chosen for a jacketing experiment, each plot consisted of a line of 4 trees, the four treatments were :

(1) Jacketing trunks (2) Jacketing the trunk and branches and (3) Jacketing the branches (4) Control.[3]

"A similar experiment was carried out on another orchard of 28 lines of 5 trees in each. Each plot consists of a line of 5 trees.

		Average yield per tree
(1)	Jacketed trunks	187 lbs.
(2)	Jacketed trunks and branches ..	172 lbs.
(3)	Jacketed branches alone ..	142 lbs.
(4)	Control	145 lbs.



Turnips
Electrocultured and untreated

Sugar-cane improved
by Electroculture

In another place he writes :

"This year the average yield of control was 25 lbs (plums) and jacketed trees 35 lbs.

GRAIN

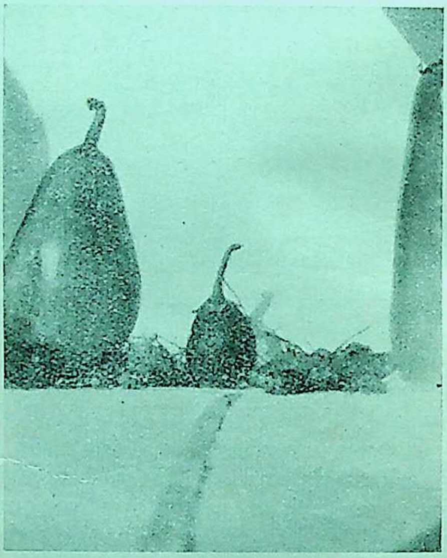
		Yield per acre
(*a*)	Control	2,843.89 lbs.
(*b*)	Treated and sown with rubber gloves	3,421.97 lbs.
(*c*)	Treated and sown without gloves ..	3,354.52 lbs.

Summarising the results he observes :

"Grain yield per acre has increased 20.4 per cent due to treatment. The increase drops to 1.9 per cent when rubber gloves are not used."

Again the same officer remarks :

". . . . . . A method of increasing the yield which is *extraordinarily cheap* and *simple* and yet *effective* is that of *Electroculture* advocated by Prof. Nehru, I.C.S., now Collector of Mainpuri. Well, *believe me or not this treatment has given the astonishing result of a 30 per cent increase in yield. . . . The cost is negligible.*"[4]



Electrocultured and untreated brinjals

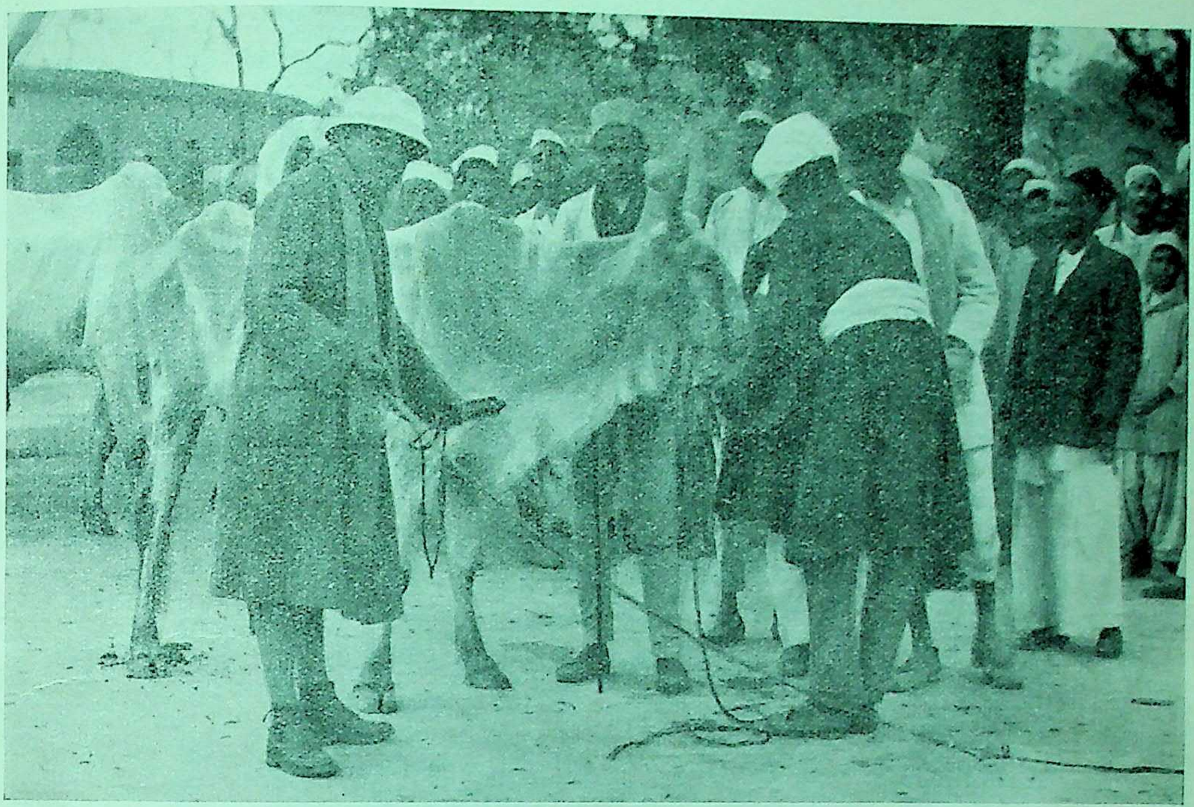
Now let us bestow a flying glance to what Electroculture has achieved for the brute creation. If milch cattle are given Agaskarised water to drink and if their food be previously soaked in the same kind of water, the yield of milk will increase by 25%. They will look better, work harder, will be less susceptible to disease and live longer. Ghee prepared from such milk is finer and is sold at a higher rate say Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per maund. To poultry farmers Electroculture is a blessing. Eggs sparked hatch 100% and grow to 50% better birds. Hens if given electrified water to drink lay more eggs and also for longer period.

It is not easy for a layman like the present writer to review what Electroculture

---

[3] It means that the plant has been given no treatment whatsoever.

[4] The italics are his.



Electroculture of sick animals
Giving sparked water to drink. Dr. Nehru sparking the animal

Arhar tree before and after
Electroculture

Camel having a drink of
Electrified water

has done for human beings. But varied experiments have been undertaken to measure and estimate its potentialities which even at this stage are pronounced to be innumerable. As for instance Electrified Water is found to possess germicidal properties so much so that a French medical man named Dr. Lakhovsky claims to have successfully treated a case of leprosy. It seems to possess special efficacy for pains, nervous troubles, insomnia, paralysis, scorpion stings, lunacy and many other maladies. People who came on their crutches are said to have gone back on their legs. Paralysed and palsied limbs are made to function again. For people suffering from sleeplessness Dr. Nehru prescribes the use of necklaces made of one, two or more thin iron wires strung with glass beads and putting glass or rubber pieces under each bed posts. This simple device is worth a trial.

Consideration of space forbids me to dwell at length on the manifold aspects of Electro-culture. Dr. Nehru has been applying it for his Rural Uplift Scheme, every feature of which bears the impress of its author's originality. His Ideal Village well, Ideal Hovel, manure cart and a lot of other things are so novel and from the utilitarian point of view so valuable that the present writer feels that he owes it to himself and to the reading public, to write at length on each one of them at some future date. But one common thread runs through all and every one of them and that is what distinguishes Dr. Nehru from the rest. It is his knack or rather gift of reducing to simplest and cheapest form what others make complex and costly and thus bringing it within the reach of the poorest villager without taking away a tithe of its real value. He has the intuition to dive down into the heart of things and visualise at a flash what others take a long time to understand. Readers interested in village problems will do well to pay a visit to Mainpuri and they will learn by personal experience a great deal more than what has been possible to compress within the space of this article.

GERMANY

The Eifel Mountains

By JOY WRIGHT

GERMANY. The Rhine, Bavaria, and the Black Forest. These are the three districts which comprise the average holiday-maker's Germany.

After these three, what then ?

Germany is by no means exhausted as a holiday land, even when one knows every inch of the Rhine, every peak in those magnificent Bavarian Alps, and every glade and village of the Black Forest.

There are many other equally enchanting districts waiting to be discovered. One might explore the Harz Mountains, scene of Grimm's fairy tales, or the lovely Baltic Coast with its silver sands stretching back to the pinewoods of Mecklenburg, or a most interesting tour could be made to the mediæval Franconian towns, Nüremberg, Rothenburg, Dinkelsbühl and Nördlingen, which have remained unchanged for five centuries.

But there is one district which seems pre-eminently suitable for the visitor. This is the Eifel. A little-known range of lovely wooded hills lies between the Rhine and Moselle rivers and the Belgian frontier—the most easily accessible part of Germany for visitors going on from Great Britain.

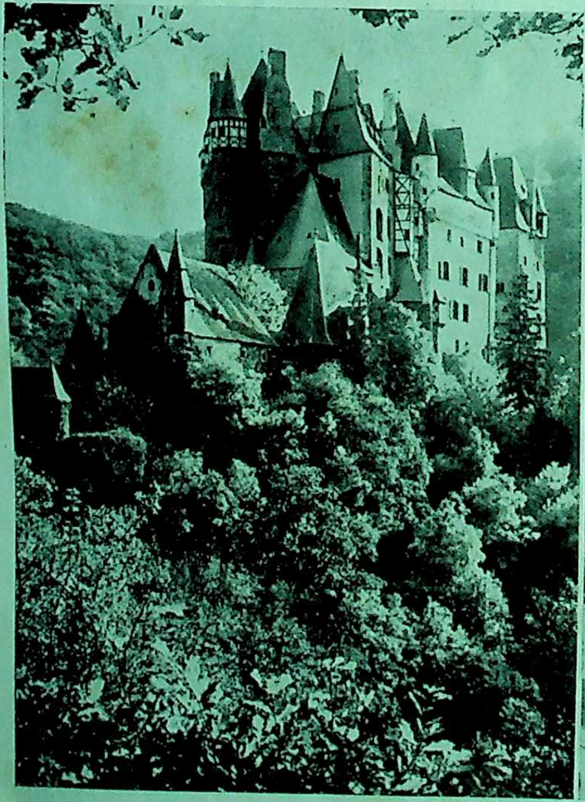
Cologne is the jumping-off ground. The ideal thing would be to take one's own car. But this is not essential. Trains and buses serve the district adequately. Set out from Cologne to Coblence along the banks of the Rhine, either by train or by car. Both the railway and the road hug the river bank nearly all the way, and a fine view can be had of the vine-clad castellated banks of the river. In Coblence a journey up to Ehrenbreitstein, the old fortress beside the river should be made. From the terrace one looks down upon the confluence of the Rhine and the Moselle.

Coblence is a pleasant town with terraces along the riverside, gay cafes and the light-hearted atmosphere, which characterises the Rhineland generally.

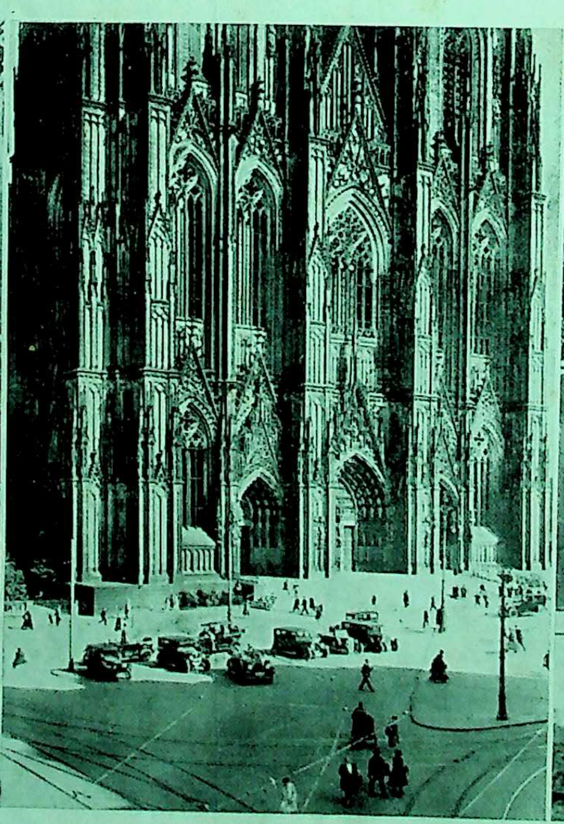
From Coblence one might follow the Moselle Valley. Again the railway and the road run close beside the river. Both will take one through the lovely little townlets of Coehem, Bullay, Traben-Trarbach and Berncastel-Cues to Trier, the Old Roman city of Treves dominated by the Porta Nigra, the wonderful old gateway dating from 275 A.D.

Trier is a veritable treasure-house of anti-

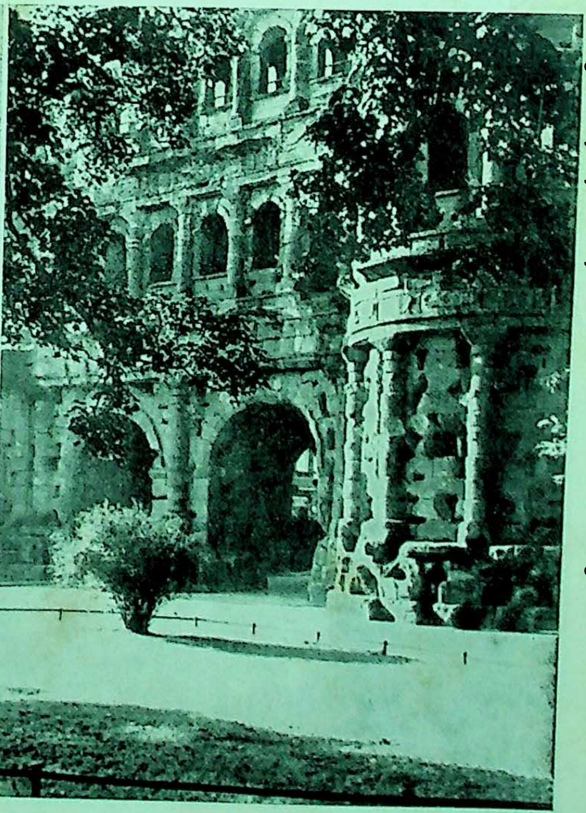
GERMANY



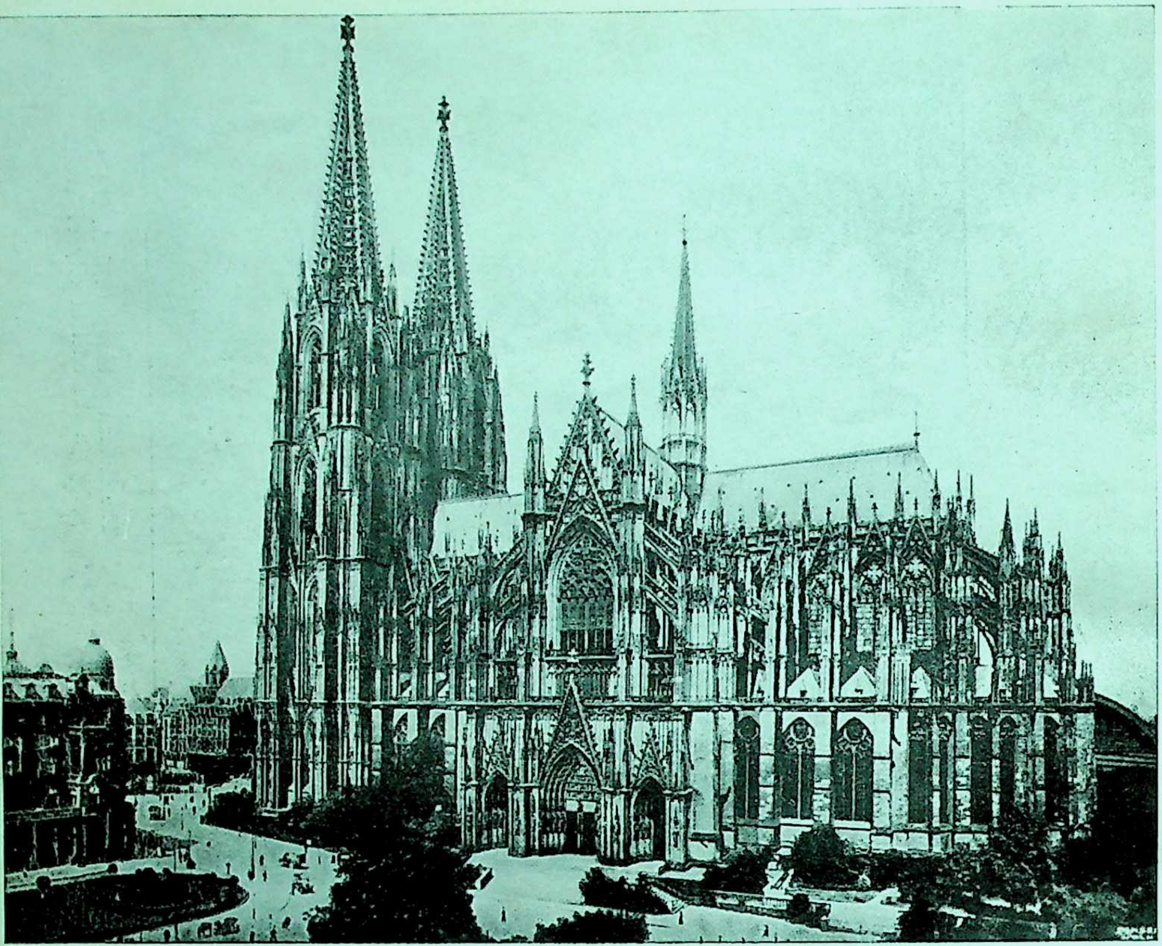
Burg Eltz
on the river Moselle



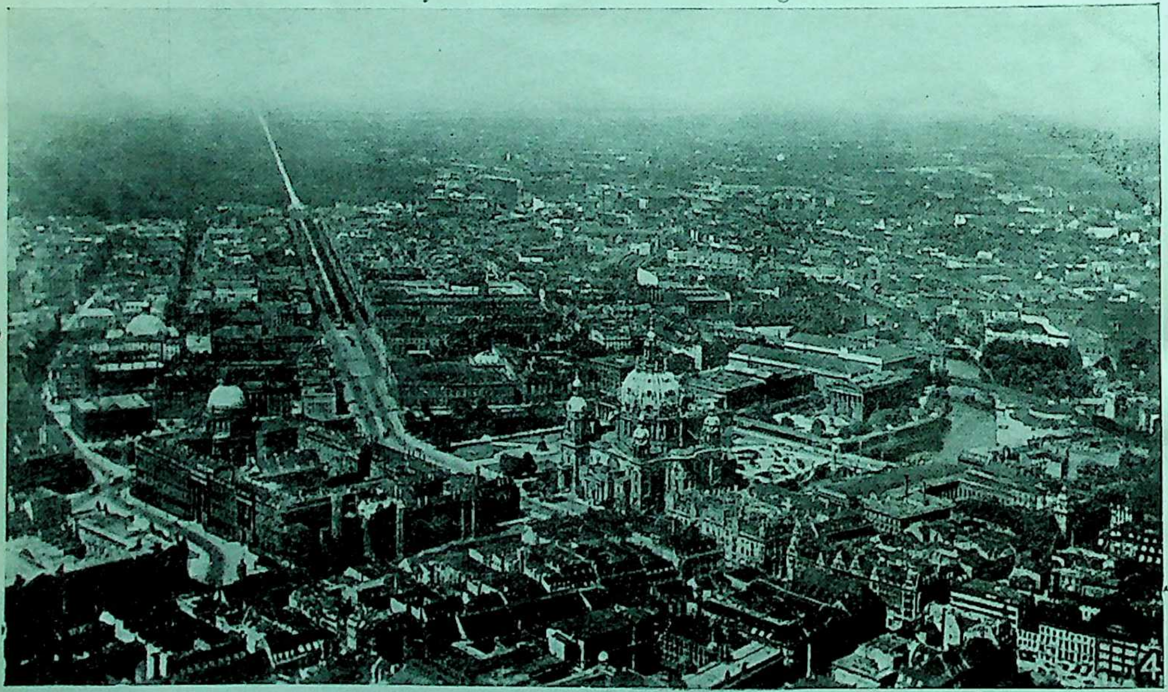
The west front of the
Cologne Cathedral



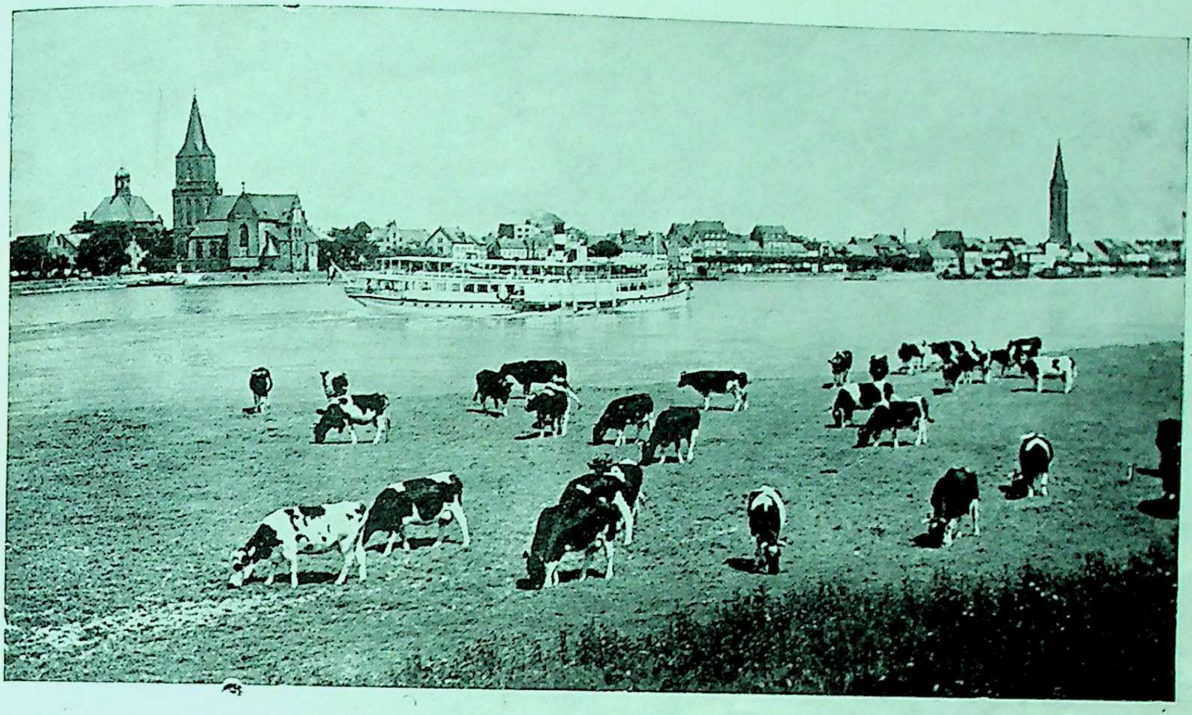
The Roman gateway (275 A. D.) in Trier
in the ancient city of Treves



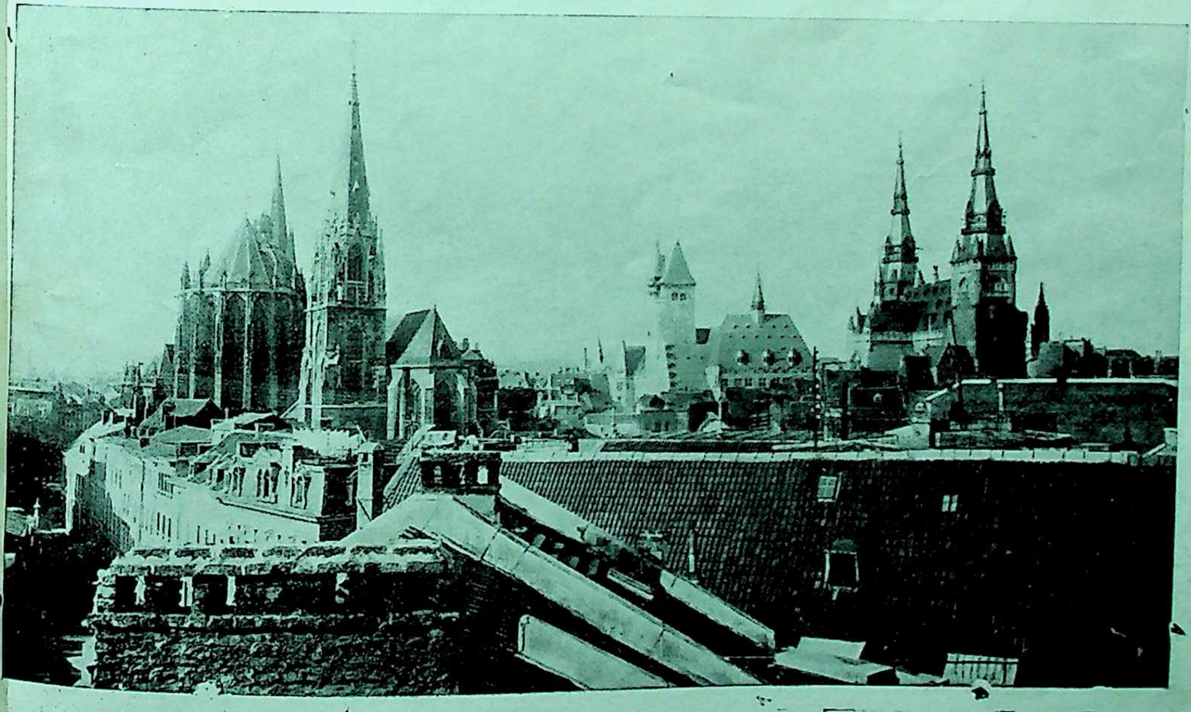
A full view of the Cologne Cathedral



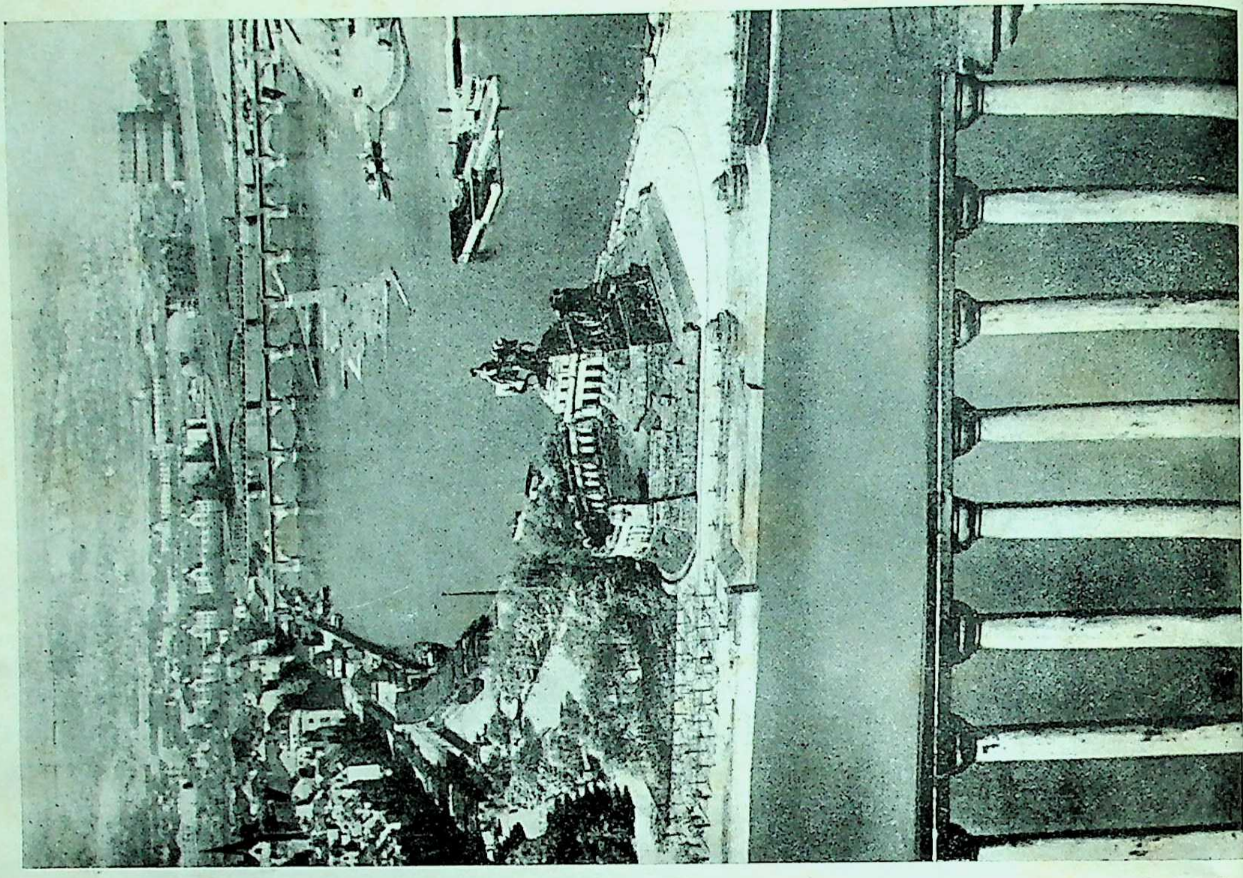
The city of Berlin from air



A view of Emmerich in the Rhineland



The spires and towers of Aachen



q
Vi
his
wi
M
no

its
wl
M

tra
Tr
up
su
tov
of
alv
tha
lak
ext

bea
dis
ve
mo
cu

tak
Nü
the
of
bea
fin
ins

a p
spa

quity. It is also the capital of the Moselle Vineyards and in its Wine Museum the whole history of viticulture is unfolded. In Trier they will teach you all there is to know about Moselle wine and with practical demonstration, not in theory.

There are actually vineyards in the town itself, close beside the Roman Amphitheatre which lies only a few minutes' walk from the Market Square.

If the journey so far has been made by train it would be worth while hiring a car in Trier and making one's way northward, climbing up into the Eifel Mountains (the roads are surprisingly good) to Daun, a delightful little town ringed around with lakes. One peculiarity of the lakes in the Eifel district is that one always climbs up to the lake. The secret is that this was once a volcanic district and the lakes are mostly formed by the craters of extinct volcanoes.

Daun itself possesses a noteworthy chalybeate spring. There is good fishing in the district and excellent bathing in the lakes. Not very far away is the Nürburg ring, the famous motor-racing tracks. Its 18 miles contains 172 curves.

Assuming that by this time the visitor has taken to the road he could fit in a lap round the Nürburg ring on his way north from Daun, and then get across to the Marialaach, the largest of the Eifel lakes, and surely one of the most beautifully situated lakes in Europe. A very fine old Benedictine Abbey here is well-worth inspection.

Then on northward again to Bad Neuenahr: a piquant contrast this elegant and sophisticated spa with its first class concerts, tea dances and cabarets after the simplicity of the little country towns and villages.

Two important hot springs have established Bad Neuenahr among the famous spas of the world, the "'Grosser Sprudel" and " Willibrordus Sprudel." The latter rises from a depth of 1,225 feet.

From Bad Neuenahr, a visit should be made to Gemünd. Itself a pretty little town in beautiful surroundings, its interest is enhanced by the fact that a mile away is the Burg Vogelsang, the leading training school for National Socialist leaders. It has been called the Eton of modern Germany.

Another little town which will richly repay a visit is Monschau, the famous old cloth-making town right on the Belgian frontier. Some of the fine patrician homes of the master cloth-makers of old are open for public inspection.

After Monschau the way turns north again along the frontier to Aachen.

Aachen, or Aix la Chapelle was a spa in the days of Charlemagne. Here he built his favourite palace and the marvellous Palace Chapel which still survives.

In the Cathedral with its odd mixture of architecture are housed some of the most precious treasures of the Church.

Like all the German spas, Aachen is a gay and fashionable place and gives not the slightest impression of being a resort for the sick.

From Aachen back to Cologne and the tour of the Eifel Mountains ends. It could be done in a week, but it would be better to take longer and to dawdle among the hills and the valleys with their quaint half-timbered houses and their many orchards.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, Ph.D.

I

To pay exaggerated compliments to the members of the fair sex has come to be considered as a necessary accomplishment of a well-bred man in society and an essential ingredient of his sense of chivalry. And in recent times the most coveted compliment for a smart, self-conscious, modern woman has been the recognition of her equality with men specially by the members of her opposite sex. A man not recognizing this equality is sure to be dubbed as old-fashioned, reactionary, conservative and inimical to progress. Women's Societies will declare him as the arch enemy of the race of mothers and if he does not take care to make amends in proper time by openly abjuring his lack of faith in women's equality he runs the imminent risk of losing probably the favours of his sweet-heart and such other female relations whose friendship he can ill-afford to lose. It is therefore perhaps that wise men at the helm of social and political organizations have found it politic to flatter women by showing disproportionate sympathy (at least verbally) to their cause and by going to the absurd length of offering posts and positions to women even when suitable female candidates for the job in question were not available and better qualified men were going abegging for the work.

To an objective student of social phenomena such an atmosphere is not only uncongenial for carrying on his impartial investigations but is positively perplexing if not distressing. A scientific investigator of social problems is much more ill-placed than a politician or a leader of society, inasmuch as he is debarred by the very nature of his calling and undertaking to deviate from the path of impartiality and truth. Much as he prizes and owes to the friendship of his female friends and relations, he would be failing in his duites if he were to compromise his conviction for the sake of retaining the friendship of his fair friends. Nevertheless, rather leave a paper in the eternal obscurity of the study than lose the valuable affection of a single woman friend through its publication—is a motto worth remembering even by the gods. And yet is it too much to expect from women, anxious to demonstrate their absolute equality with men in every walk of life, to bring to bear upon social problems that impartial and critical mind which has so long been regarded as the monopoly of man. The conclusions arrived at in this paper through observation and study will, it is hoped, be received by women and their admiring friends (among whom to be able to count himself as one is an honour of which the author is justly proud and a belief with which he flatters himself) with an open and impartial mind without indulging in irrational hysterics (a word said to have close affinity with *hystera*, the Greek equivalent of womb, a bodily organ, the possession of which is justly the proud monopoly of women).

It is not without purpose and intention that I have made a mention of the *hystera* or womb which to my mind is at the root of all the problems of the sexes in human economy. It is true, as the joint authors of the *Science of Society* say that

> "the fact that the Homo is a bi-sexual organism remains and will ever remain, one of the steadfast and inexorable ultimates of human life."[1]

And out of this bi-sexuality has sprung up two different types of human beings, man and woman, of which the latter is naturally weaker and less aggressive. The physical disabilities and handicaps from which a woman suffers and must suffer due to the peculiar biologica structure and function of her sex and generative organ, are too patent to escape the notic of any thoughtful man and they have bee emphasized with precision and ability by me of science. Campbell in his *Nervous Organis* says :

> "As structural complexity increases, the femal generative system becomes more and more complex. A this involves great expenditure of energy, and we ca clearly see how an ovum-producing organism woul benefit by being spared the additional effort requir for seeking out and impregnating another organism, a how, on the other hand, organisms whose main reproducti feature is simply the production of the spermatozo would be better fitted for the work of search and impre nation if unhampered by a cumbersome female generati system."[2]

---

[1] Sumner & Keller : *Science of Society.* Y 1927. Vol. I, p. 111.

[2] Campbell : *Nervous Organism,* p. 29.

> "No amount of reasoning, complaining and protesting can alter the fact that woman bears children and man does not, and that the former is rendered periodically weaker than the latter, not only by reason of the accompaniments and sequels of child-birth but also because of more frequently recurrent incapacities incidental to female sex life. Maternity is a disability in the struggle for existence and a special peril."[3]

Sedgwick has wisely remarked :

> "The fact is that sex, instead of being a comparatively unimportant and superficial difference between man and woman, is a deep-seated structural diversity affecting probably every organ, every tissue, and every cell of the entire body."[4]

But though the physical disabilities of woman arising out of the peculiar structure of her sex organ is admitted readily, the peculiar mental structure and outlook which result from the peculiarities of the physiology of her generative organ are perhaps not so easily noticed nor so widely recognised. The basic diversity in the structure and function of the female and male generative organs, we submit, produces such fundamental differences in the spiritual orientation and psychological make-up of man and woman and such a lack of common measures between them that it becomes almost impossible to compare the stage of the development of their faculties on any plane higher than the physical and to say with any degree of certainty that the one is inferior or superior to the other.

On the physical plane, however, the superiority of man is to be admitted by any observer of human behaviours; and it appears to us to be indulging in a piece of sentimental nonsense to try to make out a thesis that given the necessary freedom and opportunity (which is supposed to have been systematically denied to her by man) women could be men's equal in physical prowess as well. Even if it is taken for granted (notwithstanding all the evidence to the contrary) that there was any such thing as the restriction on women's freedom of movement in primitive society, the very fact that women submitted to such restrictions provides a proof of her inferior calibre. Such has, however, not been the history of early human society. Even in the present age (leaving aside the small section of upper class women in a small number of oriental countries who are still kept in seclusion) women athletes and gymnasts get much better facilities of coaching and practice than most men players and yet prove no match for the sportsmen of the sturdier sex. The following extracts commenting on what happened when two leading tennis players of the world, of opposite sex, went on the court for a practice set, may be read with interest and profit :

> "Our national champion then conclusively proved what the world's champion man tennis player could do to the best woman player by taking the set at love without the slightest exertion. For the first three games of the set Mlle. Lenglen played hard, then, evidently convinced that she had no chance, slackened her efforts and several times asked Tilden to give her thirty in each game. But he jokingly insisted that she was too good a player to receive any such handicap and played out the set."[5]

Instances like this may be multiplied.

This natural physical inferiority of woman is a feature of abiding importance to human history and an important factor in humanising our civilization. This physical disability imposed upon woman by the very fact of her sex has helped to create an aroma of sweetness and tenderness around the very concept "woman" whose protection and safety (even though these have often degenerated into subjection and slavery) afforded the greatest incentive to man for a settled and orderly life. But for it he might have remained a nomadic hunter even to this day.

With the onward march of civilization, to take advantage of this physical weakness of woman by man came to be regarded as cowardly and criminal with the result that women's capture and slavery gradually gave place to matrimony and wifehood. As an extraordinary projection of this social phenomenon is to be viewed the medieval institution of chivalry under the inspiration of which every knight "did desperate deeds in tournament and war" on behalf of his lady love "to whom he gave the devotion of his heart." Further, by the very virtue of the physical disabilities inherent in her sex women came to command a special measure of consideration and respect from man.

> **"The queen of Alfonso VII, besieged in Azeca in 1139, needed but to show herself at the window and the siege was immediately raised."[6]**

The measure of woman's respect and consideration won at the hands of condescending man is also doubtless the measure of the admission of her physical inferiority.

This inferiority is, however, no proof of lack of courage or bravery in woman. Woman's coolness at the face of imminent danger, her fearless bravery for protecting her offsprings from attacks of enemies and guarding her

---

(3) Hegar in "*Geschlechtstrieb*" on p. 20. Quoted by Sumner & Keller. *Supra*, p. 112.

(4) Sedgwick in his "Feminist Revolutionary Principle" contributed in *New York Times*, January 18, 1914. **Quoted by Sumner & Keller, p. 122.**

(5) *New York Times*, August 29, 1926.

(6) *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, Vol. III, p. 442.

honour are a commonplace of human history. In our own country the practice of Jouhar by Rajput women and many other practices recorded by foreign travellers like Marco Polo and Barbosa, in South India, give the lie direct to any suggestion to the contrary. But bravery and courage is a state of mind and belong to the spiritual plane and therefore should not be confused with bodily strength to which we refer when we talk of the physical inferiority of women.

Neither is the inequality of men and women in the sphere of intellectual achievement less marked. Not only do we search in vain the pages of history for the female counterparts of Alexander, Colombus or Napoleon but even in such professions of peace as commerce, industry, scientific discovery and artistic creation woman's standard of achievement is far below that of man; and yet it cannot be argued that women's failure to compete successfully with men in the inetllectual field has been due to the lack of opportunity which has been so systemetically denied to them by men.

Firstly, the man versus woman antagonism is a product of a very late period of human history, almost coeval with the emergence of the *laissez faire* theory in man's socio-political outlook. The system of (Purdah) confining women in seclusion (which undoubtedly curtailed woman's freedom and denied her opportunity to develop herself in many directions) in some of the oriental countries though undoubtedly an earlier growth in point of time than the emergence of *laissez faire* is merely a projection of misconceived medieval chivalry, a social phemomenon unknown to man in the earliest historical epochs. Man in the days of earliest human society (in the absence of a code of honour and chivalry) might have taken undue advantage of his superior physical strength over woman at moments of irritation and excitement but the abiding atmosphere which prevailed in primitive societies had of necessity been one of co-operation between the sexes. Eminent sociologists confirm the same view when they come to the conclusion that specialization and co-operation took place in primitive societies on sex basis.[7] So that if men came to specialize in works of one type and women in a set of works of different type it was not because men chose the easier or more profitable works and allotted to women the less attractive remainder but because it was found through trial and experience, that it was more convenient for women to perform certain works and to allot certain others to men. A thorough study of the history of the human race will convince anybody that the man has throughout the ages been a chivalrous animal. Notwithstanding his occasional indulgence in inflicting bodily punishment on woman (an unavoidable concomitant of savage life) the abiding sentiment existing between the primitive man and his female companions was one of co-operation and attraction (and not of repulsion and hatred) if for no other reason than this that her society and companionship to him were a necessity, and they satisfied a deep-seated and essential craving of his heart for recreation and love. The following extract will show how the primitive man apportions works between the male and female members of the tribe :

> "In East Africa the daily tasks of the native village in its original form were apportioned as follows: The men took upon themselves (*i*) the general conduct of the family affairs, both internal and in relation to the whole community; (*ii*) the herding of stock; (*iii*) the rougher works, such as felling trees and the breaking up of the soil preparatory to cultivation; (*iv*) the manufacture of household implements, utensils, and also the making of clothes and ornaments, including most of those worn by women, and of arms; (*v*) hunting and honey collecting and, above all, warfare. To the women fell: (*i*) the tilling of the soil after it was broken up, sowing, weeding, and reaping; (*ii*) the fetching and carrying of firewood and water; (*iii*) preparation of food and the milking of cattle."[8]

Surely this would not be the method of distributing works of an enemy who is out to deprive women of the opportunities of developing their latent talents.

Secondly, men who achieved outstanding success in the world had done so in spite of lack of opportunities and at the face of almost insurmountable odds. What opportunities were afforded to the Corsican lad Napoleon to facilitate his way to the throne of the Bourbons? What extraordinary facilities in education and up-bringing were ever afforded to the cabin boy Abraham Lincoln to enable him to reach the Presidency of the United States? In our own time the early lives of many great men simply presents as a record of a series of difficulties and obstructions. That they are incapable of creating opportunities and overcome difficulties is a sign and a proof that women are not made of the stuff of which worldly successful men are made.

Thirdly, women have been found incapable of competing successfully with men even in such artistic domains as poetry and painting and music where, at least the women of the upper and well-to-do classes, with ample money and

---

(7) *Science of Society. Supra,* p. 111.

(8) *Ibid.* Foot note, p. 137.

liesure at their disposal are much better and favourably placed than men; and yet where are the female counterparts of Goethe and Tagore, Vinci and Rembrandt, Beethoven and Wagner? Even in some of the professions which have come to be regarded as the special spheres of women they are out-matched when men enter those occupations.

> "Cooking and dress-making are to us of the present age traditional woman's work; yet men have been the most eminent chefs, and even the most outstanding designers and 'creators' of fashions—including women's"[9]

In spite of all this however, I would hesitate (after having known and observed what women's intellect and genius can perform) to say that the evidence adduced above is sufficient to justify to come to the conclusion that as a race women are absolutely inferior to men (as a race) intellectually. I would hesitate because I find that those classes of intellectual pursuits which some authors have termed *reputation-producing* have *not interested women* (at least to that extent as they have done men) and as such it is natural that we find lesser number of women going in for and attaining lesser degrees of success in those career-building pursuits. This therefore is an indication *not of woman's intellectual inferiority to but dissimilarity of intellectual tastes with man.*

The spiritual orientation of woman's mind is so different from that of man (due to the very fact of its being the mind of a member belonging to sex which has to endure the travails of motherhood) that it chooses for the satisfaction of its spiritual cravings activities which demand silent sacrifice, and patient suffering, and in those spheres men are absolutely incapable of making even a show of competition with women. *It is difficult to think of a single successful man in this world whose main inspiration and steadiness of purpose amidst the vicissitudes of life's battles have not been supplied by some nameless woman exerting and praying incessantly in an obscure corner of an unknown home for the success of her beloved protegé—may be a son, a husband, a brother or a friend.* If it is difficult to find a female counterpart of a Colombus or a Napoleon it is still more difficult (nay impossible) to find male replica of a Florence Nightingale, a Krishna Kumari, or the inspired Maid of Orleans (Joan) or the Royal Nurse of Udayapur (Panna). The heroism manifested in their lives are perhaps more truly heroic than the campaigns of Alexander or the exploits of Drake or Raleigh and certainly they are much nobler, but then it is not fashionable to record in history such deeds of heroism with that colour and prominence, perhaps because they lack in political interests. If the unrecorded heroic events of history were by some mysterious process, to see the light of the day, I have no doubt world history will furnish us with the names of more true heroines than heroes.

People who maintain that women would have succeeded in reputation-building activities as much as men have done had they not been inhibited by men, suffer from inferiority complex and misrepresent history. Women have not been able to equal in career-building achievements not because they were inhibited my men *but because they themselves could not find that solace and comfort for which a woman's heart hankers by merely defeating a political rival or creating a sensational newspaper headline* (which on the contrary satisfy to a great extent the will to power of most men). In certain countries and in certain historical epochs men might have peremptorily asked women to keep aloof from men's affairs and mind their own at home but the reason why she meekly resigned herself to works of less sensational type was *not because they were successfully brow-beaten by men* (*they were never such helpless creatures depending entirely on the mercy of men as they are popularly supposed to have been*) *but because the inner cravings of women's motherly soul found no satisfaction in manly pursuits* (*the modern craze for imitating everything male as dignified by women being an artificial pose born out of a misconception that whatever is termed womanly is undignified or less dignified*) and therefore *they of their own accord chose other paths of service and sacrifice* (*no less noble because historians fail to give them prominence*).

The hand that rocks the cradle might have actually ruled the world but *it preferred to get it ruled by the rougher side of humanity which was more fitted for and more willing to do this dirty business.* Woman was not therefore inhibited by men from taking active parts in public and military activities so much as by the fact of their sex and its concomitants. *The centre of her life's interest lies elsewhere than in creating a reputation and name in public—it centres round her sex-life which is much deeper and more complex a phenomenon than the sex-life of man because with it is indissolubly bound up the instinct of materinty. Maternity is born, Paternity is a product of culture.*

This explains also for her abiding attraction for marriage and family and whatever else the enthusiastic feminist leader may say to

---

(9) *Ibid*, p. 127.

prove woman's equality (which they often misinterpret as identicality) with men they cannot deny this central fact about her life, for that will be repudiating her very womanhood. The following illustrations may help to convert the sceptic and deepen conviction in the believer :

(*a*) A spinster (on the wrong side of 50), who despised the race of men (for having come in early youth in contact with certain men who proved to be false and dishonourable) and who has persistently on that score refused to marry (in spite of her physical charms traces of which are still discernible and wealth) was found to be the best unpaid nurse of young boys, girls and students in the neighbourhood whenever they happened to fall ill or require her help, her professed abhorrence of family (and even of society) notwithstanding. She was moreover maintaining at her place a family of five cats and a dog with care and devotion of a mother. *What man would yoke himself to such voluntary obligations* ?[10]

(*b*) A big robust girl (at least 5 ft. 10 in.) of about 24 years of age was a very keen aviator and apparently very serious about her business. It was her greatest pride to 'shock' her friends by saying that unlike the common run of girls she did not like to be a goody goody wife and bring up children and that the aviator's life, which has opened to her a new domain of freedom and joy, she will not barter for any other life. She came to be regarded as a he-girl among her friends and that very fact made her an object of close observation of a gentleman who was interested in the study of girls who are, it is supposed, going to occupy identical positions with men in future society. Time passed by, the girl and the man became friends : they addressed each other by their Christian names. It was a summer evening : they were rowing a paddle boat. Suddenly an aeroplane appeared on the sky, made a buzzing noise over their heads and within a short time disappeared in the immensity of space. 'What restless fellows these fliers—I can't understand how *you* came to like it' observed the man. 'Indeed,' replied the girl, 'but what else would you do if you were a girl and the man you loved were to disappear the day previous to the one fixed for your wedding ?' Big pearls of tears rolled down her cheek and it was only after some time that she regained her composure. The rowing excursion that evening was a failure.[11]

(*c*) "An official of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company has stated that a majority of their operators quit work to be married, after an average duration of service between four and five years. It is well known that telephone companies are obliged to train and keep available a considerable body of substitutes to replace such defections."[12]

Any one who has had the opportunity of coming in contact with girls in any University where, unlike in India, they are allowed to mix with men and express their views freely must have found it being freely admitted by the majority of the girls that the main object of their joining the University was for bettering the prospect of marriage (ostensibly by adding to their academic qualifications) but chiefly by availing the opportunity of coming in contact with desirable type of young men (with a view to matrimony). If this is true of educated and advanced class of girls how far truer is it not for their less advanced sisters who have much less scope and ability to keep themselves engaged in works other than those connected with family and household. This is so because the major interest of woman's existence centres round her sex-life with which is inseparably bound up her strongest instinct—motherhood and love :

> "Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
> 'Tis woman's whole existence."[13]

Obviously there can be no comparison between the abilities of so differently equipped and so dissimilarly constituted mental and spiritual entities as man and woman. He is the meditative thinker (Shiva), she the actual executrix and primordial creatrix (Shakti). He is for endless innovation, she is for tradition and stability. He is by nature a nomad, she a citizen. And all these peculiar traits of woman's character—love, stability and status-quo—are to be traced back directly to her mother instinct, the essential concomitant of her sex. *She is, by the very fact of her motherly sex, the senior partner in the process of creation, the first nurse and protector of the human race, the prime reservoir of human affection and love* and it is only through a long and strenuous process of coquetry and charm, exercised with all the native intelligence *of her race, that she has been able to bring her physically* stronger and more aggressive partner under her control and to harness his wild energies to the benefit and protection of herself and her progeny. *The gradual evolution of the human*

---

(10) Personal observations in Europe.
(11) Personal observations in Europe.
(12) Sumner and Keller. *Supra*, p. 121 (footnote).
(13) Lord Byron : Don Juan, I. CXCIV.

civilization is a steady record of the progressive super-imposition of woman's civilizing will upon the nomadic vagaries of man.

This imposition of woman's will (upon man) for directing the activities of man in channels conducive to human happiness and progress was however never endeavoured through superior might for the simple reason that woman never possessed greater physical strength but by a successful manipulation of that coquetry and charm, that sweet persuasiveness and that instinctive insight into the nature of pagan man (which is so amenable to flattery and indignant to coercion) with which Nature has endowed her perhaps to compensate for the physical weaknesses and disabilities accruing directly from her complicated generative organ and sex-life. The inequalities or dissimilarities of the sexes is a clever device of Nature to make them agreeable to each other and to enable them to live in comparative amity and peace. Man devoid of his cultural gloss (and often in spite of it) is a braggart and a vain creature, ever conscious of his physical superiority. Freed from the complicated generative functions (with which women are encumbered) he is no less conscious of his capacity to achieve greater success (than woman) through the exercise of his intellect. His stimulation therefore, to obey woman's request and provide her and her offsprings with daily necessities is directly proportional to the flattery and recognition he receives (at the hands of woman) of his superior ability and strength. His very sex has endowed him with an aggressiveness which has and will always refuse to submit before any force which woman may amass to enforce against his masculine will. That to him would be unmanly. He will readily undertake however, to do anything for woman if she can appeal to his masculine vanities. Schopenhauer has wisely observed that women as a sex destined to be the weaker (by Nature) are dependent not on strength but on cunning. This cunning, coquetry, sweetness, tenderness, dissimulation, refinement, craftiness or call it what you will, is in essence a womanly capacity to make a clever appeal to man to come to her help and succour to which man has readily responded in all ages and climes provided it did not lack in that feminine appeal. The all conquering Akbar was immediately turned into a brotherly ally as soon as the Rajput Rani sent him the Rakhi (the thread of sisterly affection).

In the light of the above observations it becomes easy to understand the true import of Rousseau's dictum that :

> "The education of women should always be relative to men, since to please men was the supreme object of their existence."

Or, Dr. John Gregory's maxim that :

> 'A woman should be cautious in displaying good sense, and should conceal any learning she might have, lest men should regard her with a jealous and malignant eye.'[14]

Admittedly there are in these passages traces of archaic carelessness of a bygone age in expressing in suitable language any reference to the fair sex defects which can be easily rectified by substituting the verb 'inspire' for the 'please' in Rousseau's saying and replacing the phrase 'jealous and malignant' by 'boring and disgusting' in Dr. Gregory's advice. This apart the correctness of the statements is difficult to dispute. When Rousseau said that the education of women should be always relative to men it might have been wiser and more equitable for the prophet of equality to add 'just as the education of men should be relative to women' still, if the women would permit me to put a kindlier interpretation to these words of Rousseau, it can be very well seen that in the very omission to say what I have suggested he should have said he admitted that women exercise more humanising influence on the moral well-being and improvement of man than *vice versa*. The worth of Dr. Gregory's sound advice to young women (not to parade their scholarship) cannot be over estimated knowing as we do how such exhibitions irritate man. It irritates him for the following sound reasons :

(*i*) There are very few women who are really so scholarly as to be able to add to the academic knowledge (or even evoke any interest) of their male friends and relations amongst whom they move or have been brought up.

(*ii*) Men are but too conscious of the fact that in actual reputation and career-making achievements (both through physical strength and intellectual labour) men easily surpass women of the same class.

(*iii*) Men of the intellectual class have enough intellectual work at their own place of business or office. During their leisure when they associate with women what they seek is not intellectual hair-splitting but relaxation and recreation. It becomes particularly disgusting when (and this becomes the case often) such exhibition of scholarship betrays extreme shallowness of the fair performer's knowledge. It is again not only the inadequacy of the knowledge of the lady in question that irritates. In exceptional cases this knowledge may be quite adequate, but the feeling of disgust arises out of the disappointment which a man experiences when he discovers in his female companion a third class imitation of the same masculine breed to which he himself belongs and with whom he had had enough to do throughout his day's toil. His tired and jade brain seeks in the companionship of women things very different to dry

---

(14) *Cf.* Prof. Jethrow Brown : *Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation.* London, 1917, p. 81.

intellectualism. I think, no sounder rule of conduct can be laid down for the guidance of a young woman anxious to win the friendship and admiration of her men friends than to avoid discussing at the dinner table Kant or Einstein, even Meredith or Shaw.

The dissimilarities of the sexes moreover point to the central fact about life, *viz.*, that the sexes are not competitive but complementary. The moment woman tries to compete with men as identical human beings in any sphere of activity man feels that she forfeits all considerations which is shown to her for the disabilities of her sex, and then with that aggressiveness peculiar to his species he ceaselessly tries (and stops not till he succeeds) in establishing that he is capable of registering superior performances in the domains of physical and intellectual achievements. The net result is that when women make the chief object of their existence competing with men in those fields they never attain to the stature of men : they succeed in making themselves tenth rate caricatures of masculinity—disliked by men, disowned by true women.

CONVENTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

By BOOL CHAND, M.A.

Lecturer in History & Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi

It is proposed in this paper to consider two questions regarding the conventions of the constitution, (1) why conventions are obeyed, and (2) how conventions arise.

I

Why conventions are obeyed ?

That is the question which 'puzzled' Dicey and occupied most of his attention. 'What is the sanction by which obedience to the conventions of the constitution is at bottom enforced?'[1]

He first gave to it what he called a 'partial' answer, that as a matter of fact the conventions of the constitution are not obeyed in their entirety. 'The invariableness of the obedience to constitutional understandings is itself more or less fictitious,'[2] and the 'special articles of the conventional code' are as often disobeyed as they are obeyed. To put it in other words, Dicey meant that the conventions that are occasionally disobeyed are only those which are 'not considered as true constitutional rules,' while all those conventions which are considered to be a part of the constitution are almost invariably obeyed.[3] Put in other words, this would imply that 'in fact, obedience to the conventional precepts of the constitution is ensured by the force of public opinion.'[4]

Although, as we shall show later, this answer constitutes the best possible explanation that can be given of the sanction behind conventions, yet it did not satisfy Dicey. He started arguing in a different direction, and came to the conclusion that 'the sanction which constrains the boldest political adventurer to obey the fundamental principles of the constitution and the conventions in which those principles are expressed, is the fact that the breach of these principles and of these conventions will almost immediately bring the offender into conflict with the Courts and the law of the land.'[5]

To support his conclusion, he gave two examples :[6] (1) That the rule that the Parliament must assemble at least once a year, even though not derived from Common Law or any specific statutory enactment, is obeyed quite rigorously, for a violation of it would involve the Ministry as well as hundreds of other people concerned with the government of the United Kingdom in distinct acts of illegality cognisable by the tribunals of the country. (2) That similarly, the rule that the Ministry ought to retire on a vote that they no longer possess the confidence of the House of Commons is universally followed, for a breach of it would again involve the Ministry in all the inextricable embarrassments which immediately follow upon the omission to convene Parliament for more than a year. 'We have, then, a right to assert that the force which in the last resort compels obedience to constitutional morality is nothing else than the power of the law itself. The breach of a purely conventional rule, of a maxim utterly unknown and indeed opposed to the theory of the law, ultimately entails upon those who break it direct conflict with the undoubted law of the land.'[7]

---

[1] Dicey : *Law of the Constitution*, 8th edition, page 435.

[2] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 436.

[3] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 437.

[4] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 440.

[5] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 441-42.

[6] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 442-46.

But Dicey's explanation, although seemingly plausible so far as it goes, is, in reality, very inadequate. As pointed out by Dr. Jennings,[8] the result thus elaborated by Dicey would not necessarily follow in the second case until a substantial time has elapsed : when the financial legislation and the Army and Air-Force Acts have passed the House of Commons, as they normally do by the beginning of July, the Ministry may remain in office without breaking the law at least until the following April. In any case, Dicey's examples do not exhaust the whole stock of the conventional code. It is not difficult to think of other conventions than the two mentioned by Dicey, which are obeyed quite as surely as these ones, but which are not at all supported by law. Dicey himself admits that, 'the rule that a bill must be read a given number of times before it is passed, is, though a well-established conventional principle, a convention which might be disregarded without bringing the government into conflict with the law of the land. A ministry who induced the House of Commons to pass an Act, *e.g.*, suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, after one reading, or who induced the House to alter their rules as to the number of times a bill should be read, would in no way be exposed to a contest with the ordinary tribunals.'[9] And yet a bill is habitually read the same number of times, and no ministry does normally think of changing the rule. Similarly all 'administrative' conventions could be broken without any fear of having finally to break the law and incur the penalties of a law-breaker.

Dicey's explanation, therefore, does not apply to all conventions. By referring to the 'fundamental principles of the constitution and the conventions in which these principles are expressed,' he, in fact, himself unconsciously excepted from his explanation all those simple conventions which do not involve any fundamental principle, but which are recognized conventions of the constitution all the same. But even within the sphere of 'fundamental' conventions, Dicey's principle falls to the ground in the case of the conventions governing the relations of the British Government with the Dominions. Although, before 1931, the Dominions were, in point of law, definitely subordinate to the Imperial Government, so that no measure of the Imperial Parliament, however flagrantly interfering with the internal affairs of a Dominion, could have conflicted with the law of the land, yet it is unimaginable that the British Parliament would have ever, in moral circumstances, contemplated any measure of that kind. Similarly, today, even though it is legally open to the British Government to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with any other country and commit the whole British Empire including the Dominions to such an alliance, it is hard to believe that the British Government would ever think of doing so.

It will, thus, be clear that Dicey's argument, although it applies to a few important cases which determine the relations between the Cabinet and the House of Commons, is, on the whole, extremely inadequate. It does not explain the problem as a whole. It applies even to those few cases because of the typically illogical manner in which the Bill of Rights changed the law of England in 1689. It divided the powers of government between the King and the Parliament in such a way that neither by itself was able to carry on the functions of government. Each had the power to hamper the other's activities. As a natural result of it, there came into being a highly inter-twined system of governmental authorities, in which each depended upon the other's co-operation. Since, in such a scheme, conventions developed to make that indispensable co-operation possible, naturally the observance of those conventions would be obligatory, for otherwise one factor would automatically come into conflict with the other, and ultimately with the law of the land. But what is true of these conventions governing the Cabinet system of government is, from the very nature of things, not always true of other conventions. Conventions do not always develop out of an illogical legal system. They do certainly develop in order to bring the constitution into line with the progressive changes in the political and social ideas of the people living under it; but that would not imply that conventions depend for their existence and observance on the security of the law: that would rather imply that conventions depend for their observance upon the security of public opinion. It is not, therefore, necessary that the breach of conventions must be accompanied by a conflict with the law of the land : in order that a convention may continue to be observed, what is necessary is that the breach of a convention should mean a conflict with the public opinion of the land.

---

[7] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 446.

[8] Jennings : *Law and the Constitution*, (1st ed., 1933), page 100.

[9] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, page 26, footnote.

The truth of this position was recognized as early as 1886 by Sir William Anson, who wrote in his *Law and Custom of the Constitution* :[10]

> 'But we must not forget that the possible violation of the law is not the only reason why a ministry should retire when it is shown to have lost the confidence of the House or of the country. Ministers are not only the servants of the King, they represent the public opinion of the United Kingnom. When they cease to impersonate public opinion, they become mere group of personages who must stand or fall by the prudence and success of their actions. They may have to deal with disorders at home or hostile manifestations abroad : they would have to meet those with the knowledge that they had not the confidence or support of the country; and the opponents at home and abroad would know it too.
>
> 'We arrive, then, at this point that the King as represented by his ministers must, by harmony with public opinion as represented by the members of the House of Commons. The legal necessity lits only in the background : it forms an ultimate sanction, which is not often present to the mind of those who act upon it.'

There is certainly a legal necessity, although, as Anson says, it provides only an ultimate sanction, not often present to the minds of those who act upon it, in the case of conventions governing the relations between the ministers and the House of Commons; but, as we have shown before, in the case of a very large majority of other conventions, there does not exist any ultimate legal sanction at all. It is wrong, therefore, for Dicey to lay down a general principle that conventions are obeyed because of the sanction of law. Primarily the obedience to conventions is due to the sanction of public opinion.

The same thing was said by Dr. Jennings, when he wrote[11] that, 'the working of a constitution implies an integration of many individuals. Each has rules which he must follow if he is to play his part. If the Cabinet does not resign when it clearly cannot get a majority, it will no longer have a tool in Parliament. Some officers in the army may possibly refuse to obey orders . . . . Some tax-payers may refuse to pay illegal taxes . . . . What is, indeed, certain is that they are unlikely ever again to secure public confidence, and if they wish to continue in office, they must overthrow the whole constitution. Similarly, if the British Parliament breaks conventions relating to Dominion Status, difficulties relating to the Dominions will at once face them.'

Public opinion, or what is the same thing, fear of social and political difficulties and complications, then, is the real guarantee for the observance of conventions, or, indeed, of laws themselves. Rules are normally obeyed because it is the habit to obey them, whether they are laws or conventions. When that is not enough, it is the prospect of serious difficulties that acts as a restraining and compelling force.

II

That brings us to the consideration of the second question regarding the conventions of the constitution, as to how conventions arise.

This aspect of the problem of the conventions of the constitution was not tackled by Dicey at all. In the introduction to his monumental work on the *Law of the Constitution,* he did analyse[12] some of the notable conventions that have arisen during the last thirty years; but with the theoretical question as to how conventions arise he did not concern himself anywhere in the book. The question has been tackled, for the first time, by Dr. Jennings in his two books, *The Law and the Constitution*[13] and the *Cabinet Government.*[14]

Dr. Jennings starts from the hypothesis that 'conventions grow out of practice, and their existence is determined by precedents.'[15] But that hypothesis is much too simple to satisfy him, for he finds that 'precedents, like analogies, are rarely conclusive.'[16] One often comes across cases in which well-established practices of over hundreds of years get suddenly dispensed with. To take example of two such practices : (1) Although from the reign of Edward III onwards the Convocation of the Church of England used to be summoned at the same time as the Parliament, yet in 1921 it was suddenly decided that, that was a matter of practice and that, therefore, a Convocation could be dissolved at any time without a dissolution of Parliament. (2) Similarly, for quite a century the king's speech to Parliament used to be approved in Council, but that practice was also dispensed with in 1921.

The conclusion, therefore, that Dr. Jennings comes to is that, in order to give rise to a convention, mere practice or mere precedent are not enough. The fact that an authority has once or even for a long time behaved in a certain way is no warrant for saying that i ought to behave in that way in the future, unless it can be shown that in acting in a particular way at any time the authority and those connected with it were doing it with a clear understanding and consciousness that it was incumbent upon them to so act. Precedents create a rule, because they are recognized as creating a rule. Practice creates convention, because practice is recognized to be normative.

---

[10] Sir W. R. Anson : *The Law ond the Custom of the Constitution*, 4th edition, vol. I, page 383.

[11] Jennings : *Op. cit.*, page 104-5.

[12] Dicey : *Op. cit.*, introduction, pages xlviii-lvi

[13] 1st edition. University of London Press, 1933.

[14] 1st edition, C. U. P., 1937.

[15] *Cabinet Government*, page 5.

[16] Viscount Esher : *The Influence of King Edwar* page 67, quoted by Jennings.

For the creation of a convention, therefore, the most important fact is that of its general recognition. A precedent becomes normative only when its existence and the duty to obey it are generally recognized. Now, general recognition may be secured in one of the two ways: It may be secured by the gradual crystallization of a practice into the form of a binding rule, or it may be secured by a definite agreement between the various factors to act in a particular way. Past practice, therefore, is not the only possible way for the creation of conventions: conventions might as well arise by means of a formal agreement between persons and authorities as to how they shall act in the future. We shall come to that, however, a little later.

Meanwhile, to go on with Dr. Jennings' argument. After accepting that precedents become conventions only if they are generally recognized to be creating a rule, Dr. Jennings feels that such general acceptance cannot always be proved, and yet occasionally one simple precedent may overthrow a long-standing rule.

> 'Until Mr. Disraeli resigned in 1868, no government had resigned on defeat at the polls and without meeting Parliament. Until 1932, no modern government had agreed to differ. Was it possible to say in 1868 that Mr. Disraeli's act was unconstitutional, or in 1932 that the Cabinet's act was unconstitutional? The approach to the answer to these questions indicates an important characteristic of conventions. They do not exist for their own sake: they exist because there are good reasons for them.'[17]

Dr. Jennings, therefore, comes to this final conclusion, that precedents create conventions simply because they have reasons of a general nature which relate them to the existing political conditions.

> 'The precedent of 1868 was due to the recognition of altered political conditions. The precedent of 1932 was due to exceptional political conditions. It was created for what were alleged at that time to be specific purposes. It was said that the question of general tariffs was not one of the main problems which the government had been formed to resolve. but was merely incidental. Accordingly it was argued that members of the Cabinet might speak and vote against the proposal of the majority, which became the proposal of the government. The precedent, therefore, did not change the ordinary rule of collective responsibility. It provided an exception to it, capable of application only when the conditions were similar. For this exception special reasons were given: they may not be convincing; but in 1932, as in 1868, there were reasons.'[18]

From Dr. Jennings' explanation above, it is easy to see that his insistence upon reasons behind conventions is very misleading. For if reasons alone, however unconvincing, are to be the criterion for the observance or non-observance of earlier practices, then, surely, no custom of the British Constitution, however fundamental, may for long be safe. It is not impossible to think of situations when even the King might be able to put forward strong and special reasons for using his veto or exercising any of his lost prerogatives. In 1914, when the Parliament was considering the Government of Ireland Bill and when the people of Ulster were revolting for breaking up Ireland into two parts, there was a good section of the British opinion that favoured the King's vetoing the Bill: both inside the Parliament and outside in the press, arguments were being advanced to show that the King's prerogative to veto a bill passed by Parliament was still in existence, and that political conditions being of an exceptional nature, the King ought, if forced to that necessity, to exercise that prerogative in the case of the Government of Ireland Bill and force the Cabinet to appeal for a decision to the people.[19]

From this it will be evident that it is dangerous to plead that a precedent becomes a convention only because there exists a good reason behind it. In the rise of conventions, the important factor is not the existence of a reason behind a precedent, but the fact of the general recognition of that precedent, the belief of the actors in a practice that they are bound by a rule. Certain small changes in the simple and formal types of conventions may, sometimes, be made by people in authority, as for example in the two instances given by Dr. Jennings of the years 1868 and 1932; but in such cases, neither the former practice nor the change introduced makes any material difference as to the working of the constitution. In the case of the practices of a fundamental character, reasons alone should not be sufficient. It is presumable that when a contingency arises in which general acceptance cannot be proved, it might be decided one way or the other by the pressure of public opinion, which may and would certainly be influenced by reasons adduced by the two parties to the conflict; but to say that reasons, although they may not be convnicing, would by themselves lead to the rise of conventions is surely a mistaken view.

---

[17] *Cabinet Government,* page 7.

[18] *Cabinet Government,* pp. 7-8.

[19] House of Lords Debates: Lord Lodonderry's speech on 2nd July, 1914. House of Commons Debates: Sir Edward Carson's speeches.

House of Commons Debates: Sir Edward Carson's speeches. *Also,*

Bonar Law's speech at Edinburgh, on 24th January, 1913.

Lord Halsbury's speech on 5th November, 1913.

(Both reported in the *Times*).

G. Wallas: *Our Social Heritage,* 1921, chap. X, pp. 227-8.

The rise of conventions, then, is ultimately due to the fact of the general recognition of a practice. But general recognition, as we said before, may be secured in two ways. It may be secured by reason of a long practice finally crystallizing into a rule, or it may be secured by means of a definite and formal agreement even before the practice begins. As to how it is secured in any particular country amongst any particular people would be determined largely by the conditions of life and the temperament of the people of that country. In England, for instance, where people are naturally compromising and less logical, believing only in tackling the most immediate problems and solving them rather than in working out long-winded and absolute theories, general acceptance would usually be secured by the first process. A practice would grow up unconsciously, would be followed unflinchingly for a long time, and would finally become hardened into a principle. Persons of authority would start asserting in their writings that the practice exists, and for all practical purposes the practice would be recognized to exist as an integral rule of the constitution. The same process has taken place in some of the Dominions. In Canada, for instance, self-government has largely arisen as the result of certain incidental practices followed for a long time.

But that does not mean that, that is the only or even the best way in which general acceptance for conventions may be secured. Amongst a more logical and less compromising people than the English, conventions would often arise as the result of a difinite and formal agreement. In Ireland, whatever conventions have arisen, have arisen by means of a formal agreement. The same is largely true of France. In India, recently, the Congress party was demanding a definite and formal assurance from the provincial governors that they would not exercise their extraordinary powers of interference in the ordinary day to day activities of the ministers.

This difference in the procedure for securing general acceptance for conventions comes into play not always on account of differences of racial instincts. Sometimes, in the same country, people of different temperaments prefer different methods of establishing a convention. It was in England, for instance, that in 1839 Sir Robert Peel thought it expedient before forming his ministry to ask for a definite assurance of confidence from Queen Victoria, laying down that the evidence of this confidence was to be two-fold : (1) That the Queen would dissolve the Parliament and hold new elections on Peel's advice, and (2) That she would agree to change at least a few of her Ladies of the Bedchamber on Peel's recommendation, for Peel was afraid that since all these ladies belonged exclusively to the other party they might influence the Queen's judgment against his own party.[20]

In considering how conventions arise, there is one more point which we must not forget. Whether conventions arise through practice or through a formal agreement, there is always a pronounced tendency for their ultimate codification and legalisation. This is particularly true of the fundamental conventions, because of their great importance in the ordered scheme of government. Even in England, most of the determinant conventions have already been codified : the relations between the two Houses of Parliament and the relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions have been legalised by the Parliament Act of 1911 and the Statute of Westminster of 1931 respectively. The relations between the Cabinet and the House of Commons alone have not been put in terms of law. For that the reason is that the Cabinet system of government is so well inter-twined with the legal system of the country that it cannot possibly be superseded.

This analysis leads to the clear conclusion that codification and definition or legalisation is ultimately the only way by which fundamental conventions are really secured. This definition may come first or it may come last. The process whereby it comes is comparatively less important than the fact that it does come. That is often forgotten by British constitutional historians when they complacently talk of the British Constitution as being unwritten.

---

[20] G. K. Clark : *Peel and the Conservative Part* pp. 315-25.
Queen Victoria's Letters, 1st series, vol. I, pp. 198-21

THE VISION OF HISTORY

By SHISHIR COOMAR MITRA

It is difficult to say when for the first time man felt within him the impulse to project himself on the screen of time by leaving on it the impress of his activity. But the fact is there that though his effort in that direction had not been so conscious at the beginning of his career, there has always been a tendency in him to give some form of articulate expression to whatever he felt within. Another phase that characterises the early mind of man is his passionate search for something that he himself did not know. It is a quest, as it were; a quest perhaps for the key by which to unlock the door of the future. But the future when realized becomes the present; and so the quest goes on to show that man will never be satisfied. The 'divine discontent' maddens him, and he feels that 'discontent is life, contentment is death.' The law of evolution operates in the organic world by bringing about changes which are more remarkable in the case of man whose mind distinguishes him from the lower forms of creation in that he could grow out of his animal stage to evolve into the human through the effort and the consequent development of the powers of the mind. The sights and sounds of nature, the vastness of the panoramic wonders of the universe roused up the imagination of man, and opened before him infinite sources of knowledge. And he started out to conquer them and master their secrets so as to make them useful to his own advancement. It was not an easy victory that he could possibly expect over his own nature, and over the nature outside both of which tried to bind him to his primitive moorings. But each obstacle in the way gave him an added impetus to exert more strenuously in the fight with the result that conquest after conquest have crowned his efforts and that he has been progressing steadily towards the acquisition of more knowledge and more power. In this way he laid the foundation of his great civilization. But man has struggled, and travelled long enough on the pathway of progress. He therefore stopped awhile and took stock of his achievements, and found to his surprise that it was not only he but the world as well has changed out of its old form. Thus with the gradual dawning on him of a sense of his inner powers and the widening of his outlook, his passion for knowledge began to increase. And there grew in him a desire, which deepened with time, to know how he and his fellowmen under different conditions and in different ages have played their part in the common drama of humanity. This longing for an idea of human progress created a new tendency in man to collect facts, and then gradually to record them. The knowledge so gathered soon began to be widely transmitted; and a sense of history dawned on the human mind, stimulating it to pierce the veil of the past. Historians and thinkers commenced thinking about the values in which history should be assessed so that it might fulfil its purpose in the life of humanity. They collaborated in defining the content and the intent, which are the objective and subjective aspects of history. Thus was produced a literature through which can be traced the varying extent of the impression on the human mind of the ever-growing vision of history through the ages.

Researches reveal that the earliest attempt to prepare royal annals was made in Egypt by the scribes who were engaged to describe the reigns of the Pharaos in pictorial writing on the *papyrus* rolls which have been discovered from under the Pyramids of Egypt where they were preserved along with the mummies of the kings. The code of Hammurabi engraved upon a diorite cylinder, giving an account of the reign of that historic King, is one of the earliest sources of Babylonian history. The Yahvist sections of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Samuel, written during the tenth century before Christ, are believed by some scholars to be the first truly historical literature of the early world. The central story in them strikingly coincides with that of the *Mahabharata*, of which the *Bharata Yuddha* took place about the same period. In the *Mahabharata* God incarnates Himself to crush the forces of evil, and thereby to vindicate righteousness. The authors of the Pentateuch to whom religion was an instrument of statesmanship, as it was, to some extent, to *Sri Krishna*, characterised Yahveh as a predominantly imperialistic God who fights for his people as fiercely as the God of the *Mahabharata*. The way in which these stories are told takes on the character of a definite attempt, on the part of the Semitics in Judea, and the Aryans in India, to record and propagate the stories of their struggles with the object of achieving didactic ends. China's historical literature, which is a section of her vast "Classics," is a wonderful production depicting in minute details the slow but steady evolution from the earliest time of the social and political life of one of the oldest peoples of history. The passion for inquiry (for which the Greek term is *historie*) and for accurate knowledge were the two remarkable habits of mind which the Greeks developed through extensive travel. No wonder that the Greek conception of history should be as clear as it could be in the sixth century before Christ.

With the shifting of the scene in the drama of history, gradually rose the rhetoricians of Rome whose dominant voice inaugurated through Cicero a new era in history writing. It was about this time that Livy brought his rhetorical gifts to the writing of a history of Rome, and Tacitus showed his artistic brilliance in narrating the story of the Roman Empire. History writing did not thrive to any remarkable degree in the medieval age when only dry annals and jejune chronicles were prepared, in spite of the fact that it had a rich heritage from the past both in the secular and ecclesiastical forms of history. But the later medieval period was marked by a tendency to historical expression brought about by the renaissance of Islamic learning, of which a notable protagonist was Ibn-Khaldun of Tunis who wrote, *inter alia* a *Prolegomena to Universal History*, which remarkably justified the view expressed by its author in the same book that the science of History is noble in its conception, abounding in instruction, and exalted in its aim.

The period of transition from the medieval to the modern time was signalized by a revival of humanistic learning in the fifteenth century when Italy played an imporatnt part through that typical Florentine, Machiavelli. His contribution to the humanistic interpretation of history was marked by his conception that, human nature being fundamentally immutable, human history moves in a regular curve with upward and downward tendencies at fixed intervals of time in the life of humanity. The writing of history was facilitated in this period by the discovery and elucidation of hitherto hidden texts which revealed many interesting facts leading to the Laurentius Valla's brilliant attack on the so-called *Donation of Constantine*, one of the central pillars of the papacy, and to Ulrich Von Hutten's rehabilitation of Henry VI from monkish tales.

> **"My object is the history of the human mind, and** not a mere detail of petty facts, nor am I concerned with the history of the great lords; but I want to know what were the steps by which man passed from barbarism to civilization."

So said Voltaire in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. His was the first attempt to write a universal culture history which was unique for its comprehensive treatment of social and economic as well as political and religious affairs of humanity of the then known world, including China, India and Persia. The supernatural explanation of events, and the descriptions of wars and dynasties were scrupulously laid aside by Voltaire. For this neglect of superstitious lore, and specially for his indifference to kings, he was many a time inhumanly insulted and, at last, exiled from France. Deeply impressed by the French Revolution, Kant thought that the whole meaning and movement of history lay in the ever greater restriction of pugnacity and violence, and the continuous enlargement of the area of peace. The foresight of this great German idealist towards the close of the eighteenth century is as full of significance as his pacifistic conception of history, which struck a new note in historical idealism. But the reaction on the European mind of the French Revolution gave birth to a romantic relapse into a blind faith in, and obscurantist obedience to, medieval traditions and customs. The works of Perrot, Digby and James were full of over-coloured glorification of medieval knighthood; and history became a biased narration of the activities of a particular phase that was past in European life. The dialectical movement in history, propounded by Hegel, passes through a series of revolutions in which people after people, genius after genius becomes the instrument of the Absolute, and helps in the process of the political development of the human race through the gradual realization of the idea of freedom. This is the evolutionary standpoint in history, and indicate how profoundly the idea of evolution influenced Hegel and other philosophical thinkers of the period. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of scientific ideas and among the various phases of the evolution of human thought consequent upon it, was a deep and active interest in historical idealism. Buckle may be said to have led this movement by starting to write a History of Civilization in which he expressed the view that human actions are governed by mental and physical laws; and that the real history of the human race is the history of tendencies which are perceived by the mind and not of the events which are discovered by the senses. The view of Droysen that history is the "Know thyself" of mankind, its conscience, was mystically but more sublimely echoed by the American transcendentalist Emerson, who said that history is the record of the works of the one mind common to all individual men.

In the course of his letter to the contributors to the *Cambridge History* Lord Acton said:

> "By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of soul. It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary. Their story will be told, not for their own sake, but in reference and subordination to a higher series, according to the time and the degree in which they contribute to the common fortunes of mankind."

There cannot indeed be a higher ideal of Universal History. Lord Acton may be said to have suggested the best pattern of World History. With such a noble vision of history before it began the twentieth century when interest was steadily increasing in the study of the history of the whole human race from a synthetic standpoint, so well-emphasised by Fredrick Harrison. The growth of scientific ideas and the development of international relations through the expansion of trade and cultural interchange extended the scope of human knowledge, and gave man opportunities of coming into more intimate contact with the world outside. He began to see the vision of the essential unity of the human race. In the beautiful words of Bryce, "the world is becoming one, and world history tending to be One History." This was indeed a most important fact in the history of human thought of modern times. At a time when the problem of world peace was not so acute as it is today, and the peoples of the world could, if they would, come closer to one another for mutual understanding, it was quite opportune that the thinkers of Europe should be clear in their stress on the need of a world standpoint in history so that it may help forward the cause of human unity.

But the history books of the world have not substantially changed their outlook despite the ideas that were so cogently expressed about what should be the mission of history and the historian. From Voltaire to Harrison, there has been a regular stream of thinkers who gave their interpretation of history in the best interest of humanity as a whole. But how can true history be written at a time when the clash of interests competes with the din of arms to drown the voice of reason and peace? Aggressive nationalism is shattering the prospect of human brotherhood, and history is being prostituted to base use as an instrument of selfish national propaganda. The history books that are being written today are conveniently suppressing and distorting truth to serve petty national ends. The most glaring testimony to historical distortion to serve selfish ends is afforded in modern times by the fact that even today when the myth of "War Guilt" has been dissipated by unbiased historical scholarship, history books for children containing those unfounded charges against Germany should still be current almost in every part of the world.

Indian History is also a sorry victim to the selfish ends of interested parties and communities. It has been rightly said that no true history has ever been written of India. And whatever of the so-called standard works on history we have of our country today are written by foreigners who betray an utter lack of sympathy for, and understanding of, her culture and society. They emphasise only that side of Indian life in which she is believed by them to have made no special contribution; in spite of the fact that in recent times Indian scholars have proved beyond doubt that India did develop in the past not only political theories of a very high order but actually built up States and Republics and other democratic institutions. It was given to a foreigner to declare that India gave the first internationalist in history; but the story of Asoka in the text books will not say that. The true fact about Sivaji, though fully substantiated, has not yet found place in our histories. Neither do they, for obvious reasons, take note of the distressing conditions of modern India. History is also silent about the cruel methods in which Africa was conquered and China was amputated. The black stories of colonial expansion and of exploitation do not find any place in authentic history. The result is that the oppressed are not allowed to plead their case before the bar of world opinion.

Historic justice is impaired in the method of treatment in many of the standard works on World History. Love of favourite theories not unmixed with other interests has weighed with many distinguished historical scholars in the matter of sifting and choosing of facts and events. It is unworthy of the historian to put his theory above fact, even when it does not stand the test of impartial inquiry. Nobody will dispute your starting with Greece when you write a history of Europe. But it will be betraying an unhistorical and short-sighted attitude if, when you speak of the origin and growth of Hellenic culture, you do not acknowledge its debt to the Orient. Asia including Egypt is the oldest in history to have excelled in elaborating all-round civilizations on her fertile river-valleys; and it is now a fact of history that culturally she influenced her neighbours, the Greeks in particular, in more ways than one. In the words of Will Durant.

> "Asia was not merely the seat of the oldest civilizations known to us, but those civilizations formed the background and basis of that Greek and Roman culture which Sir Henry Maine mistakenly supposed to be the whole source of the modern mind."

But few histories would say that from Egypt and Mesopotamia, Greece took the models of her famous Doric and Ionic columns, and learned from the same countries, her skill in sculpture and painting; that printing, alphabets and writing were first developed in Asia, and then went to Greece through her immediate neighbours; that Indian influence on early Greek thought is unmistakable; that the ideas of the Egyptian and the Babylonian scientists helped greatly to stimulate scientific thinking in the Greek mind; that the city-states in Sumeria and Assyria, and the administrative systems of Egypt and the village community in India were the prototypes of their more developed counterparts in Greece. The reason why these are not referred to in the history of Europe and that of Greece is obvious. To impartial antiquarians Asia may be the cradle of world's civilizations; but to the modern man in Europe, the Greek heritage of his civilization must be independent of extraneous influence. Perhaps things might have been otherwise, if all the countries of Asia had the power to assert themselves as free competitors in the game of world politics today.

The story of the evolution of historic idealism shows how almost from the beginning of his civilized life on earth man has tried to express himself not always to glorify his own achievements but also to find an outlet for what he felt within when the reaction on his mind of the surrounding forces of religion and politics became irresistible. The Pharaoh in Egypt must at his death be furnished with the story of his eartly exploits lest he should be deprived of his kingdom in heaven. The early Jews must propagate the lessons of their wars against the infidels. Through the mirror of history the Chinese must watch the procession of humanity. The Hindus must know the changeless Reality in this changing world; and history to them was the history of their quest for the Infinite. The Greeks must know the world and write accounts of their adventures. The Roman orators must thunder against the corruptions of their emperors. The Christians must give a theological basis to history to denounce paganism. And through the medieva times history passes to find its votaries in th humanists like Machiavelli, who wanted to fi the path for the march of man through th ages. But the efforts so far made by ma seem to have their exquisite flowering in th vision that Voltaire and the French Encyclopaedists saw of a Universal History of civilization. The vision was always there, sometime bright, and sometimes dimmed, till at th beginning of the present century, it becam clear again in the intellectual horizon of man and inspired him to give a shape to it. Bu the world-wide conflagration in 1914, blurred i for a time, and shattered all the fond dream of man, and with them the dream of peace an unity. In the midst of this darkness an despair, hope lies in the vision of history whic today emerges again from out of the surrounding chaos, as if in response to the call of th age, to illumine the mind of man, and, t beacon him to the path he has with his fello travellers treaded throughout the ages in th common adventure both in the inner and th outer court of his life on earth.

James Bryce has showed clearly enoug that in the dawn of recorded history, some si thousand years ago, international relations a ready existed on a large scale. He insists tha the world point of view—*Weltanschauung*— essential to any real historical illumination o the processes of society and civilization buildi from that day to this. He deplores that typ of historical approach, still well-nigh univers in conservative historical circles, which focuss attention upon national states, and portray their foreign relations in a narrow juristic an diplomatic framework. He contends th history, conceived in terms of the world settin devoting itself to cultural as well as politic achievements, might as well serve as one the chief instruments whereby man cou combat one of his greatest and persiste enemies—international war. And to this en it is to be added, the manner of historic presentation should be deep and penetrati enough so that it may bring home to the mi of its reader more intimately than ever th every movement that changes the social a political outlook of man is the outcome of number of forces and influences whose gene may be traced to some world-movement world-personality which is not in every case independent phenomenon. This sense of uni continuity and inter-dependence, so indispe able to a conception of history as a whole, can derived only by a study of that kind of hist which will be so written as to stimulate inw thinking by which to pierce the veil of facts and catch glimpses of the intrinsic forces of which the facts are the extrinsic manifestations. It has been found that these forces have in most cases been of extraneous origin; and that the growth or decay of a society or nation does not depend solely on the richness or poverty of its own power and resources; but that they are largely the result of forces which are not only unavoidable but are inevitably generated. So the historian is, in a sense, a prophet too. Great epochs in history are created not so much by the heroes with whom they are associated as by forces whose origin lay elsewhere. Thus, the Hellenic civilization was the sprouting of the Oriental seeds. The message of a Nazarene was at the back of the Holy Roman Empire. The Crusades had none the less a political motive behind them. Dante is commonly believed to have been the inaugurator of the Age of Renaissance but the event that hastened it was the fall of Constantinople. The history of the world abounds with such instances, too numerous to mention. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand might be the precipitant factor, but the immediate causes of the Great War are to be traced to the widespread imperialistic impulse to War in Europe at the beginning of the present century, and to the diplomatic situation with respect to the Balkans and the tightening of the diplomatic relations between France and Russia. So, to history more important than the immediate cause or causes will be the remote but more powerful force or forces that combine to actuate an event, or inspire a movement, or prepare the ground for the appearance of a great personality. Today when the world is more truly one than before because of the common interests of trade, and the quick modes of communication and transport, one nation cannot exist by ignoring the forces that affect another. Every movement in any country of the world is the joint product of the whole process of human affairs. It is, therefore, the right moment for the truth in the world vision of history to vindicate itself in the interest of human well-being, and of the peace of the world. But there can be no secure peace but a common peace of the whole world. "And a sense of history as the common adventure of mankind," in the words of Wells, "is as necessary for peace within as it is for peace between the nations."

What then should be the pattern of that history, the history of the future, which will uphold the world vision, and will at the same time be exalting in its intention and impartial in its content? The vision envisaged in recent times seems to indicate that world civilization, (the life-story of humanity with every aspect of its activity), should be portrayed as faithfully as possible in its proportionate detail, and that national history should be a record in world-setting of a particular contribution towards the welfare of mankind as a whole. Toynbee has developed the idea in his *Study of History* that for history the unit to be considered fundamental is not a "nation" but a "civilization." Nations are to be studied as variations on a single theme or as contributions to the orchestra of human civilization, which are significant as a harmony, but have no meaning as so many separate series of notes. The writing of history should therefore be motivated by this integral conception. History should not only reflect what actually happens, but should also bring to light much of what is hidden behind the visible phenomena. It should unfold through its pages that humanity as a whole has ever struggled, and is always struggling, to achieve a common goal. It should unravel the story of how from the earliest time of his life on earth man has been continuously endeavouring to reach higher and higher flights of existence, and of how, to that end, he has been creating and evolving each of the various elements of civilization which are, as it were, so many scenes in a drama enacted by personalities the prominent amongst them being the finger-posts in the path of human progress. These elements, the economic, the political, the religious, the philosophical, the literary, the scientific and the aesthetic, are so many different expressions of the one human mind, all of which history will first analyse with regard to their gradual development and characteristic features, and then co-ordinate in the synthetic picture showing that each is a factor in the common human adventure but each is important only in its relation to the whole. Here, the historian has to be a philosopher, since he will have to bring both his imaginative and intuitive insight to such a penetrating study of all these creative activities of man throughout the ages. Wars and exploits and explorations, history has had enough of them. Should they not now recede a little into the background giving the place of prominence to those real and inexhaustible springs of human happiness which derive their spontaneous flow from the creative instinct of man? Civilization is defined as social order promoting cultural creation. It is a way of living to fruitfulness; and not an end in itself. New History has heretofore an unlimited scope. The horizon of human knowledge is ever-extending; and the mind of man is ever active in expressing itself in a myriad of forms. The march is ceaselessly on—the triumphant march of Man, which history accentuates, and enlightens, when necessary, by the radiance of its universal ideal. Coeval with his first impulse to drawing on the walls of the caves which he inhabited is the story of man's effort towards self-expression. Millenniums have gone by, the same impulse is still there urging him on to the same end. In the world of thought man sees golden dreams, and in the world of action he gives them form. And history weaves its fabric by building bridges between the world of thought and that of action. The story is continued by every fresh step man takes towards the fulfilment of his creative destiny. But is it a fixed destiny that will fall eternally to his lot? Or is it only a particular stage in the course of his evolution? Whatever it is, man will strive on; and the Cosmic Vision in the history of his life-long and perpetual striving will open before him the vast vista of his future, leading him on, perhaps, to the attainment of his divine goal!

HINDI AS THE LINGUA FRANCA

By P. V. ACHARYA, *Madras*

The question of the establishment of a *Lingua Franca* for India has come now to the forefront, due perhaps to the fact that in seven out of the eleven provinces the Congress Ministries are working. The proposition of the adoption of Hindi as the *Lingua Franca* is being pursued by Mahatma Gandhi with the same religious zeal as it characterises his Khaddar Programme and the Temple-entry question. Already, two Prime Ministers of major Provinces like Madras and Bombay have announced without any reserve their intention to make the study of Hindi compulsory in their provinces. It appears as if the time has arrived when the question of the application of the Hindi or Hindusthani cult is to be enforced regardless of its impracticability for the cultural regeneration of India. It is argued by the protagonists of the Hindi cult that Hindi, if made universal, will unify the masses of the various Provinces. Thus the whole proposition of the establishment of Hindi as *Lingua Franca* pre-supposes universal compulsory education in Hindi as envisaged by the Congress leaders and Congress Ministers who attended the Wardha Educational Conference convened by Mahatma Gandhi.

Bengal takes legitimate pride in fostering only her mother-tongue Bengali which abounds in works of Tagore, Bankim Chandra and a host of others. So she is not very enthusiastic about introducing Hindi in her province. In Madras Presidency there is a widespread propaganda for counteracting this evil of the Hindi cult. The majority of Muslims resent this due perhaps to the fact that Urdu will suffer in importance if Hindi is made compulsory. Influential Marathi and Canarese speaking people of the Bombay Presidency are voicing forth their protests. People in Sind, Assam and the Punjab are also very pessimistic over this question. So, the argument that Hindi is spoken or understood by a great majority of people in India will not hold good.

Can Hindi after all successfully compete with English which has for over 150 years been the state language for India and which has been the medium of education? English is the only language which is current and understood in a greater part of the world today. It is learnt and spoken more widely than any language of the world. Its international character may easily be understood by the fact that it is current in the whole of North America, and is understood by many persons in many countries of Europe and even in Japan and China in the East. The vast knowledge and educational training available in this universal language is luckily available for us in India, which can be satiated and digested by the youth of our country in the achievement of the task of uplifting our countrymen. English has attained such a currency in India that we need not regret its advent at this stage of our national reconstruction. To banish the English language altogether in the scheme for universal education and to replace it by Hindi will be nothing but suicidal.

The waste of energy and funds to popularise the Hindi cult purely out of misguided patriotic motives and to copy in Hindi or Hindusthani the world's great works in Science, Art, Industry, etc., can be avoided if only our leaders deeply think before they take a leap in the dark. In the present conditions of the country which is yet to make a great way i progress, all this unnecessary labour and the waste of intelligence and money in the import of another language in provinces which are quite unsuited to adopt Hindi as the *Lingua Franca* or the state language can be avoided and diverted to more useful channels.

FOREIGN EXPERTS AND THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

The recent importation of two administrative experts from England gives us a clue as to the opinion which the Government of India cherishes about the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service. We for ourselves do not hold any brief for this body. But there is no gain-saying the fact that for long the reputation of this Service both for general administrative ability and for special knowledge of Indian problems was not only very high but it almost became legendary. Not only the British Government reposed the highest confidence in the ability of this body of civil servants but foreign visitors to this country also invariably paid eloquent tribute to their efficiency.

The capability of the I. C. S. officers in fact so captivated the imagination of people that even such a shrewd observer of men and things as Mr. Herbert Fisher of Oxford once thought it right to compare them with the philosopher kings of whom Plato had written. Mr. Fisher came to India in the early second decade of this century as a member of the Public Services Commission over which the late Lord Islington presided. He had thus an excellent opportunity of studying the Indian Civil Service at close quarters. Armed as he was with such first-hand knowledge, his opinion about the merits of the I. C. S. was accepted by many as authentic and true. Before a Glasgow audience in 1924 he gave it out as his definite view that if any administrative body of the modern world could be said to approximate to the ideal of Plato's philosopher kings, it was certainly the Indian Civil Service. No higher tribute could ever be paid to the honesty, integrity, impartiality and general efficiency of any administrative service. Joseph Chailley, a French publicist, who visited India in the opening years of this century and who on his return to his native land wrote out a popular book on Indian administrative problems also paid a glowing tribute to the efficiency of Indian administration as conducted by the members of the Indian Civil Service. No wonder that when such compliments were paid to the I. C. S. from far and near, a legend would grow about the unimpeachable integrity, the highest form of efficiency and the strictest impartiality of this body.

The Indian Civil Service was and still is the *Corps d'elite* of Indian administration. Until recently all the superior administrative charges were filled by the members of this corps. During the last few decades some technical services have no doubt been brought into being and members of these latter services have been allowed to rise to important and responsible offices in their respective departments. The Commissioners and Inspector-Generals of Police, as for example, are no longer recruited from the I. C. S. Directors of Agriculture and Industries have also been chosen, as a rule, for some time past from outside the sanctum of the Indian Civil Service. But still it cannot be said that the members of the I. C. S. are employed at the present time merely in charges of general administration. The Chief Executive Officers of the districts and divisions in the Provinces and the Secretaries to the different departments of both the Provincial and Central Governments are of course invariably chosen from the I. C. S. But these are not the only offices to which they are appointed. They are also employed as Income Tax Commissioners, Trade Commissioners, Development Commissioners, Collectors of Customs, Members of the Board of Revenue and in other highly technical capacities. It should be noted that the present Governor of the Reserve Bank has been recruited from the Indian Civil Service. The Auditor-General is also appointed, not unoften, from the same Service.

Naturally we would expect that when the offices of the Economic Adviser and Commissioner of Income Tax were created they would be filled by some members of the Service which had acquired such reputation and had such tradition and experience to its credit. But it has been pointed out in no uncertain terms that men of the requisite calibre were not available in the I. C. S. and consequently they had to be imported from Great Britain. Could we infer from this that the Government of India has lost its confidence in the efficiency of the Indian Civil Service? In view of the importation of experts from foreign countries, it is certainly not impertinent for us to ask if in the opinion of the Government really capable men who can readily adjust themselves to the varying demands of administration are not coming out to this country as members of what has been called the "Heaven Born Service."

The Government of India may point out that the I. C. S. is meant for the general administration of the districts and not for the discharge of any technical duties. It may even point out that the system of recruitment and the methods of training of this Service do not make it possible for their rising equal to the demands of technical posts. None of these assertions, if made by the Government of India, can be accepted. The I. C. S. has never been meant merely for general administration. And as it has been pointed out already they are even now appointed to offices which are highly technical in character.

Besides, there is the pertinent question that if an officer belonging to the Home Civil Service may turn out to be an expert, why cannot an Indian Civilian so turn to be? The Home Civilians are recruited on the same basis and are given training practically on the same lines as the members of the Indian Civil Service. So if the Administrative Civil Service in England can produce experts upon whom the Government of India may rely, how it is that the Indian Civil Service is turning out to be barren in this respect? It may be pointed out indeed that the members of the Home Civil Service remain busy with bigger problems and concerned with intricate issues. On that account their imagination may become more vivified and their knowledge more comprehensive, more wide and more detailed. But it cannot be said that Indian administrative problems are very simple today and do not draw out the best in the officers. Secondly, it should not be forgotten that the members of the Indian Civil Service have under the Lee Scheme the opportunity of visiting Great Britain at Government expense four times during their service in India. A civilian who has this opportunity and who actually avails this opportunity should be in close touch with the development of administrative technique in Europe.

In case men of the requisite calibre are not coming out to this country as members of the Indian Civil Service, it is high time that the Indian people should consider it seriously whether it is worth while to maintain such a fabulously paid service. The salary scale of the I. C. S. officers has always been very high. It was further augmented in 1924 on the recommendation of the Royal Commission over which Lord Lee presided. In 1921 Sir William Vincent, Home Member of the Government of India, was asked on the floor of the Legislative Assembly if the I. C. S. was the highest paid administrative body in the world. Sir William replied that until recently it was so indeed, but the emoluments of the Colonial Civil Servants appeared at the time to be greater. This was a grievance and a serious grievance at that on the part of the Indian civilians. It was, however, amply satisfied by what is popularly known in India as the "Lee loot." Today the British Civilian in India does not certainly suffer by any comparison with regard to his salary. He starts his career on a monthly income of Rs. 600 which rises automatically under the time-scale arrangement to about Rs. 2,600 a month. Beyond the time-scale again there are numerous posts which carry with them higher and far higher salaries. The maintenance of a service so highly paid cannot be justified in a poor country like India only on the ground of its efficiency. But now even this efficiency is not beyond question. If it is the deliberate opinion of the Government of India that it cannot put forth sufficient energy and talent for work of a specially responsible nature the Indian public must carefully search its heart if it should long continue to bear the burden of this body of civil servants.

That the best products of the British Universities do not any longer care to enter the Indian Civil Service has been admitted by many British publicists on more than one occasion. If they decide to enter the Civil Service at all as many of them certainly do they prefer the Home Service. There is consequently no denying the fact that the Indian Civil Service has fallen from its old traditions and men only of mediocre ability in Great Britain are thinking it worth while to enter this body. But although deterioration of quality is writ large on the Indian Civil Service, that alone may not account for the importation of experts from Great Britain. People may surmise that there are other reasons behind such importation.

For about 15 years past the Finance Member of the Government of India has been invariably chosen from the British Treasury. Sir Malcolm Hailey was the last member of the Indian Civil Service who was appointed to this portfolio. Even a man of his sterling ability and singular merit was not allowed to continue for long in this office. He was shifted to the Home Department and had to give place to an expert brought from England. Since the Finance Members have been appointed only from among those who have been nurtured in the traditions of the British Treasury and saturated with the ideals of Lombard Street. There may have been suppressed voices of grumbling against this practice on the part of the Indian Civil Service, but they have been in vain. If a member of the Indian Civil

Service could be appointed to the important office of the Governor of the Reserve Bank we do not see why he could not be appointed as the Finance Member. It seems that the reasons which were thought sufficient for excluding Indians very rigidly from the Finance portfolio might have something to do with the exclusion of even the British Members of the Indian Civil Service from this sanctum. Possibly it was thought that a Finance Member recruited from the Indian Civil Service might not have acted in so close communion with the ideals and demands of the British Treasury as a Finance Member recruited from Whitehall.

We do not know if the motive which inspires the appointment of Finance Members from the British Treasury has also inspired the importation of experts from Great Britain. Another suggestion has, of course, been hinted in certain quarters and it may be incorporated here for whatever it is worth. It is to the effect that not any administrative need but only the lofty desire to distribute some patronage which lies at the root of this appointment of British experts. Love of patronage is ingrained in human nature. No man however great can be immune from its intoxication. About a century ago Lord Macaulay told an audience at Westminster that even such a man of lofty outlook as Lord William Bentinck could not avoid it altogether. Practically all the important appointments were then reserved for the members of the Civil Service. He had himself no control over the recruitment to this service. But the post of a Presidency Magistrate was not so reserved and he was constrained to appoint a friend to this office.

Whatever may be the reason behind these appointments, they cannot certainly be justified. But they have at least one silver lining. They have succeeded in destroying the myth which had developed about the super-efficiency of the Civil Service.

SISAL HEMP IN INDIA

By J. K. SIRCAR, F.R.H.S., F.R.S.A.

Late Fibre Expert, Punjab Government

THE recent rise in the price of Sisal hemp in London has made Sisal planting in India an attractive proposition. From the extraordinary depression of all trades and industries in the world, the present year seems to have ushered in an era of recovery in prices for all commodities. Sisal, which was quoted at £12 a ton only six years back now stand at £28 a ton with prospects of a further rise. *The Financial Times of London Supplement* definitely stated in October, 1936, that there was a world shortage of 50,000 tons of this fibre. Several well-known British authorities at London predicted the likelihood of a world shortage of 80,000 tons this year. Africa, which used to supply a considerable quantity of Sisal hemp, abandoned some of her plantations due to the low and unremunerative prices it fetched six years back. To add to the difficulties of Sisal grower its use for the manufacture of Binder's twine for agricultural purposes, had to be curtailed due to the improvement in mechanized agriculture. Mexico, the largest producer of Sisal hemp, also suffered to some extent, but with the help of U. S. A. the plantations there were kept in bearing, and are doing very well, indeed, now that prices have gone up. Recently two big companies were registered at London to take up Sisal production in Africa with a capital of £3,00,000 a piece. These companies have already sold their output for three years ahead at £25 a ton, thereby guaranteeing a dividend of 7% to the shareholdeds. A considerable progress has been made recently in utilising Sisal fibre for the manufacture of Marine ropes, twines, hawsers, cordage of every description, cloth for road making, fibre-sheets, rugs, carpets, mats, door-mats, fibre belting, oil mill press cloth as a substitute of camel hair, nets, etc.; the waste fibre or tow for the manufacture of "Rayon," high class papers and sheets; and the green pulp, which hitherto used to be allowed to be wasted, and which is obtainable to the extent of 94%,—the fibre content including tow or short fibre being only 6%,—for the production of a high class fertiliser, organic fertiliser with effective Nitrogen content of 1.88%, and lime 19.3%.

This fertiliser was in great demand for Coffee, Orange, and Tobacco crops. It is probable that it may be utilized in fruit gardens and orchards, and probably in Tea and Sugar-cane cultivation. This was brought about by the Anami Research Station in Africa, the British Research Stations, and by private enterprise in India. The British Admiralty have found Sisal ropes as good for Marine requirements as Manila hemp. Germany has already discarded Manila hemp in favour of Sisal hemp for her Marine cordage requirements. In the circumstance it is inconceivable that Sisal prices would ever go back to the depression figure. The normal figure for Sisal in the world market was £20 to £25 a ton. This was the pre-war standard. There is little doubt that after the gap caused during the last six years in fresh planting, prices would go down to the normal figure within another 5 to 6 years, inasmuch as it would require immediate planting on at least 50,000 acres to meet the world demand five years hence. It is improbable that such a vast tract can be brought under Sisal within such a short period in Africa or elsewhere. In the circumstances Sisal certainly hold out the most alluring prospects to the capitalists in India.

An extract from a letter on the subject addressed by Dr. Harold H. Mann, D. SC., Former Director of Agriculture in Bombay, now Director, Woburn Experimental Station, Blecohley, England, to the writer would prove interesting. Dr. Mann writes thus :

> "I do really wish I could set the question of Sisal going in India. Only yesterday I was talking to the Deputy Director of Agriculture, Tanganyika, and he told me that the Sisal industry there is doing extremely well now. They can produce Sisal fibre for £14 per ton, and at the present time (February 28th, 1937), it is worth £28 a ton. These are the figures for fibre laid down in London. I do think that there is every prospect at present of a number of years of prosperity for a well-run Sisal plantation. In the past it has so often been planted on land which was no use for anything else, and allowed to get weedy, while it was never cultivated. Of course, the natural result followed, and the yield was disappointing and the concern failed. But there is no doubt that with a price in London of £20 and over for Sisal fibre, a plantation on well selected land would be a very paying proposition. I can see no reason why the price should not be well above the limit for a number of years. I wish I could help you push the matter. There is chance from what you say in the Chota Nagpur tract, and I wish I had the chance of pushing it. There does seem an opportunity for a profitable industry just now on the basis of the knowledge which our predecessors had not got. It would be a pity to miss it."

It is necessary to go into the history of Sisal enterprise in India to understand why the industry failed to succeed in some parts of India. It may, however, be mentioned here that two Sisal estates in the Chota Nagpur tracts of Bihar and Orissa have survived, and they are making decent profits even now. The history of Sisal enterprise in India is unfortunately very sad. This state of affair was not brought about by lack of enthusiasm, or want of capital, but owing to sheer ignorance and lack of knowledge as to the requirements of the different species of the plant in varying soils, climate and rainfall. Sisal was first introduced into India in the beginning of this century. The so-called Agricultural Experts of the day went through the texts relating to Mexican Sisal, as East Africa had not at the time started her Sisal enterprise, and made the planters and others in India to understand that Sisal did not require any care save and except putting them down, and that it would grow on any soil where nothing else would grow, and in any and every climate with any quantity of annual rainfall from 15 inches to 150 inches. This, as could be easily imagined led to the many failures at the time, thus making the very name of Sisal abhorent to the financiers and planters throughout the country. None of the Experts had any idea of the botanical difference of one species of *Agave* from the other, and the requirements of a particular species of plant in a certain locality. This was mainly the reason why the industry failed at several places. Had there been a single experienced expert at the time, this state of affairs would never have come about. India as also East Africa imported a few thousands of Sisal plants and bulbils from Florida for experimental purpose. The Sisal plant of Florida or Bahamas is quite distinct from Mexican Sisal or Henequen. Florida and Bahamas grow *Agave rigida var sisalana* whereas Mexico grows *Agave rigida var elongata.* The former has been renamed *Agave sisalana,* and the latter *Agave Furcroydes* by that famous Fibre Investigator, Professor Lyster Dewey of U. S. A. It was *Agave sisalana,* which was imported into India and East Africa. In India the Experts confounded it with the Mexican species and as a result made many a planter and financier lose a lot of money uselessly. Whereas in East Africa they recognised the difference between the two species, and found that while the Florida variety would do well in good soil, sufficient rainfall, and in good climate, the Mexican variety would require very little rainfall, and do well on soil where nothing else would grow without requiring any attention save putting them down. This was mainly responsible for the success attained by the East African planters a success, which has never been attained by the planters in Florida or Bahamas, whence the plants were first imported.

Years of patient research work has enabled the writer to find out this error of direction. It was in Chota Nagpur tract, and in areas adjoining it that *Agave sisalana* has been found to give very satisfactory results. The two plantations now working there completely prove the statement herein made. It has been found that Sisal would succeed in any of the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Sonthal Perganas, parts of Monghyr, Manbhum, Palamau, Singbhum in Bihar, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Ganjam, in Orissa; and perhaps in Raipur area of C. P. The Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Department of Industries, when Mr. B. A. Collins, I.C.S., was the Director of Industries, in a letter signified willingness to recommend any such plantation for financial aid under "State Aid to Industries Act" with a view to help the starting of Sisal industries in Bihar and Orissa. Sisal can be produced in these tracts at £10 a ton inclusive of all-in-costs, *e. g.*, shipping and freight to England. Vast tracts of land are lying fallow, labour is cheap and plentiful, climate healthy and ideal for Sisal and rainfall just sufficient for the crop. Experimental plantations in Sonthal Perganas, and Palamau, as also Ranchi have demonstrated the possiblity of the industry when started on scientific and rational industrial lines. It is a pity that no interest has been given to the development of this valuable industry in these tracts.

It may not be out of place to mention here that apart from the two varieties of Sisal referred to above, *Agave cantala,* the Bombay Aloe fibre plant, according to Professor Lyster Dewey of U. S. A., is the *sine qua non* of the Sisal fibre of part of Java and the Philipines. *Agave cantala* has been found to stand a rainfall of over 200 inches per annum, and as such it offers a great scope for its cultivation in Assam as an auxiliary to Tea cultivation. Tippera and Chittagong Hill tracts also offer considerable scope for its planting. It can also be introduced as a paying crop on the Western Ghauts of Bombay, the Malabar Coasts, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Its fibre is finer than that of pure Sisal, and fetches premia in the world markets. *Furcroya gigantea,*—the producer of Mauritius hemp, also grows at many places spontaneously, and would do well in certain tracts where Sisal has no chance of succeeding. But Sisal should be the first to be tackled. The possiblity of the Mexican variety in Northern India has still to be explored.

Sisal planting is now, indeed, a fine paying proposition. But it is certainly not a poor man's industry. To make it pay one should have at least 500 acres under it. Scientifically speaking an area of 1,500 acres would be required to keep a Decorticating (Fibre extracting outfit) set in full work. The *modus operandi* is to select a suitable site for the plantation, and a site for the factory. A good deal of technical knowledge is required to locate the site. Then to start out planting with due regard to cultivation, etc., on 500 acres per annum till the whole area is planted within the first 3 years. An additional area of 500 acres, if available, should be kept for future extensions.

The plants would begin yielding from the fourth year onward when machinery for decortication, etc., should be installed. The plantation would yield about ½ to 2/3rd ton of fibre from the fifth year onwards. A 2,000 acres plantation is estimated to require Rs. 1,20,000 in planting and upkeep at the maximum; Rs. 1,15,000 in building, machinery, implements, etc.; and Rs. 25,000 in reserve. Total capital needed for such a estate is Rs. 2,50,000 at the most. The returns within a period of 10 years is estimated at in fibre alone Rs. 13,30,000 less cost of manufacturing at Rs. 150 a ton at the most Rs. 7,50,000. So that by the sale of fibre alone it would yield Rs. 5,80,000. If the tow obtained from the bagasse is taken into account, it would yield an additional income of at least Rs. 66,000. If account is taken of the utilization of the green pulp obtained as waste for producing fertiliser, which by the way used to be sold in Coorg at Rs. 40 per ton ex.-plantation, it would yield an additional income of at least Rs. 4,70,000 after allowing a large portion to the estate for renovation. So that in all a net profit of Rs. 11,16,000 can be expected within a period of ten years on an investment of Rs. 2,50,000 if, of course, the plantation is started on right lines, and managed by an experienced specialist. The price of Sisal has been taken at £20 a ton the average pre-war normal figure. Co-operative planting by parcelling out the area of 2,000 acres in several blocks amongst a number of small planters is a way of developing the industry, which has never been thought of in India, though attempts on these lines are being made in certain parts of Africa. Their example in the favoured tracts in India may be emulated for the economic welfare of the people, and the country alike.

Apart from developing an overseas market for Sisal grown in India, Sisal growing in India would not only help the Empire in becoming independent of foreign sources of supply, but would help the development of many Indian Industries—both new and old. It would be news to many that a considerable quantity of Manila hemp and Sisal hemp are imported into India today to meet the requirements of some of the Indian Rope Mills. Indeed a firm of Fibre Importers in Calcutta approached the writer to put them in touch with Fibre producers—*i.e.* Sisal and Aloe fibre —so that they may supply some of the Rope Mills with it. In the circumstances it need hardly be pointed out how necessary it is in the interest of the country, and incidentally in the interest of the Empire, to develop this important industry. It is to be hoped that more attention would be paid to this industry, and as a result we shall be able to see very soon the realisation of our hopes as to the future of Sisal in India.,

PILGRIMAGE TO THE BLACK PAGODA

By K. G. RANDELL

Within twenty miles of Puri there stands one of the finest and probably one of the least known of India's many fine ruined temples, the Temple of the Sun at Konarak.

Yet of the many visitors to Puri few trouble to visit this monument of the past, explaining their failure to do so by a variety of excuses. Some profess to be daunted by the trying drive, others plead lack of time, and others say frankly that they came to Puri to laze and bathe and have no desire to journey sixty miles by motor merely to gaze upon a ruin.

There are, I believe, two ways of reaching the Black Pagoda, one by road, *via* Gop, and the other, shorter in mileage, along the beach. The latter is the most difficult for, owing to the streams that flow across the beach, and the lack of a road, one's only means of transport is by elephant or bullock cart and this, so I was told by one who had done it, entails spending the night at Konarak. In consequence the majority prefer the longer about 60 miles but swifter journey by road, which enables one to return to Puri the same evening.

It was by road that we set forth at dawn one hot morning three years ago and for a number of miles our way lay along the pleasant shady main road, the red surface of which affords a pleasant contrast to the glaring whiteness of the roads in other districts.

Our pilgrimage began in earnest when we left the main road and headed across country towards the now distant coast. Even so, at first, the road was quite passable and our driver, with the engaging recklessness of the Indian Taxi-wallah, hurled us around corners, and across dry river-beds, at a speed too great for the peace of mind of at least one of his passengers.

Through quiet, narrow-streeted villages, each with its palm-embowered pond, we passed, and by the peculiar fields where the *Pan* leaves are cultivated, each, with its forest of poles, looking somewhat like a Hop field gone mad.

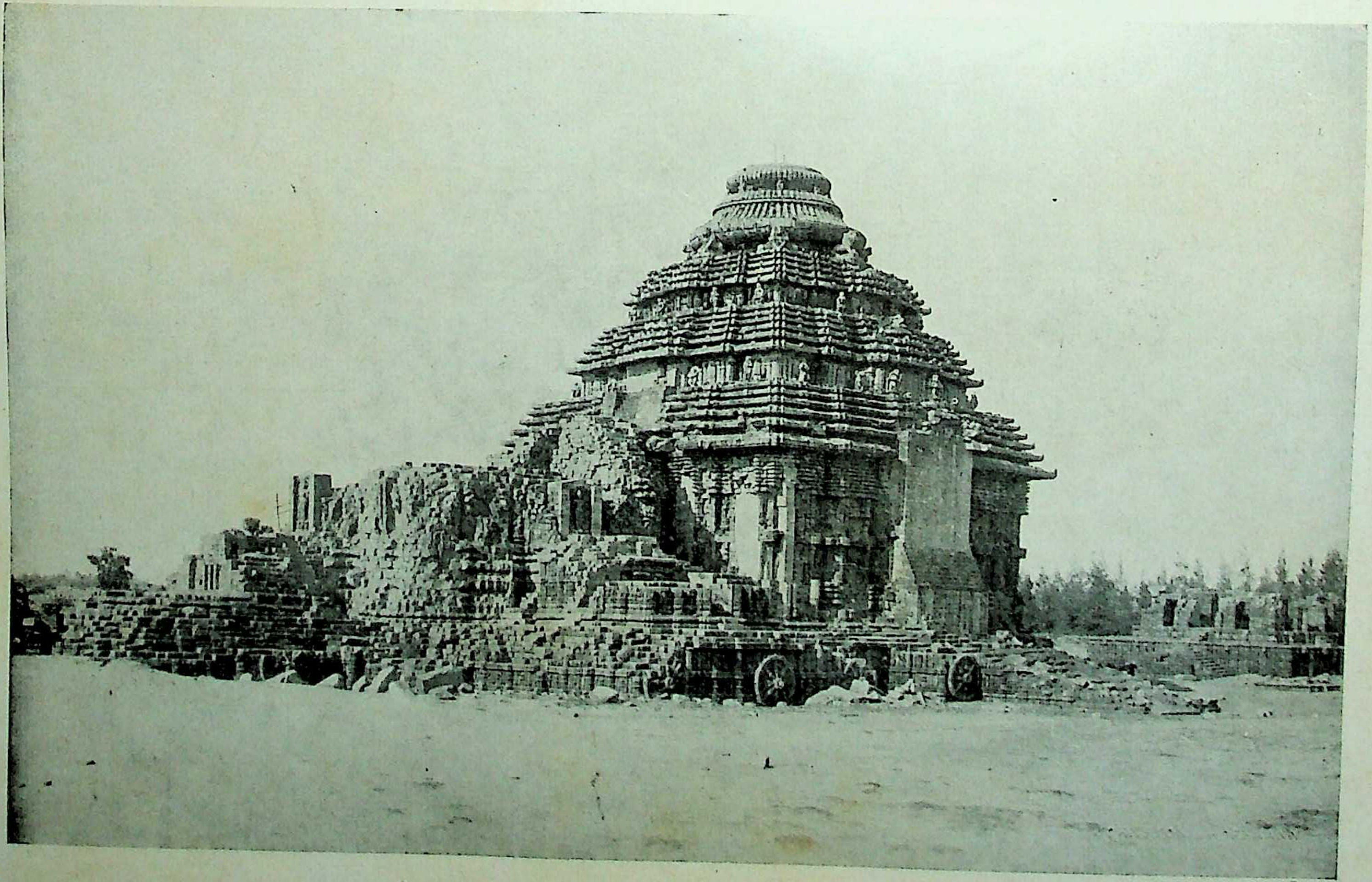
Through Gop we hurtled, and as we approached the coast the scenery underwent a change and the villages became fewer and smaller. Sandy fields and stunted, twisted trees bore witness to the sea-winds that shriek over the land, and the countryside wore that air of brooding desolation so common the world over, to low lying coastal areas Gradually the road became worse until we wer brought to a standstill by a section of roadway that would have checked a tank. However nothing could daunt our driver and wit a reassuring grin he wrenched the wheel har over and with a skid and a jar we bumped ou way down the slope and on to the rice *khet* that bordered the road.

Small bunds meant nothing to the trul marvellous car and she took them in her strid while the three shaken passengers grabbed th bouncing bottles and prayed that the egg in the gyrating picnic basket were truly har boiled.

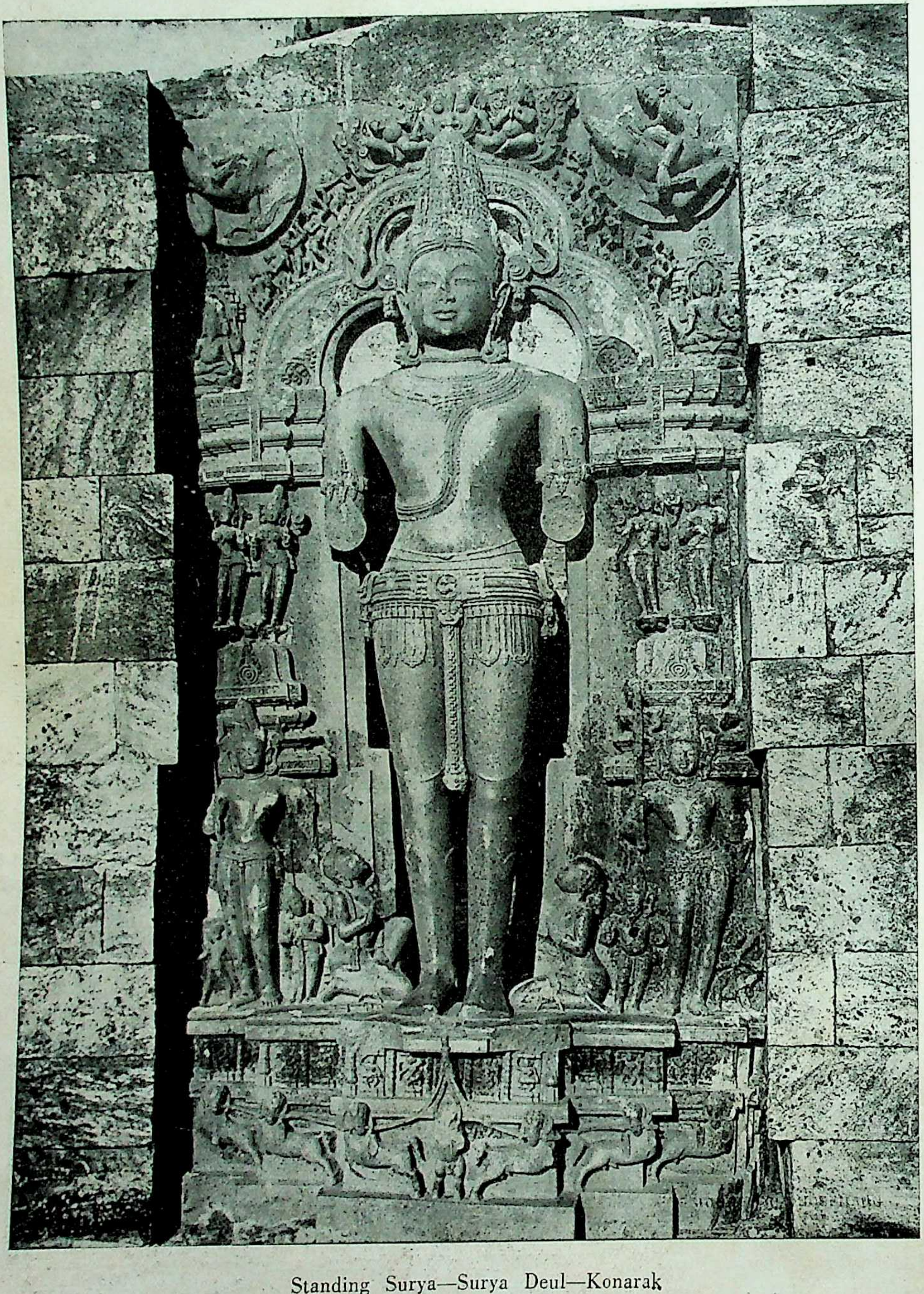
Soon, however, we regained the road an crept slowly onwards cheered by a clear vie of the tower of the Black Pagoda which, wit its terraces and carvings, stabbed the sk ahead of us like a fat and much beringed finge

THE BLACK PAGODA

The Temple of the Sun at Konarak



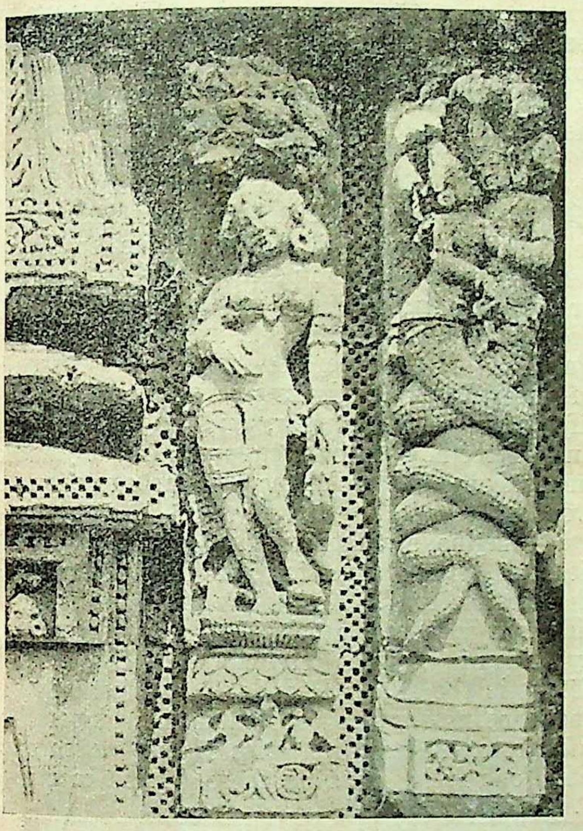
General view of the main temple—Surya Deul—Konarak



Standing Surya—Surya Deul—Konarak

At last, unable to proceed further, we drew up in a little village that, situated in a thick grove of palms and tamarisk, huddled in the lee of the towering sand-dunes.

Our arrival was distinctly an event of much importance and the villagers promptly ceased work and gathered round us, displaying a flattering, though slightly embarrassing, curiosity regarding our past and future.



A female figure and *Nagas* and *Naginis* on a vast pedestal—Konarak

Having dusted ourselves we questioned our audience regarding the distance to the Temple. Opinion differed and at one time strife seemed imminent between the supporters of the One Mile Theory and the One and a Half Milers. However public opinion veered strongly to the One Mile Theory and with that we had to rest content, although one member of the party was heard to mutter "Irish Mile" as he gazed across the sand-dunes to where the temple danced and quivered in the heat haze.

It was interesting to discover that many of the villagers had never visited the ruins, although they had spent their lives within a short distance of them, and many seemed to know nothing about them nor did they evince much interest. To them the temple was a piece of the landscape that had always been there and always would be.

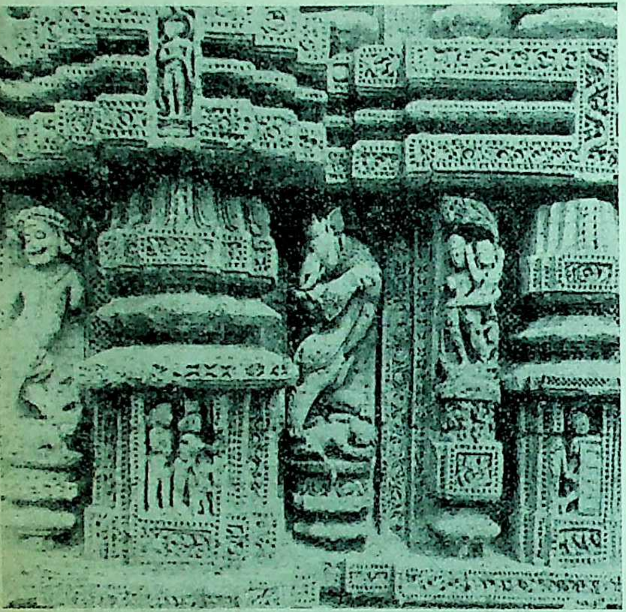
A female figure—Konarak

We were now faced with the problem of transporting a weighty picnic basket and in this our hitherto infallible driver could give us no help. One glimpse of the baking expanse of sand, that lay between our shady parking ground and our goal, cured him of all desire to visit the ruins, and, muttering a few words regarding the necessity of watching his car, he stretched himself out on the front seat and went into a Yoga-like trance.

An offer of eight annas each for two

A scene of elephant hunting—Konarak

carriers brought the whole village swooping down upon us and it was only with difficulty, and the help of a bearded patriarch, that two suitable helpers were chosen. A rupee to the patriarch, some sweets and apples (unknown luxuries) to the children, and a tin of cigarettes among the disappointed would-be-carriers and all was peace again and, escorted by the whole village, we set off on the last stage of our pilgrimage.



Figures of imaginary animals on the pedestal

Although it was barely ten o'clock, the heat was terrific and we prayed that the estimated distance of one mile was correct. Hotter grew the sun, deeper became the sand, and slower became our progress until, having progressed at least a mile, a halt was called for liquid refreshment.

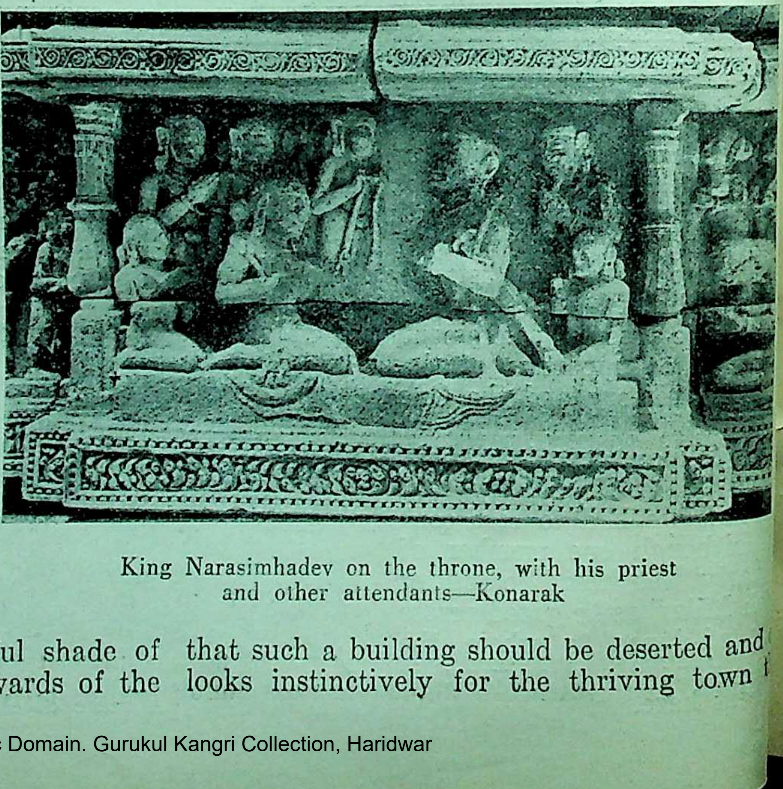
One by one our followers had deserted us and the sandy waste behind us was dotted with the figures of those who returned to the restful shade of the village. With a sigh we again ploughed onward accompanied by the patriarch, who still clung to us faithfully, who enlivened our trek with marvellous—but probably untrue—tales of the temple's past glories.

At last we reached the grateful shade of the little wood that grows to sea-wards of the temple and there, seating ourselves on a he of carved and scattered masonry, we paus and gazed around us.

Before us towered the object of our p grimage, the great breath-catching mass of t Black Pagoda, behind us roared the surf, a all about us the air danced and shimmer above the baking sand-dunes. For a while remained silent, gazing across the sun-fill court—or dry lake—that surrounds the Temp hardly able to grasp the fact that we were last looking upon the Black Pagoda.

For there was an air of unreality abo the whole scene and the huge Temple, bla and solid as it is, seemed too dreamlike to real. None of us had hitherto seen an Indi ruined temple and this perfect building, batter and ruined as it is, was all that we had ev dreamed or imagined. Somehow the Bla Pagoda is *too* perfect—such an intrusi of fairyland and dreams-come-true into r life is too overpowering, and one is so aw and overcome that one leaves with but jumbl impressions and a feeling of uncomprehendi wonder.

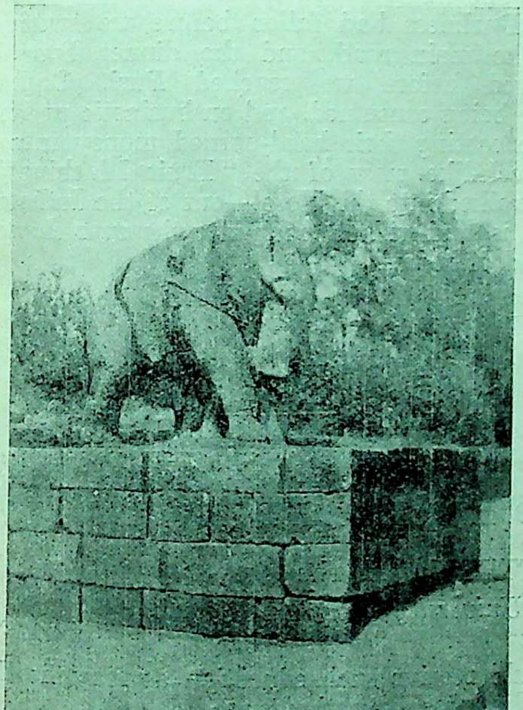
Imagine a waste of sand-dunes, wild a deserted, silent save for the subdued roar the tireless surf. And there, in the midst this sun-drenched desolation, towers a migh symbol of a great civilization. Carved a fantastic the Black Pagoda soars upwards i the blinding sky, and one talks in whispers h afraid to disturb the priests and worshipp who, one feels, *must* be there. It is incredi that such a building should be deserted and looks instinctively for the thriving town



King Narasimhadev on the throne, with his priest and other attendants—Konarak should surround it . . . . . and sees nothing but the wastes of sand.

Gradually we became accustomed to the silence and emptiness, and it was with a distinct sense of shock that we saw a man round a corner of the mighty plinth hasten towards us. The newcomer was the Government Caretaker, the only dweller in this holy, haunted spot—truly no place for those overburdened with imagination—eager to show us the wonders of his charge. Gladly we followed him, accompanied by the Patriarch, slightly jealous of the newcomer, across the court to the Temple of the Sun.

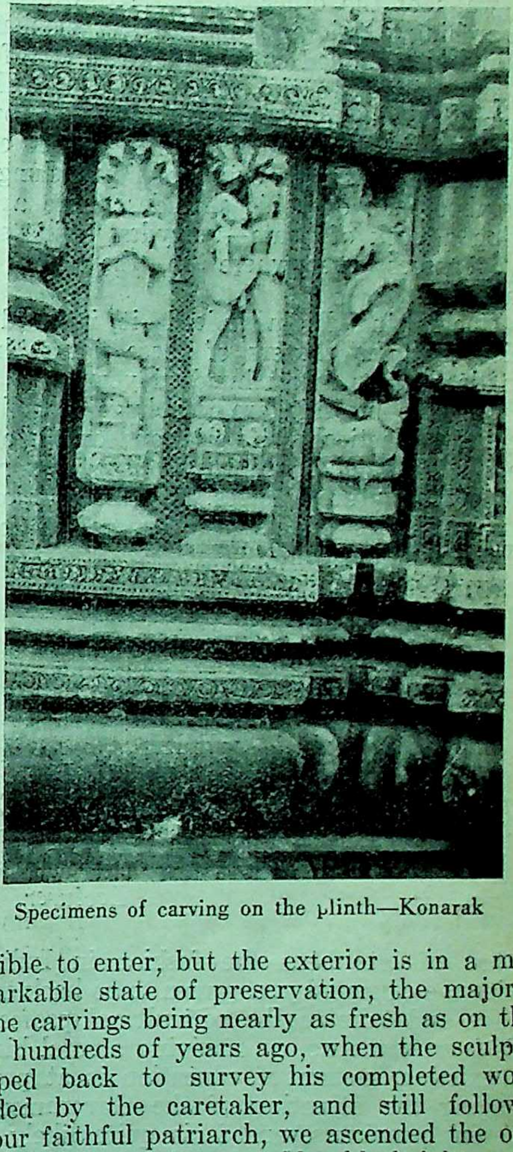
So much has been written, by experts, about this remarkable ruin that it would be superfluous for a mere tripper, knowing little about the temple's past and less about Archæology, to do more than give a brief description of the wonders that greet one on every side.



A monolithic elephant—Konarak

The main body of the temple, with its soaring tower, stands upon a mighty plinth, the sides of which are profusely carved with a multitude of human and animal figures ranging in size from more than life-size to figures, perfect in every detail, of microscopic size.

The Temple is built in the form of a colossal Temple Car, or chariot and placed at intervals along the sides of the plinth are huge stone wheels, of about ten feet diameter, each of which is covered with masses of intricate and delicate carving. The interior of the temple is in ruins and it is now no longer possible to enter, but the exterior is in a most remarkable state of preservation, the majority of the carvings being nearly as fresh as on that day, hundreds of years ago, when the sculptor stepped back to survey his completed work. Guided by the caretaker, and still followed by our faithful patriarch, we ascended the outside of the tower to a considerable height, passing a huge image that, to a layman, looks strangely like a statue from Ancient Egypt. All around us were huge carvings of gods, goddesses, men, women, and heraldic monsters writhing and twisting upon the walls. Everywhere are figures and it is not hard to believe the legend that it took over two hundred years to complete the carvings.



Specimens of carving on the plinth—Konarak

The ruins stand in the centre of a shallow depression, the walled sides of which lend colour to the theory that it was at one time an artificial lake, and as well as the main Temple there are several small temples, or shrines, some completely ruined but two in nearly perfect condition. One of these is most exquisitely carved with figures of female dancers in action and repose—gems of art, vibrant with life. The walls of the other are covered with lines of marching warriors, bedizened war elephants, and lines of subdued enemies, and country folk, bringing tribute to the victorious king. Here a man bearing two fowls, swinging head downwards from his hand, there a laden bullock cart. Here a man bearing two jars of liquid slung on a bamboo pole over his shoulder, there a girl driving a flock of goats—everyday sights such as one sees everywhere in the India of today.

Unchanging India indeed—it is hard to realise that the carvers of these figures have been dead these many hundred years.

Set side by side are two huge monolithic elephants, practically life-size, and on the other side of the temple are to be seen two marvellously sculptured horses, no whit inferior to many examples of classical art to be found in European museums.

Tiredness and thirst were forgotten and was with regret that, noticing the rapidly d clining sun, we tore ourselves from the Bla Pagoda, having seen not one quarter of i wonders, and all fully resolved to come again

Accompanied by our carriers, who h slept stolidly in the shade all day, and our tir less patriarch, we set off across the dunes an despite our tiredness, made much better tim Once again the villagers turned out *en mas* to greet us and it was with regret that we wav farewell to these kindly village folk who h given us such a friendly reception.

Our driver was standing no nonsense fro the road and we clung to our seats and hop for the best. Behind us, thrusting upwards in the yellowing evening sky, loomed the tow of the Black Pagoda—lonely, awe-inspirin and mysterious—and many a glance was ca at it and many a vow made to come again.

Darkness had fallen before we swung to the main road, and the dinner hour h arrived before we reached Puri. Cocktai were being consumed, and enthusiastic optimis were casting their hard-earned money into t Moloch-like maw of the "Fruit Machine," we walked into the Hotel—out of the India th was, is, and will be, back into the ever changi world of today.

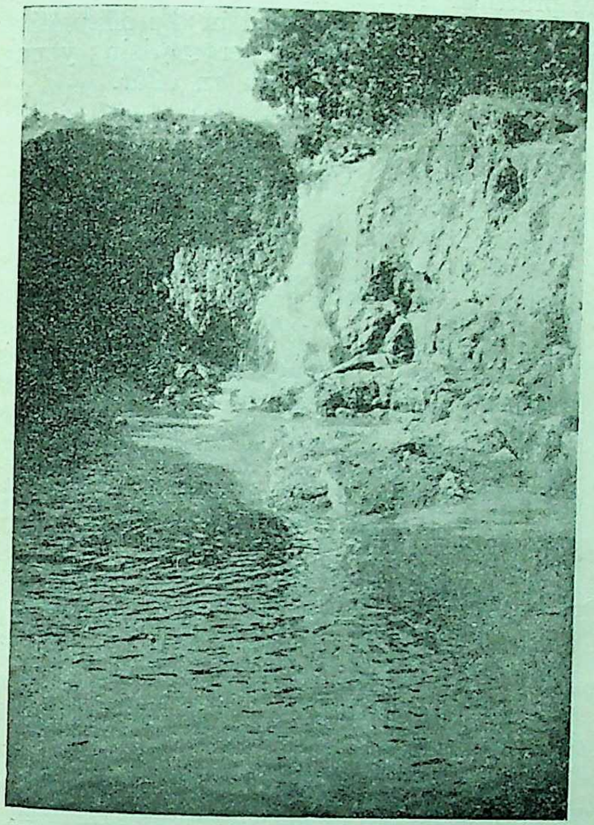
EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT AND LARGE-SCALE FARMING

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

Lecturer, Lucknow University

It has of late been the fashion in India to advise the educated young men to go back to the village and take to the agricultural profession. This is why the policy of giving a rural bias to the existing system of education is at present engaging the attention of the Government in different provinces, and it is quite likely that before long the whole educational system in, at least, the primary and secondary stages may undergo a thorough overhauling. In the Congress provinces at any rate, the nationalist leaders have already urged the government to undertake a drastic reform of education so as to make it more practical and less literary. The basic idea behind all this talk of reform is that in these days of acute unemployment our boys should receive such education as may fit th for business, or agriculture.

The cry of "Back to the village" is natural reaction to the growing unemploym in the urban areas, but those who are fond recommending agriculture as a suitable p fession for educated youths forget more of than not that in these days of country-w agricultural depression there is little prospect success in small-scale farming. Even the po uneducated rural classes whose standard living is very low are finding it difficult now days to make both ends meet owing to the l prices of agricultural crops. In these circu stances, it is too much to expect that educa young men accustomed to a far higher stand



A view of the waterfall

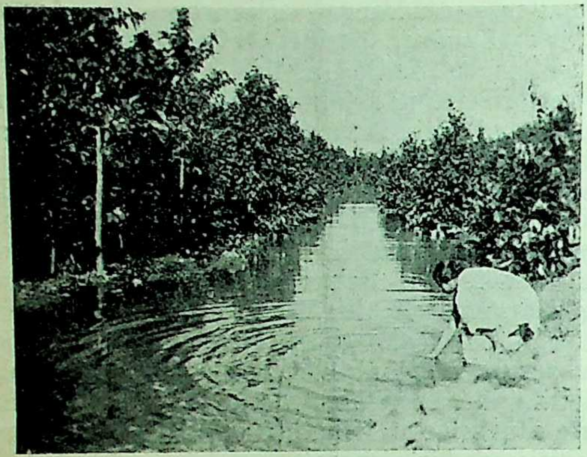
of living in cities will find agriculture a paying proposition. Besides, even if small-scale farming were a profitable profession, it is not likely to appeal to educated young men. An unemployed graduate would prefer to starve in the town rather than go to the village and plough the field with his own hands. This psycholgical aversion to manual labour or ploughing with one's own hands has got to be reckoned with. These difficulties will not arise, if opportunities for large-scale farming with motor tractor are provided. Tractor farming will not only increase production and thereby enable the gentlemen farmers to earn a tolerably decent livelihood, but will also appeal to their modern tastes. In tractor farming, they will not be obliged to drudge with the plough from morning to evening, but will have to drive the motor tractor for a few hours only, whether it be for sowing, or for harvesting purposes. The quantity as well as the quality of the crops can also be improved by scientific methods applied on a large-scale through tractor farming.

I had recently an opportunity of studying at close quarters the possibilities of tractor farming in an obscure village of Bengal (now in Bihar), where an educated gentleman of a highly respectable family has been carrying on large-scale farming with motor tractor for some years past in his own zamindary. There is a picturesque village called Hariharpur in the Manbhum District at a distance of about 40 miles from Purulia. The village is owned by Mr. Rakhal Mohan Banerji, a retired Deputy Magistrate of Bengal. His son, Mr. Amiya Kumar Banerji, decided after finishing his education to settle in this village with the object of starting a farming business of his own. In the course of the last few years he has changed the whole outlook of what had formerly been the abode of semi-primitive foresters. He purchased a motor tractor of his own and started cultivating the extensive forest lands of his zamindary. Being a trained mechanical engineer himself, he could drive the tractor himself and make the necessary repairs. His prosperous farm at Hariharpur is an example of what an enterprising and ambitious young man can achieve, if he has only the means and facilities at his disposal.

Hariharpur is beautifully situated amidst the Sal forests of the Manbhum District, and the two hours' journey from Purulia is delightful. The road is excellent, and is maintained by the Local District Board of which Mr. Banerji is an elected member. At Hariharpur one feels as if one had come to a rural paradise, such is the idyllic beauty of this sylvan tract. Mr. Banerji's achievements in this out of the way locality would take a volume to describe. I shall, however, make only a brief reference to his activities just to draw the attention of those who are interested in agriculture as a profession.

The lake formed by the damming of a stream

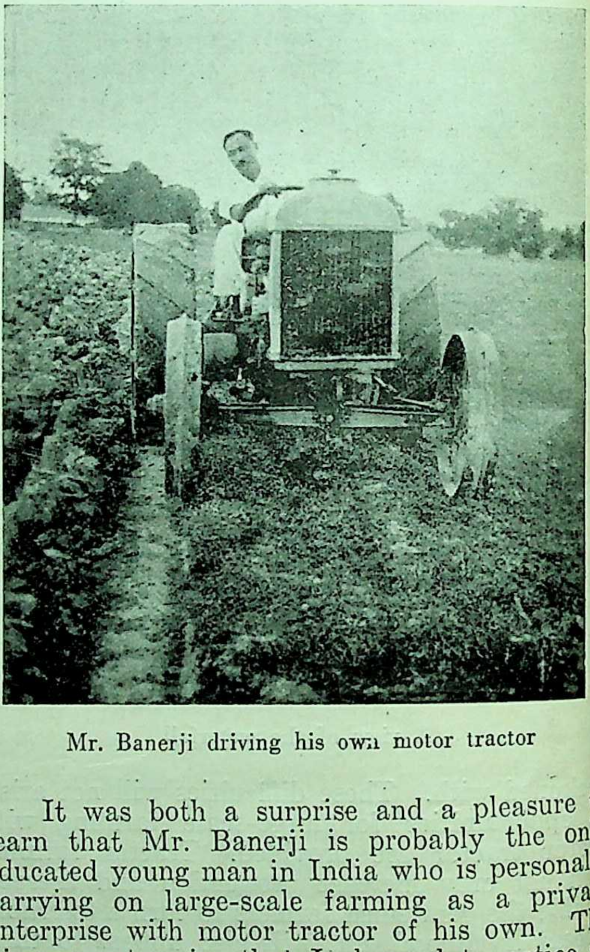
Mr. Banerji deprecated small-scale farming with the primitive plough, and urged that motor tractors alone can lead to the agricultural development of India. Along with his cousin, Mr. Ajit Kumar Banerji, in whom he has found an energetic collaborator, he owns a big farm of sevral thousand acres. He has been successfully growing all the usual crops in addition to sugar-cane and lac. Mr. Banerji complained of the low prices available for the crops, but for which fact he would have earned a princely income out of his lands. Even as it is, his income is sufficiently attractive to warrant the assupmtion that young men would still find farming a paying profession, only if they adopt scientific methods and use modern appliances.



A view of Mr. Banerji's private canal

One of the outstanding achievements of Mr. Banerji is a huge lake he has himself made at a heavy cost by damming a jungle stream that flowed through his lands. It is a specimen of engineering enterprise of which any engineer could well be proud. This lake is intended to supply water to Mr. Banerji's fields, and for this purpose a long canal issuing from the lake has already been constructed. Both the lake and the canal are feats which deserve a special mention. Had Mr. Banerji not been so modest and unassuming as he is, these achievements would have drawn the attention of the newspaper-reading public long ago. Mr. Banerji is also planning a fishery business which the lake and the canal have made it possible. There is a small water-fall below the jungle by the side of the lake, which Mr. Banerji intends to harness for purposes of supplying electricity to his farm and for running a mill of his own.

Mr. Banerji expressed the opinion that there is sufficient scope for large-scale farming in the neighbouring districts, and he suggested that the Government should settle educated young men in selected areas and advance the cost of motor tractor and other appliances for each such co-operative farm. Those who are inclined to take to agriculture, and require further information on the subject may freely write to Mr. Banerji.* He is prepared to advise and assist those who seriously intend to settle as gentlemen farmers. To my query whether he would be willing to give practical training in his own farm to those who might seek it, he replied in the affirmative with pleasure. I wish some enterprising young men took advantage of such an offer.



Mr. Banerji driving his own motor tractor

It was both a surprise and a pleasure t learn that Mr. Banerji is probably the onl educated young man in India who is personall carrying on large-scale farming as a privat enterprise with motor tractor of his own. Th pioneer enterprise that I chanced to notice Hariharpur is many times more creditable tha Mr. Banerji modestly considers it to be. To m it was an object lesson of what may be attempte on a much larger scale, if our educated youn men had the necessary will and enterprise.

---

* His address : Mr. Amiya Kumar Banerji, Zamind Hariharpur, P. O. Man Bazaar, District Manbhum.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN BENGAL*

A critique of the proposed Bill

I

EDUCATION, in its broad aspects, should be a well-planned training for citizenship and should steer clear of confused ideas of separatist sectarianism and communalism, and, in the last resort, even of biassed, aggressive, narrow nationalism. Ideologies which are repugnant to the fundamental basis of human fellowship and amity and aim at fostering predatory, chauvinistic instincts can have no place in any sound system of Education. The slogans of Christian education, Musalman education, Jewish education, Hindu education, etc., by themselves have no meaning and justification if they aim at putting cultural groups into isolated and isolating pens and creating a type of segregated and exclusive adherents of an old-world credal or religious consciousness, rabid, fanatical, fiery in its limited loyalties but blind to the calls of Humanism, impervious to corollary filtrations from the living stream of human charity and tolerance, having no ears for the cries for succour and help from agonized and petrified elements of the countless millions, who without reference to community, culture, race or creed, are in daily, deadly peril of their lives and possessions.

Specially are these considerations valid and urgent for India, where millions have hardly the wherewithal to feed their bodies and clothe their limbs. Sabre-rattlings of creed against creed, denunciations of community by community, talks of special privileges and protected rights come very ill in a country which is a country of paupers and beggars, with a superficial varnish and veneer of wealth flaunting itself at the corners and edges. In politics and economics India dare not have divided counsels lest utter ruin overtake her; and if this is true of politics and economics, how much truer is it in the realm of education which is the bedrock of all sound activity and thinking! The cry of communal power and privilege in Education is thus entirely a misleading, mischievous, ruinous cry which must be stifled by all true lovers of India. There is only one India on the map: an India criss-crossed by many languages, many creeds, diverse religions, an India of deserts and mountains, rivers and seas, of elevations and depressions on the physical and the spiritual plane; still it is *one*. Those who do not sense this unity, have no vision of this rugged one-ness, are but ignorant of the one Supreme Reality that should mould their faiths and lives.

We who are of this faith, we who know ourselves to be sons and daughters of this one supreme Mother—we cannot be wavering in our loyalties. We are bound in holy duty to fight the dissolving, disintegrating, dividing forces that consciously or unconsciously seek to cut our life into warring sections.

It is in this spirit that we raise our voice against the very perfunctory, idea-less attempt at so-called control and regulation of Secondary Education by the Government of Bengal in its proposed draft of the Secondary Education Bill It is merely political clap-trap; it has not even sound political ideas behind it. The dream of the domination of Bengal or any corner of India in the present age, by a numerical political (or electoral) majority, Hindu or Musalman, is a stark futility; and the corollary dream of dominating Bengal's education in this wise is very short-sighted and blantantly blind to realities.

Bengal wants her secondary schools to be expanded, revitalized and overhauled in the direction of providing first, a group of young-men and women who by learning to be self-supporting will be in a position to make others self-reliant and to popularise the gospel of self-help amongst the people; secondly, a group that will be efficient and patriotic servants of the National State; thirdly, a group that will make the pursuit of culture, and the practice of social service enlightened by this culture, the end of their lives. For this, three types of schools and teachers are necessary. In the first group which we may for convenience's sake call Vocational, provision should be made for instruction in arts and crafts, in agriculture and small industries in consonance with regional needs, and a *sense of the modern machine* should be the pivotal centre of all studies. In the second type, all provisions should concentrate on a sound teaching of elementary history, civics, economics and the principles of administration joined to book-keeping, accountancy, stenography, the principles of the cinema and the radio, etc. In the third group, a love of the rudiments of arts and letters, science and philosophy, of the abstract science and of their practical applications should be instilled.

---

* This forms a part of a pamphlet on the subject to be issued shortly by the Politics Club as a result of co-operative discussions in which the following members participated: Messrs. Nripendra Chandra Banerji, S. K. Lahiri, Nepal Chandra Ray, Anath Nath Basu, N. C. Bhattacharya, H. K. Sanyal, B. N. Banerjea and Sachin Sen.

For all this we require committees of *real* experts, *of statesmen who are educationists and of educationists who are statesmen,* of social service workers and thinkers, of selfless and practical politicians; for all this we require a virility and freshness of outlook, uncramped by narrow prejudices or group-interests; for all this we require big finance. This is neither a business for the hide-bound, mechanical educationist with 'vested' interests, nor a business for Hindu Brahmin Pundits or Musalman Mullahs, nor a business for the mealy-mouthed, cliquish, gingered party-politics-wallahs. This is a business for live men and women who believe in one, undivided India and in one, undivided Bengal—not for the puppets of party politics "dressed in brief, little authority.' We have not the slightest doubt that there is any lack of such men and women, irrespective of community or party in Bengal. Whether a really democratic and representative and efficient State should or should not regulate or control Education is a question into which at present we need not enter : for the State in India and in Bengal (under the new Reforms Scheme) is neither really representative, nor really democratic and certainly very inefficient as a Social Service State dedicated to the higher ends of human consolidation and progress.

II

THE draft Bengal Secondary Education Bill, proposed to be introduced in the next Assembly session, is at once unsatisfactory and mischievous. The Bill accepts in part the principle of decentralization in the matter of creation of a Board but seeks to neutralize its good effects by providing for Governmental control in all vital matters relating to secondary education in Bengal. It thus proposes to whitewash a rotten edifice without making necessary, even urgent, repairs; the work presented is that of an unimaginative, incompetent and impecunious architect.

It is admitted that secondary education in Bengal, as imparted, controlled and supervised, is defective and has grown irresponsive to the needs and ideals of the age. The existing system and the subsisting technique of control need overhauling. The situation, which is undoubtedly tragic, has unfortunately provided an opportunity for an amateurish and irresponsible approach to the problem by Government. The Provincial Government is dominated, as is evident from the Bill under review, by the principle of authoritarian state, interspersed with feeble patches of liberal outlook, conceding in a very miserly manner the principle of functional representation here and there. This is highly mischievous inasmuch as real authority vests in the State and responsibility in the proposed Board. This divorce of responsibility from authority is irritating and unwise.

The Bill provides for machinery of control and supervision and the preamble thereto recognises no other purpose and is thus deaf to any other basic objective in the matter of secondary education in Bengal. This is unfortunate.

Secondary education is a matter of great importance to the nation, undoubtedly of greater importance than University education. Its supervision and control are, therefore matters of national concern. Accordingly, care and caution are necessary for bending the machinery of control to the needs and ideals of the nation. In the circumstances, three alternative methods of control may be suggested:

(*a*) Authority and control vesting in the hands of the state.

(*b*) Creation of a representative Board for the purpose under the supervision of the University.

(*c*) Creation of an autonomous and representative Board for the purpose.

We are not in favour of an authoritarian state controlling the nerve of the system of education through a subservient, packed Board unrepresentative of the divergent interests involved. Secondary education is a vital matter and to ensure its affiliation to the needs of the nation it should be left to a representative and responsible Board. The principle of decentralization involving erosion of the sovereignty of the State is wholesome in the matter of education. Liberal education does not and cannot possibly flourish in an authoritarian State where Government and their Party contrive to infect educational policy and education itself with their ideology and policy leading to unsatisfactory results in the growth of our boys and girls. But at the same time it is one of the sacred functions of the State (to which we subscribe) to arrange for and improve the education of citizens. Accordingly, we plead for a machinery which would combine the responsibilities of the State with the utmost elasticity and autonomy of the organization entrusted wi the work of education. This can be secured by the creation of a representative and autonomous Board functioning under lawful authority of the State but working as a self-governing unit. The responsibility of supplementing the income of the Board and of helping the widening of the activities thereof by recurring liberal grants belongs to the State and to that extent the supervision of the State is inevitable. But such supervision must not extend beyond that end and the State can and will make its voice heard through their nominees on the Board. The Board will lay down policies and administer them with the collaboration of and in consultation with subsidiary, affiliated representative District Boards, and methods should be so devised as to establish a cordial and close link between the Central Board and District Boards.

It is also urged that a representative and autonomous Board of the kind referred to may function under the authority and supervision of the University. There is one distinct virtue in this arrangement that an uniformity may be maintained with regard to the educational policies of both secondary and university education and, should distinct ideals be thought necessary or divergent policies forged in the matter of secondary education, it may just be possible for the University to mitigate their contrariness without allowing them to develop into contradictory forces with consequential, unfavourable repercussions on university education. We are really enamoured of this view of the case, although we do not advocate it at present, bearing in mind the fact that the University of Calcutta is much too officialized and that the Senate has a most unrepresentative character. The achievements of the Calcutta University through the valiant efforts of distinguished persons who have guided the destinies of the University from time to time should not make us forget that.

The Bill under review is an unhappy compromise of conflicting principles and as such the framework envisaged is loose and unsuitable to the needs of the situation. The Board constituted under the Bill is neither representative nor autonomous; it is conceived in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. In a Board of 34, 15 members are either officials or nominees of the provincial Government; at least 15 members are to be Musalmans; it is certain that the Mahomedan community will be able to secure far more than 15 seats (or more than a majority of seats) out of 34, because they occupy a dominating position in the Assembly and Government. The Board is thus clearly undemocratic in composition. The nominated or official members should not exceed the one-third of the total number; the remaining two-thirds should be non-official representatives of the different interests involved. The predominantly communal representation in the Board is thoroughly mischievous, as it vitiates the principle of representation and interferes with the freedom of electors and accordingly, the allotted communal members are hardly representatives. We object to elected seats being earmarked for Musalmans, not because secondary education in Bengal has been furthered and widened by the energy, efforts and contributions of Hindus, but because that reservation undermines the democratic principle of representation. If a contigency arises that of the two-thirds of elected members, Musalmans or any other community are not fairly represented on the Board, it is the look-out of the provincial Government, should they be convinced of the wisdom of representation on communal lines, to shape their policy of nomination with a view to redress the inequalities found. But the practice of reserving a percentage of elected seats for a particular community is highly detrimental and should be resisted by all who have any affection for democratic principles and for the progress and efficiency of education.

The Board will in effect be a subservient body of the provincial Government. The President appointed by the Government will remain the master of the situation. Even such a packed Board is not trusted by Government. They propose to set up a Grants Committee, the majority of whom are officials, to advise the Board on the distribution of grants. The Central Board is again confronted by the District Advisory Committees, each Committee consisting of eight persons of whom six are to be either officials or Government nominees. The Finance Committee of the Board as contemplated is equally undemocratic. The provincial Government are not even satisfied with all these subterfuges and weightages in favour of Government. They have retained control over the Budget and are empowered to alter it in their discretion. We do not propose to go into the details. The mechanism of control and supervision as contemplated in the Bill under discussion is complicated, clumsy and most unsuitable to the needs and ideals of the age. When the Government are shy in initiating a bold policy of trust and progress, they, instead of creating this hubbub, might have more smoothly achieved their purpose by extending the scope and activities of the Director of

Public Instruction in the matter of regulating secondary education in the province. There was then no need for taxing their unimaginative brains in devising this expensive and cumbrous mechanism which contains sufficient materials for friction and delay leading to deadlocks.

We cannot and do not support denominational schools. They are not conducive to the interest of the class concerned. The building up of schools on exclusive lines creates artificial barriers and is not healthy for the growth of boys reading therein. This is all the more reprehensible where secondary education is concerned; it may have a faint logic in the matter of propagating specialized study of a particular culture. Questions regarding Madrasah schools naturally irritate us and we do not know how a modern democratically-minded Moslem leader can support this exclusiveness which shuts out Moslem boys from the liberalizing influence of education. If they are meant to foster religious and theological bias, the supporters of exclusive schools must have mistaken the objective of secondary education. Accordingly we are not in favour of "Muhammadan education" which will ultimately damage the Muhammadan community much more than others—a scheme of things which retards healthy nationalism.

III

We want an autonomous and representative Board. Can the Board as proposed in the draft Bill be autonomous and representative in character?

A Board designed to "direct, supervise and control" secondary education should have among others the following essential functions: (*a*) Inspection, (*b*) Recognition, (*c*) Examination, (*d*) Preparation and selection of text-books, and (*e*) Distribution of grants. The autonomy or otherwise of a Board will be measured by the amount of autonomy it will enjoy in performing the above five functions. Let us now examine one by one how far the Board shall enjoy autonomy in the performance of the above five functions.

Sec. 16 (1) of the draft Bill says that "the Inspectors necessary for the purpose of this Act .... shall be appointed by the Local Government." In the face of this statement it would be impossible to maintain that as far as inspection is concerned the Board shall enjoy any autonomy.

In this connection we should like to draw attention to the proposed dual control of the inspectorate by the Local Government and the Board. This dual control will, we are sure, hamper the work of the inspectors at every step. Some years ago a similiar experiment was made by the Local Government and the Sub-Inspectors appointed by the Department of Public Instruction were placed under the District Boards. The arrangements did not work well, the experiment proved a failure and it had to be abandoned. A similiar fate awaits the proposed arrangement.

In the matter of recognition, the Board appears to be the supreme authority. But two things are to be borne in mind in this connection: First, it is laid down in Sec. 2 (5) that approval of the Local Government will be necessary before a school can be designed and treated as a secondary school. Secondly, it will be on the report of Inspectors who are primarily the servants of the Government and not of the Board that the Board will proceed to recognize or disaffiliate the high schools. Under the circumstances, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, for the inspectors not to be influenced by considerations other than educational. Hence in the matter of recognition, too, the autonomy of the proposed Board will be more apparen than real.

As far as examination is concerned i appears that Calcutta University will hold th Matriculation examination but the Board shal determine who shall appear at the examination The Board of course shall have the power t institute and control its own examination; bu for the present the final examination at th end of the secondary course shall be under th control of not the Board but the Universit Hence here too the Board shall not have muc autonomy.

Preparation or selection of text-books wi be one of the most important functions of th Board. But throughout the Bill there is n much mention of the duties of the propos Board in this direction. So we can assum that the present arrangements will stand; *i.* there will be the Text-Book Committee select books for classes up to the eighth a then the University to select books for the t top classes of the high schools. By no stret of imagination can we think of the Board being autonomous as far as this function concerned.

Coming now to the question of distributi of grants, we must admit that in this sphere least the Board shall be largely influenced advisory Committees whose constitution been defined in the Bill. The composition the Committee is, to say the least, obnoxio and the basic principles underlying the form tion of these Committees are vicious, undemocratic and unrepresentative. Hence we can reasonably doubt if in the performance of this function too the Board will be guided by the principles of autonomy and equity.

Thus in regard to four out of five major functions the proposed Board shall not, as we have clearly shown, enjoy any real autonomy and hence we condemn it without any hesitation. In fact, there are ample provisions in the Bill for curtailing all freedom of the Board. Sections 8 and 9 give the Local Government wide powers to remove a member on one pretext or other. Then again the Local Government will remain the final authority in the matter of approving and altering the budget prepared by the Board [*vide* Sec. 24 (3)]. Furthermore, Sections 36 and 38 vest the Local Government with extraordinary powers to control effectively all activities of the Board.

So long we have been crying against the dual control of secondary education; if the proposals embodied in the Bill be given effect to we shall have triple or rather quadruple control of secondary education.

As to the representative character of the proposed Board the less said the better. The qualification for membership of a Board designed to direct, supervise and control secondary education should be purely educational. It should be open only to men and women whose sole and primary interest is education and not the furtherance of the interests of this or that community. Hence communal representation of any type has no place in the field of education. To introduce communalism in education is to jeopardise the larger and wider interests of education and national welfare. The true aim of education is to lift the mind out of the blind alleys of parochialism of every form and to widen our contacts and intercourse with the wide world. An educational system built on communalism is undemocratic, unrepresentative and it is sure to fail in the task of building up a united nation.

IV

Among the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19), the creation of a Secondary Education Board was one. In pursuance of this recommendation Secondary Education Boards have been constituted in many of the provinces. It can not be claimed that in the creation of such Boards the principles and objects laid down by the Sadler Commission have been properly followed. Neither are the different provincial Boards identical in their purposes, constitution and working. It is profitable to enquire into the achievements of these boards. *The Tenth Quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in India (1927-32)* issued by the Government of India supplies the following information on the subject :

> The first Board of this kind in India was probably in *Madras*, which was started in 1911. This Board which now consists of representatives of Government, the Universities of Madras and Andhra and non-officials, conducts the School-Leaving Certificate examination, which covers a wider range than Matriculation examination and stresses the importance of the school records of candidates.
>
> The main features of the revised scheme, which has been put into effect during the quinquennium, are that "the number of subjects for compulsory study has increased and the number of optional subjects has decreased."
>
> In *Bombay*, the School-Leaving Examination Board, which was constituted in 1925, ceased to function in 1929, and the control of the Matriculation examination was resumed by the University. The question of constituting a Matriculation Board as a separate University authority is under consideration.
>
> The University registers schools, after considering reports from a special Inspection Committee and from Government inspecting officers. The Department also recognises schools for the purpose of presenting pupils for the various Government examinations and for admitting Government scholars : "No serious inconvenience has so far arisen from the fact that recognition is granted both by the University and by the Department, though in a few cases the University has recognised schools which the Department has declined to recognise."
>
> Though the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, *United Provinces,* includes university representatives, it is a body entirely separate from university administration. In addition to the conduct of examinations, "it accrods recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges, but arranges for the inspection only of intermediate colleges by means of a panel of inspectors, with whom is associated the circle inspector."
>
> Similarly, a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was formed for the Dacca University area in 1921. The main functions of this Board are the distribution of grants, the inspection of all institutions under its control, the conduct of examinations and the granting of recognition.
>
> In the *Punjab,* the School Board deals with all questions relating to the Matriculation examination and reports thereon to the Syndicate. The Director of Public Instruction is *ex-officio* chairman, and three members of the Board are nominated by the Government.
>
> In *Burma,* there is a Secondary Schools Board, the main functions of which are to control the English and Anglo-Vernacular High School and Middle School examinations, and to advise the Director of Public Instruction on all matters relating to secondary education. The Board consists of the Director (Chairman), twenty members appointed by Government and four members nominated by the University of Rangoon. At least eight members of the Board must be non-officials.
>
> A Board of Secondary Education, with the Director of Public Instruction as *ex-officio* chairman, was constituted in *Bihar* in 1922-23. It grants recognition, subject to the approval of Patna University, to secondary schools and distributes grants to these schools on behalf of Government. It initiates policy in regard to the schools

under its control and inspects these institutions either through inspectors appointed for the purpose or through the agency of the Government inspecting staff.

A High School Education Board was constituted in the *Central Provinces* in 1923, with the Director of Public Instruction as *ex-officio* chairman. The powers of this Board include the recognition of high schools, the prescription of courses of study and the conduct of the High School Certificate examination.

Grave difficulties have arisen in respect to the Board of Secondary Education, *Delhi*.

It is interesting to note that the *Review* admits that "these Boards have not achieved that success which is essential to a properly regulated system of secondary education, except possibly in the *United Provinces*."

With reference to the United Provinces, however, Dr. Zia Uddin Ahmad (*Systems of Education*, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd.,) says, "that the general standard of teaching and examination has gone down by the transfer of Intermediate Examination from the Universities to the Board. The Matriculation or High School examination has definitely suffered."

In Bengal, regarding the Dacca Secondary Education Board also similar unfavourable comments may be found in a recent official report.

All this should give ample food for reflection to those who propose to introduce in a hurry a Secondary Education School Board of the type described in the Bill for Bengal.

PROVINCIAL FINANCE UNDER THE FEDERATION

Some New Sources of Revenue

By B. M. PIPLANI, M.A., B.Com., Ph.D.

The decision of the Congress, to work, at least in part (Part III), the Government of India Act 1935, has now brought into operation those of its clauses which provide for the complete autonomy of the federating units. We are not concerned here with the merits or the demerits of the political reforms introduced by the new Constitution. What is of interest to us is the financial side of the question. For the real effectiveness of provincial autonomy must be measured by the extent of the financial means made available to the provincial governments. Without adequate spending power to enable the Ministries to execute their economic and social programmes for the benefit of the electorate, provincial autonomy is of course a meaningless phrase. Indeed provincial finances will be a vital factor in the future progress of the Indian people.

The following article is an attempt to assess the real worth of provincial autonomy in the above sense. This requires firstly an analysis of the distribution of financial powers, as regards revenue as well as expenditure heads, as provided under the Act. Secondly, further possibilities of reforms will be enquired into with a view to maximising provincial revenues, both old and new.

The need for a large increase in provincial revenue is obvious. Approximately three-fourth of the provincial revenues will be required for the development of various social services. Since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms certain improvements in this respect have already been made though to a very unequal extent in different provinces. In fact as a result of the Reforms the provinces have been able to build up a partially independent financial system under central control. But owing to the meagre and inelastic nature of their revenues and the strict limitations of their financial powers in general, the governments have been hindered from effecting any substantial improvement in civic conditions. In spite of the beginning that has been made, much leeway has yet to be made up before education, sanitation and medical relief in India attain standards in any way comparable to most other civilized countries. Apart from social services, economic development through rural uplift and industrial regeneration have a clear claim on the sympathies and the resources of the provincial authorities. Therefore, if the provincial governments are to perform their duties properly they must not only command substantial resources but be able also to expand them in future. Do the financial provisions of the Act satisfy this fundamental condition?

Under the Provincial Legislative List the main sources of revenues open to the provinces are land-revenue, excises (on alchoholic liquors, drugs, and medicinal and toilet preparations), stamp duties other than those under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, taxes on agricultural incomes, professions, trades, and callings, taxes on the sale of goods and advertisements, and taxes on luxuries including amusement, betting and gambling.

LAND-REVENUE

Land-revenue accounts for about half of the total revenues of the provinces. Its importance in individual cases, varies in inverse proportion to the stage of industrial development attained by the province concerned. In some of the provinces land-revenue is permanently fixed. But even where it is not there is a great difficulty in increasing its productivity. In view of the changing economic conditions in India, especially since the great depression, the idea commonly held that provincial revenues can be increased easily by raising the land-revenue assessment will have to be materially modified. (Actually complaints of over assessment have been made from time to time). Not only have agricultural land values fallen, but owing to a world-wide fall in the prices of staple commodities and the policy of import restrictions practised by important countries for the protection of their national agriculture, there has been a substantial reduction in revenues from land. On the other hand, income from industry and trade have been increasing continuously since the War. The unmistakable growth of various large and small industries and the expansion of internal trade will, in future, progressively relax the dependence of Finance Ministers, even in predominantly agricultural provinces, on land-revenue as the chief source of their income. A re-orientation of tax policy is, therefore, essential in this respect, in order to keep in conformity with the changing social and economic conditions, for we in India are passing through gradual but certain changes in our class-structure, which broadly correspond to those undergone by most of the European countries at different times during the last half century or so. Financial history all over the world proves the logical proposition that with higher stages of economic development public revenues from agriculture have to be substituted more and more by those from movable property.

Few economists today would classify land-revenue under " rent " as understood in economic theory. In actual operation it is nothing but a tax on agricultural incomes. On various considerations of economic policy it would be best to abolish it and institute instead a straightforward and graduated tax on agricultural incomes with appropriate exemption limit. Reform of land-revenue on these lines is in no way fraught with political danger such as would be sure to arise from the introduction of an agricultural tax over and above the land-revenue assessments. For the landlords will now be subject only to a single and unified tax. This will ensure also a better utilisation of the elaborate machinery for the maintenance of land records and the administration and collection of land-revenue, which is bound to lose its importance in any case. A special advantage of a tax on agricultural incomes would be that it would discourage uneconomic investments in land of savings accumulated in industry in order to escape taxation. Further, from the point of view of the Provincial Treasuries too, reforms on these lines denote a simplification, bringing agricultural incomes in line with incomes from trades and professions. The objection that it would yield less does not in reality hold ground, for the probable loss of revenue would in no case be greater than that which would in any case take place owing to the changing place of agriculture in Indian economic life visualised above. Finally the abolition of land-revenue and the introduction of a tax on agricultural incomes is in the nature of a political compromise. Whatever our ideology may be it is foolish to ignore the fact that any class having long enjoyed a privilege will tenaciously hold on to it. It is superfluous to add that every step in financial policy that brings about a workable compromise between the conflicting interests is a mark of political acumen, for the country is therby spared unnecessary convulsions, which must inevitably set back the clock of national progress.

IRRIGATION CANALS

The decline of provincial revenues from land foreshadowed above can be staved off, at least temporarily, by further improvements in the methods of charging for irrigation water. The successful financial results shown by the operation of irrigation departments in important provinces should not make us rest on our laurels. The most predominant system of charging for water now is by the area of the crop matured, the rates varying for different crops. Since water is sold per acre the cultivator has no incentive to economise in its use. This has actually led in many parts to the grave danger of water-logging of arable land. Charging by volume would not only help to remedy this evil, but would also afford the provincial governments a better method of practising the system of manifold prices with a view to help in both their treasuries and the small cultivator. As a matter of fact, in so far as the preference of the cultivator for one or the other crop is partly determined by the total area irrigated, the theory of monoply price is already recognised under the method of differential water-rates. This, however, is at best only a crude application of the theory. It is a further question worth enquiring into whether crop-classification of water-rates could not advantageously be substituted by one that would take both the total area and the nature of the holding irrigated as the determinant factors for charging. Under such changes it would be possible to give further application to the principle of capacity to pay without ignoring the economic principle of costs. Their introduction depends essentially on the ability of engineering technique to devise a cheap instrument for measuring the volume of water. From the economic point of view the principle of charging is clear enough, and is synonymous with the system applied everywhere in the determination of the tariff-structures of public utility undertakings. Revenues from irrigation have to be maximised under a well-designed system of multiple charges. Rate-schedules will have to be framed with special forethought so as not to burden the small cultivator with that share of varying costs which he cannot afford over and above the attributable costs.

EXCISES

Excises form the second main source of provincial revenues. They frankly raise certain delicate issues. While the governments have to utilise every available source of income, public opinion in India is rightly determined to see the evil of drink eradicated. Excessive consumption of alchoholic liquors among lower classes, especially in the industrial areas, is undoubtedly a scourge of the first magnitude affecting national efficiency. Here it is a question of adopting the most effective means to uproot the evil. While the motives inspiring some of the Ministries must be upheld as very laudable, it is doubtful whether the experiment started by them in certain districts can achieve its end without proving a heavy sacrifice to the provincial revenues. How often has ultimate harm resulted from well-meant but misconceived and premature notions of public policy? One has only to bear in mind the consequences of the post-war economic policy pursued by certain European states to be able to benefit from foreign experience. Not only will the excise revenue decrease, but a great deal of expenditure will also be necessary to put down smuggling and illicit distillation. Indeed a cheaper and ultimately more effective plan would be tackle the evil from the other end, namel education, propaganda, welfare work, a improvements in the facilities for the industri worker to utilise his leisure time. Actual expenditure on this kind of work should fo a first lien on provincial revenues from excis Side by side with this programme the poli should be pursued to reduce the number liquor shops, to regulate the strength of drin and to curtail the hours of sale. These mainly legislative measures that can effectively applied by the excise departme without entailing any further costs.

Once the industrial worker is abstract from the discussion of the drink question intensity of the problem almost disappea Indeed a dispassionate analysis of liq consumption might actually show that incidence of excises is predominantly borne the well-to-do classes. So far as this p of the society is concerned the moralists' str tures are surely not entirely justified. It co hardly be maintained even according to Hin ethics, that the fate of countries where citiz of average means indulge in drink moderat is sealed for eternity. In view of these other considerations the problem must be trea with moderation both from the economic from the moral point of view. Though statesmen must keep before them the aboliti of drink among the poorer classes as their g any impatient and drastic policy must pr very costly, owing to the absence of alterna sources of revenue in the near future. Limit reforms are, therefore, set by the stark reali of financial conditions. In this connection present Ministries would do well to pe carefully the report of the Bombay Governm Prohibition (Finance), which reported in 1 on the probable financial consequences of reforms.

The sources of provincial revenues nex importance are stamps, and receipts from for fisheries may yield small amounts in ce provinces, but cannot be regarded as a so of revenue. Stamp revenue, which s expansion since the War, may increase fur especially from non-judicial stamps on growth of industry and trade. Forests req large expenditure of capital before they ca transformed into an important source provincial revenues, The manifold advan that a well-developed system of forests in the field of agricultural economy industrial development and for climatic imp ment supply further justification for provincial schemes in this direction.

INCOME-TAX

The taxes listed above exhaust the list of provincial taxes under the Act. It is clear from the discussion that, taken together, they cannot be regarded as expansive sources of revenue for the future, and are likely in fact to bring in less than before. Barring the fiscal realisation at a future date of an enlightened economic policy designed to increase national taxable capacity, to which we will return later, it must be realised that under the new political conditions the relinquishment by the central government of some major sources of revenue for nation-building work, which falls to the lot of the provincial authorities, is an imperative necessity. This is not the place to discuss the pros and cons of the provincialisation of income-tax. The Niemeyer Award, now accepted by the Government of India, is nothing more than a compromise based, as it is on an inadequate appreciation of the various possibilities in the sphere of Indian federal finance. In fact its fulfilment, in spite of the recent improvements in railway finances, is in no way a future certainty. The transference of income-tax to the provinces is not to take place so long as the distributable sum at the Centre together with any contributions from the railways aggregates to less than Rs. 13 crores. Now the very probable recession of trade activity in the next few years will not only reduce the direct yield from income-tax, calculated by Sir Otto Niemeyer at Rs. 12 crores, but may actually transform the railways into a burden on the general budget, unless rigorous measures of economy are introduced. This is not being unduly pessimistic, but represents a realistic opinion based on future probabilities. The whole tragedy lies in the fact that the recommendations of the eminent expert make the material, intellectual, and physical progress of a great nation dependent upon the "uncertain" state of railway finances. In India, much more than in any other country in the world, born under unhealthy circumstances, the railways have further grown into a diseased limb of the national economic organism. It is imperative to restore that limb to its proper status under a major financial operation rather than let the toximia generated by it stunt indefinitely the growth of the whole body politic. The sooner a substantial part of the inflated capital of the railways is written off the back of the Indian tax-payer the better it will be for his future progress. Apart from the re-organization of their capital, the swollen railway expenditure must be drastically reduced under a thorough overhaul before the next depression sets in. Indeed the Provincial Finance Ministers have it in their power, if they work in unison, to bring to bear a pressure upon the Railway Administration by threatening to start competitive provincial omnibus services.

DEFECTS OF THE NIEMEYER ENQUIRY

Sir Otto Niemeyer's recommendations are open to further objections. The formula recommended by him for the distribution of income-tax to individual provinces may be passed over. It satisfies nobody, Bombay and Bengal coming off best, perhaps as a compensation for their step-motherly treatment under the old Meston Award, and no wonder that the Punjab Government, which will actually receive less under the new arrangements, has been the first to appoint a Committee to report on the potential sources of revenues. It is natural to expect that, owing to a certain reduction in the functions and responsibilities of the Government of India as a result of complete provincial autonomy, central expenditure will diminish in future. Indeed one must go further than that. We must endorse the oft-reiterated demand for the reduction of the defence expenditure, notwithstanding the major political importance of the question. Moreover, various Imperial services need a thorough overhaul, especially with a view to reducing their present wide disparity from provincial services, which, owing to their future importance, have to be raised by such means to a higher calibre of efficiency. Retrenchment by provincial governments would appear to have reached its saturation point, and further attempts in this respect would not only be fruitless but are actually unsocial and dangerous in character, for they affect mostly the low-paid employees. It is now the turn of the Centre to undergo this healthy process of pruning and purging.

In view of these considerations and possibilities Sir Otto Niemeyer, by recommending a more generous proportion than 50% of income-tax for transference to the provinces, would not in any way have gone against the canons of prudent finance. Nobody would deny that in all proposals for reforms the financial stability and the credit of India must remain the paramount consideration. But there is no ground for the extra caution shown by Sir Otto Niemeyer. Indeed, apart from a possible reduction in central expenditure, there is further scope for increasing the yield from income-tax by making it more progressive in the case of higher incomes. Since, unlike the English system, the Indian income-tax does not distinguish between the earned and the unearned incomes, there is a special ground for this policy. The reduction of certain fabulous salaries and progressive income-tax jointly furnish the most straightforward and effective method of diminishing the glaring inequalities of wealth in India. It is surprising to notice that while recognizing that "the general scheme of Indian taxation, central as well as provincial, operates to relieve the wealthier classes to an extent which is unusual in taxation schemes," Sir Otto Niemeyer refrains from recommending the maintenance of surcharge on incomes, which the Government of India have promised to remove as the opportunity arises. We in India are yet far removed from that stage when progressive taxation hinders the accumulation of capital by removing the incentive to save and thereby proves detrimental to national economy. Long before that stage is reached it would be necessary to make taxation on medium and large incomes not progressive but proportional so as to encourage thrift.

Further, it may be asked what prevented Sir Otto Niemeyer from recommending the introduction of state monopolies of tobacco and matches on the lines adopted in other countries? Surely he was not hindered by his terms of reference. This fruitful source of central income ought to be utilised to enable the provinces to start the federal experiment under better auspices. The introduction of state monopoly would in no case alter the present incidence on the consumer, for what would happen would be the complete elimination of private monopoly profits. It is an accepted axiom in public finance that when fiscal considerations are predominant direct state monopoly is more productive of revenue than government regulation of private monopoly under excises. Indeed in tobacco, at least, the superior advantages of private enterprise in production can be preserved on the lines of the state monopoly in Italy. These considerations do not apply to the manufacture and sale of salt. The gradual abolition of salt-tax should be made the definite aim of public policy.

Finally, Sir Otto failed to suggest the taxation of certain "windfall" profits that have been reaped since the War by certain individuals at the cost of the citizen at large. Huge profits from the sugar mill industry provided, until a few years back, the most representative type of such unearned incomes. It is generally argued that the consumer is not burdened as the higher efficiency of the home industry has actually reduced the internal price to a figure which is lower than that for Java sugar. This, however, is no criterion. The real cost to t consumer is measured by the price that wou have ruled in the market in the absence enormous protection to the Indian industr That the tax-payer has the right to share su incomes earned at his expense is hardly deniabl

In summing up, the above defects show th the Niemeyer Enquiry lacks breadth of visio Faithful to the British tradition of conservatis and regardless of the consequences of a narro perspective on Indian national developmen Sir Otto fails to adopt that boldness conception which is necessary to the solutio of the problem of federal finance on comprehensive basis.

New taxes

It has been shown above that: (I) th present important sources of provincial revenue are of a stagnant nature, and that (2) th proposed financial settlement, in view of it limited scope, does not provide the province with the means necessary for future progres The theoretical ideal of federal finance is, n doubt, there in the Act. But the provincia governments, unlike the units of a democrat federation, do not possess the power to determin the scale of central expenditure. Herein lies th real core of the trouble.

Under these circumstances, the Provincia Finance Ministers will do well to bury thei proverbial "beggar's bowl" for good and fa back as best as they can on their own resource These may be subdivided into new taxes an non-tax revenue from productive equipment a well as a long-term increase in provincia revenues following from increased taxab capacity under a well-directed economic polic

Unlike the Reforms of 1919 the residua powers of taxation now vest in the provinci governments. But an examination of vario potential tax heads soon reveals the futility these powers. Taxes on land and building under the present state of property investme are inconceivable. Certain larger municipaliti may, however, improve their receipts by th assessment of increment in urban land-value Specific taxes on trades and professions are o of the question. Transit dues and municip octrois are actually a hindrance to the fr movement of internal trade. Taxes on adve tisements and on luxuries, such as excises ærated-waters, etc, may bring in somethin but are fit sources for local bodies to tap. Th only important exception that may devel into an important source of revenue are ta on succession or acquisition by survivalship property. It is, however, doubtful wheth social conditions in India are yet ripe for such a vital step in financial policy. In any case in the interest of uniformity this policy will have to be put on an all-India basis.

NON-TAX REVENUE

In view of the strictly limited possibilities of old as well as new sources of taxation, it will be to non-tax revenues that the provincial and local governments will, in future, have to turn their attention increasingly. Indeed this is virgin soil in India and promises rich harvests. All kind of agricultural and industrial property and mineral resources will have to be administered under suitable commercial policies with the utmost economy. The commercial enterprises of monopoly character or, to use their common name, public utilities such as electricity, mines, forests, cement works, etc., have to be socialised, if not already owned by the governments, and transformed into important sources of revenues. Such monopolies cannot, of course, be taken as milch cows for an indefinite length of time. But it is clear that under well-designed rate-schedules, the incidence of large revenues derived from them in aid of the tax-payer can, under the present limited diffusion of the demand for such services as electricity, be made to fall on the well-to-do classes for a number of years to come. Indeed apart from fiscal considerations state-owned public utilities can be deliberately employed under a scientific system of price discrimination to practise a policy of veiled taxation of the richer class in the interest of greater equality of wealth. Where such undertakings have been started from the outset under governmental ownership the problem is simple enough. But in the event of purchase of development rights from private companies great caution on the part of the authorities will have to be exercised in order to safeguard the tax-payer from inflated valuation figures. Indeed if the rights in question are held by foreign companies, as is often the case in municipal utilities, certain constitutional difficulties are sure to arise. Such difficulties, however, should not be made the justification for procrastination.

The same considerations apply to special local services which will have to be operated by municipalities and district boards. Examples are tramways in cities, municipal and inter-local bus services, water works, etc. As a workable principle decisions regarding provincialisation or municipalisation, as the case may be, must be made according to the quasi-monopolistic nature of the enterprise concerned. Numerous examples, especially in the sphere of local government, will suggest themselves, such as motor-launch services, ice-factories, brick-kilns, etc. It is of the utmost importance not to lose sight of this fundamental criterion, for an abnormal extension of public and municipal enterprise based on misconceived notions of public policy, is fraught with great economic dangers and must in the long run rebound to the detriment of the tax-payer. The authorities must steer clear of the competitive industrial sphere so as to avoid any waste of national capital resources.

A step further from provincial and municipal enterprises of directly remunerative character leads us to self-supporting services, which are more of social than economic importance. Typical examples are cemeteries, burial grounds, and crematoriums, which on various considerations provide the most suitable field for municipal management. Charges for such services should be so regulated as to defray only the actual costs—their distribution within these limits taking place on the economic principle of monopoly price according to ability to pay. As a matter of fact, from the cultural point of view it would be preferable for the governments to encourage the local autonomous bodies, like Beradaries, Sabhas, and Panchayats to take over these and kindred activities of public welfare. Our age-long tradition indeed offers us ready-made agents for the performance of manifold services of social and economic nature. It is only the formulation of a definite policy and the introduction of suitable legislation so as to make these beneficent bodies into autonomous legal entities, that is necessary for transforming these defunct institutions into instruments for enrichening Indian life on modern standards.

RAISING THE TAXABLE CAPACITY

Finally, but not least in importance, we come to the formulation of a constructive economic programme on the basis of varying provincial needs and resources. A far-sighted development of agriculture, industry, handicrafts, trade and transport, invariably in co-operation with private enterprise, will increase the national taxable capacity. In other words, there is a necessity for a comprehensive economic plan.

The whole programme, both of immediately remunerative public works and of schemes that will prove productive in the form of increased taxable incomes after a number of years, depends upon the right use of the borrowing powers of the provinces. Possibilities in this respect, so far neglected, will have to be utilized with due caution and forethought. It will have to be ensured under central supervision that provincial and municipal borrowing does not, under misconceived notions of public policy, transgress the safe limit as determined by economic conditions. Other related matters for control would be the rates of borrowing, co-ordination, on a national scale, in respect of the timing on the money market of the divergent provincial loans, and the control of foreign borrowing in view of its special consequences on the rupee exchange. Indeed these matter connected with public borrowing will form a important function of the newly created department of the Economic Advisor to the Government of India. The actual execution of th different provincial borrowing programmes ca for the greater part, be undertaken by th respective Provincial Treasuries or Banks und the guidance of the Reserve Bank.

THE RECENT CRISIS IN FIJI

By C. F. ANDREWS

The Indian community in Fiji has always had the sympathy of every party in India because of the very great suffering that it has been obliged to undergo in the past. The Indian labourers were drawn there by an evil system called 'indentured labour' which was really a form of slavery.

Thousands of very poor agricultural villagers were deceived by recruiters, called *arkatis,* who were paid so much per head for those whom they could bring to the Calcutta emigration depot. There they were shipped off in thousands to some unknown country thousands of miles across the sea. These recruiters received more for a woman than for a man, because women were not easy to obtain.

When I investigated the whole disgraceful affair more than twenty years ago I found out that the commonest form of deceit practised by the recruiters was to go to Benares, or Muttra, or Hardwar, at the pilgrim season, in order to find women who had lost their way and were crying in their trouble. They would then promise to take them back to their relatives. But instead of doing so, they took them to the emigration depot. When once they had thus been deceived these poor women lost heart; and in fear that they would not be taken back into their home again, they submitted to the evil situation and were shipped out to Fiji.

On two occasions, I was specially asked by the Indian National Congress to go out to Fiji on their behalf, with Mahatma Gandhi's full support. For the records of suicides and murders which came back to India from the plantations showed that something was cruelly wrong. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Pundit M. M. Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi, and Mrs. Besa had condemned the whole indenture syste But first-hand evidence was needed, if both t Government of India and the Colonial Offi were to be convinced of its harmful effects.

On the first occasion, Mr. W. W. Pearso of Calcutta, who was very deeply loved by who came into contact with his marvellous winning personality, went out with m Naturally we received a hostile reception fro the planters and also from the great Sug Refining Company, called the C. S. R. (Coloni Sugar Refining Company). On the other han the Indian community welcomed us with op doors, and fearlessly told us about the evils which they suffered. Some of the missionar also, such as Mr. Burton, Mr. Lelean and M Piper gave us great help.

I have always been profoundly grateful the Marwari Community, in Calcutta, for assistance they rendered to us on this f occasion when so much was at stake. Th provided a part of our expenses while the Ind Citizenship Association of Bombay provided rest. Mr. W. W. Pearson in the year 1924 (after we had returned) was killed in a rail accident in Italy. The loss, to me persona to all those who loved him, and also to Sa niketan which he had made his home, inexpressibly great. No Englishman ever derstood Bengal, or won the hearts of Bengali people, as he did. I am hoping come down to Calcutta this December order to meet the Marwari Community a and to thank them once more for the great which they gave me, at that critical time providing the expenses for Mr. W. W. Pea and also for printing at their own charges our Joint Report, which we published directly after our return.

But I must turn rapidly from that story of past history to the recent political crisis which has threatened and is not yet over.

Last year, I went out again to Fiji, and saw the conditions under which Indians are now living. While there has been an advance, in almost every direction, since the first time I visited the islands (when the semi-slavery of Indenture still prevailed) yet there are very many things where help is badly needed. Most of all, at the present moment, a crisis has arisen in the political field. The whole community stands united in resisting some recent actions of the Governor, which, if allowed to go unchallenged, might lead to serious consequences and deprive them of some of their rights as a free people. The facts are briefly these.

The Indian community agreed, after a long struggle, to give up their rightful claim for joint electorates (on an education and property basis) such as exists in British Guiana and Trinidad and Jamaica. They were practically forced after passive resistance to accept what has sometimes been called the "Kenya Franchise;" that is to say, a franchise on a racial basis of separate electorates in which each race votes apart. For a long time, my whole heart was with them in this passive resistance struggle and I was strongly opposed, along with themselves to this racial franchise ever being accepted. Also I wrote against it very strongly; because it seemed to me to be wrong that Fiji should differ in this respect from other Colonies.

But the argument was put forward that the Fijian race, to whom the islands rightly belonged, could not possibly join as yet in a common or joint electorate. The Indian community on that account, and also in order to make peace, agreed at last to waive their right of joint elections. This itself was a big concession, and should have satisfied the Europeans.

But then followed a further demand on the part of some of the leading Europeans, whom the late Governor, Sir Murchisan Fletcher supported. They petitioned the Colonial Office *to do away with elections altogether and to make the whole Legislative Council nominated by the Governor.*

This was to ask for a Dictatorship, pure and simple.

The Indian community very rightly objected to such a forfeiture of their own rights. A considerable number of Europeans joined them in the protest. The Colonial Office compromised in their decision. The elected seats were retained for each community, but two nominated seats were added.

The Indians agreed, for the sake of peace, to work the elections even on their conditions. They did not non-co-operate, as they had done on a previous occasion. No community could have been more considerate than they have been all through the crisis and they deserve every commendation for their wise statesmanship.

But then the trouble began. The New Governor immediately began to take advantage of his position as the nominator of two Indians out of the five, who would act on the Legislative Council. Before the election took place he announced his own two nominees. The Indian community lodged a protest against this extraordinary procedure. For in the normal course of things, such nominations by a Viceroy or Governor, are kept back till the elections are over. For a mischance may happen in an election to some candidate, who is obviously the right person—some technical flaw in the election which everybody regrets, and in that case the Governor has the golden opportunity of rectifying it by his own nomination. But if he nominates *before* the elections, he throws away altogether such an opportunity.

The Colonial Office however, upheld the Governor; and so the elections were held. Pundit Vishnudeo, Chattur Singh and Tularam were elected. The choice made by the electors, when I heard of it, seemed to me admirable. They are all men, who would work very hard and unselfishly for the community.

Then came the question of leadership in the House. For some reason, which I have not yet been able to discover, the Governor himself was asked to settle the orders of precedence or leadership,—at least, this is what appears from the concise cables which have come to us. The Governor appointed one of the nominated members, who was his own nominee. This also was appealed against to the Colonial Office: for it seemed entirely to flout the will of the electors, if one, who would have stood no chance in an election, were put above those who had gone through that supreme electoral test and had actually won at the poll. Such favouritism, on the part of the Governor, for his own nominee, would obviously make the whole electoral system a farce. The Governor would, in that case, be setting up his own will against the will of the people. The old Dictatorship idea would come back again.

All Parliamentary precedent would have pointed to the Indians themselves deciding such a matter, and I cannot yet understand why the

Governor intervened. If the two nominated Indian members refused to work with the elected members, they should have formed a small party of their own. If, however, they agreed to wark, as one body along with the Indian elected members, then the vote of the united party should have been taken and the leader should in this way have been chosen.

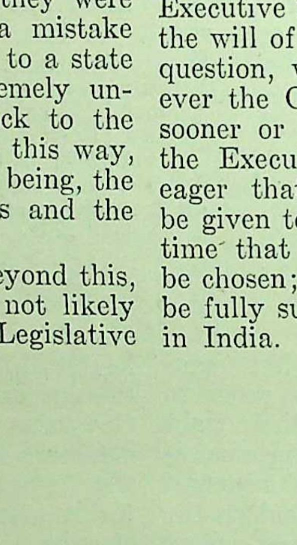
But the Governor's direct interference in this manner, together with his appointment of one of his own nominees to take precedence over the three elected members, was surely unconstitutional. At least, it appears to be such at this distance.

While the situation was thus strained on both sides, a further trouble occurred owing to a misunderstanding of the Governor's action. For the elected Indian members stayed away from the first Council meeting as a silent protest against the Governor's actions. Then, later, when they attended the Council they were told to vacate their seats by the Governor himself.

At first, this was thought by the elected members to be a cancelling of their election; but it seems that he told them to vacate their seats for the time being only, until they were sworn in. But the fact that such a mistake occurred appears to me itself to point to a state of very high tension, which is extremely unfortunate. Now they have gone back to the Council and have been sworn in. In this way, it may be supposed that, for the time being, the dispute between the elected members and the Governor has been so far settled.

But there is a further question beyond this, that is even more important and is not likely to be settled so soon. After all, the Legislative Council in Fiji, with its permanent official majority, can only ventilate grievances. Nothing can be finally voted for against the wishes of the Governor, for the official *bloc* is always on the Governor's side. But the *Executive* Council has much more important functions. It is the inner Cabinet, where proposed legislation is actually decided upon and put into shape before it comes to the Legislative Council for final confirmation so as to be made law.

It has been felt for a long time past, that Fiji was far behind the other Crown Colonies; because its Executive Council (where lies the real seat of power) has hitherto been purely European. While in British Guiana, Mauritius, the Gold Coast, Jamaica, Trinidad, etc., Indian members have served on the Executive, with great distinction, no Indian has hitherto been taken into the Executive by the Governor of Fiji. Now that the dispute about precedence or leadership has occurred in Fiji, with regard to the elected and nominated members, the question of appointment to the Executive becomes an acute one. Can the Governor nominate his own Indian nominee, over the heads of the elected members, to a seat on the Executive? Can he thus completely over-ride the will of the constituencies? This is the new question, which is certain to arise as soon as ever the Colonial Office decides, as it must do sooner or later, that an Indian must serve on the Executive Council. Indian opinion, while eager that a seat on the Executive should be given to an Indian, would claim at the same time that one of the *Elected* members should be chosen; and in making this claim they should be fully supported by unanimous public opinion in India.



COMMENT & CRITICISMS

"Making India Self-supporting in Cotton Goods"

An Article 'Making India Self-Supporting in Cotton Goods,' by Mr. Narayandas Bajoria, B.A., appeared in the November issue of *The Modern Review*. It demands criticism. Here is my humble criticism of the scheme mentioned therein.

The idea is excellent but there is a practical difficulty which I think requires attention of the public. If the duty of 150 per cent and 100 per cent can be imposed on foreign and British manufactures, there is of course, much possiblity of reducing the import of foreign cloth, at the same time there is a danger of rise in the price of our mill-made cloth.

Duties of 25 per cent to 50 per cent must be imposed on our cotton mills, (when we have imposed duties of 150 per cent and 100 per cent on foreign cloth), and at the same time the State must be ready to check the prices of the cloth manufactured in our mills. Our mills are not working for the masses but for the so-called agents and directors. As soon as the foreign competition is gone there will be a demonstration of the real nature of our mill agents.

Also the whole additional revenue of 20 crores should not be utilized only for primary and compulsory education. Half of this revenue (ten crores) should go for village, cottage and small-scale industries.

Last but not the least difficult is the question of imposing duties (of 150 per cent and 100 per cent) as mentioned above. Public opinion even today is in favour of imposing duties. There is a National Government in each of the seven provinces, but the Government of India Act, 1935, is not in favour of such things. If there is a will of the Nation, nothing is impossible. My vote is in favour of imposing duties.

S. N. Budhbhatti

"The Royal Veto in the New Constitution"

Reply to Prof. Bimalendu Dhar

Prof. Dhar has made a naive insinuation regarding my probable ignorance of the Royal veto under the previous constitution. If this assumption gives him any satisfaction, he is free to have it. I may point out to other readers that I considered it needless to give an exhaustive survey of the position under the old constitution and gave only an idea of the normal procedure. Prof. Dhar's talk of "Two-fold mistake" on the basis of my obviously general expression "a year" is, in his own words, "amusingly fanciful." If he had only soberly read my article—third and fourth paragraphs pp. 246-47, —he would have found the period precisely described *twice* as "*within twelve months.*" Under the new Act, the Royal veto may be exercised legally upto the last hour of the last day of the last month in the year, hence if I had used the popular expression "a year" for this, just to make a pointed criticism of it, no unpardonable offence was committed, particularly because the exact period "within twelve months" was stated more than once in the article. I must repeat whether Prof. Dhar likes it or not that *this specification of the period is an innovation.* I had also stated in my article that a Royal veto of "*this type*" had never been considered necessary so far. The significance of the phrase "*of this type*" has been deliberately ignored by Prof. Dhar.

It is a pleasure to know that as a result of my rejoinder Prof. Dhar has now been able to learn for the first time that the Imperial Conference of 1930 formally approved of the abolition of the Royal veto and that two dominions have gone to the length of formally abolishing the veto by special legislation of their own. His reference to my being "boastful of" and "elated" over these facts requires no answer. I merely stated hard facts of which he was unware! Prof. Dhar uncritically thinks that as only two dominions have abolished the veto by law (even this fact he never knew before), it exists in its old form for the remaining five dominions. As a student of constitutional law he should remember that once the principle of the abolition has been unanimously approved by the Imperial Conference, sanctified by the Statute of Westminster and confirmed in two individual cases by actual enactment, the Royal veto is dead and gone, whether there be special enactment in other dominions or not. Owing to the predominant non-English influence, South Africa and Ireland abolished the veto by legislation simply on account of excessive antagonism to Britain and national reluctance to be satisfied with mere amicable agreement. It is quite likely that the other dominions which are predominantly English and are not so opposed to the Commonwealth idea may not immediately ask for formal legislation now that the principle of abolition has been agreed upon.

As regards the King's acting in accordance with the advice of his Dominion Cabinet, I have merely to say that I cited the analogy between the position of the King and his Governor-General not as the only argument, as Prof. Dhar hastened to suppose in his usual fashion, but as a point supplementary to all that I had stated in the preceding paragraphs regarding the Imperial Conference, Statute of Westminster, etc., as will be apparent from the words used by me, "Thus after the developments following the Statute of Westminster . . ." I repeat with due deference to Prof. Dhar that the King cannot now constitutionally accept the advice of his own Cabinet (*concerning purely dominion matters*) in preference to that of his Dominion Cabinet, and I further repeat that such a conflict will never normally arise.

Even Prof. Keith has in his latest work on the Constitutional Law of the British Dominions referred to the power of disallowance more than once as "*dead*". Some jurists, however, think that the King may disallow an Act of secession from the Empire, because secession is obviously not a domestic matter alone, but affects the whole Commonwealth. As regards even the secession question, Prof. Keith (in whose opinions Prof. Dhar seems to have a blind faith) has expressly stated, " . . . if any Dominion should really decide to sever itself from the Empire, it would not be held proper . . . to prevent it from doing so . . ." I make a present of this latest opinion of Prof. Keith to Prof. Dhar, and if even this fails to satisfy him, I should respectfully agree to differ rather than carry on a futile wordy warfare in *The Modern Review* and thereby tire the patience of the Editor and the readers.

Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.

[*Editor's Note.* This controversy is now closed.]

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELATIVITY: *By A. P. Ushenko, Associate Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan, U. S. A. George Allen & Unwin Ld., London, 1937. Pp. 208. Price 8s. 6d.*

This book, from the pen of a Russian-born author now settled in America who has already made his mark by his contributions to the Theory of Logic, is decidedly, as the title indicates, a philosophical treatise on the various concepts involved in the Theory of Relativity. The Relativity Theory has brought in its train a vast literature—mainly from the physicists' point of view, but the contribution of genuine philosophers too has not been negligible; for in this borderland of the *Grenzwissenschaften,* as the Germans put it, physicists and metaphysicians have an equal right of way and so are found rubbing shoulders together. And the present treatise is essentially a metaphysician's contribution.

The author has been frank enough to admit as much at the very outset—"this book is primarily for philosophers", he says in the opening lines of his Preface. But one must not run away with the impression that he has slurred over the *physics* of Relativity, for that certainly he has not done—for no less than five chapters out of ten have been devoted to a systematic exposition and step-by-step deduction of the main equations of Relativity, both Special and General. Still, the main interest of the treatise is philosophic—it sets out to expound an original theory of events, change and space-time, and to offer a new explanation of perception.

In discussing the theory of events, the author has stressed the implications of the fact that events are described by "dispositional characteristics" *i.e.,* characteristics which are not manifest unless an observer is present —in other words, the "secondary qualities" of classical psychology, though in a more extended sense; which leads to the conclusion that "an event in order to exist in its own right must have an essence distinct from its dispositional properties, and that this essence is a fusion of space with time because the various specifications in perceptual perspectives of the event's date and size would be impossible if its nature did not partake of both space and time."

In dealing with the question whether the "space-time" concept is merely a conception or corresponds to objective reality—to which latter view the author himself leans—he discusses the theory of measurement and the correlation of different perspectives of the same "source-event," and further digresses into topics of more general interest, such as the cognitive function of Art and the famous paradoxes of Zeno.

In rejecting the category of "physical substance" and installing in its stead the category of "events" marching along a "world-line" in the "space-time" continuum, the author has indeed taken his stand agai Classical Mechanics and shown himself a zeal Relativist; but it is satisfactory to note that in Relativist zeal he has lost neither his philosophi balance nor the essential humility that characterizes real lover of truth, for he candidly confesses that he d not expect that we shall ever attain an unquestiona philosophy of process and immutability, for we are, quote a Russian poet, "lost for ever in the blind passa of space and time."

Devaprasad Ghosh

THE SEX LIFE OF THE UNMARRIED ADUL *Edited by Ira S. Wile. Published by George Allen Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Price 7s. 6d 5½″×8″. Pp. 320.*

The book is a symposium on the sex life of unmarried adult population of America. The prob has been approached from various standpoints by number of distinguished American men and wom professors. In the introduction Ira A. Wile discus the remarkable change in attitude towards sex that come about at the present time in America. 'Unmarri adults are approching sex as a fact rather than a theor 'The war itself was a factor in breaking down modest Young women sold their kisses patriotically with Lib Bonds. The bonds went, the liberty remained—the mor of the war continue'. The statistical disclosures rega ing the adultery of the married, the sexual experien of the unmarried and the clandestine abortions enough to shock even the mother of 'Mother India'. anthropological side of the problem has been very put forth by Margaret Mead. The biological side been elaborated by N. W. Ingalls. The chapters psychological and ethical discussions do not come up the standard of the other sections. The economical, medical, the legal and the literary aspects of the prob have all been analysed in a very interesting manner. legal discussions by Morris L. Ernest is full of fresh The final chapter by L. Pruette on 'Conditions Tod forcefully draws one's attention to the magnitude and importance of the problem. In spite of the fact that different sections have been contributed by diffe specialists a synthetic unity runs through all the chap Great credit is due to the editor for having brought such an interesting publication. Nowhere is there sign of any dogma; no attempt has been made to conclusions from insufficient data; questions have raised and discussed but no final solutions has arrived at. A wonderfully unbiassed objective att pervades the whole book. The book is well worth re even by a busy man.

G. Bos

A NEW HIGHWAY: *By T. Wigley, M.A. Published by Messrs George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Museum Street, London. Pp. 272. Price 8s. 6d.*

The book attempts a re-orientation of the Christian faith in the light of modern science, and seeks to prove that it is yet possible to be a Christian without treachery to one's scientific conscience.

There was a time when science was in mortal dread of religion and with good reason. The fate of Galileo is a classical instance. But science is irresistible now and religion has to justify itself at the bar of science. This means that many old ideas must undergo radical change. As the author before us has candidly admitted, "It is time that it was generally recognized that the identification of Christian thought with extravagant and untrue claims made for the Bible is one of the chief reasons for the alienation of the modern mind from any religion whatsoever" (p. 25). And we agree with the author when he says that "A theology of the modern world must work out for itself in its own terms to meet its own needs" (p. 263). But the immediate problem is: How much of the older creeds can be retained? Can we continue to believe in immortality because physicists hold the doctrine of Conservation of matter and energy? Is Heisenberg's Principle of Indeterminacy a proof of the freedom of will? These and many other questions have got to be faced and answered candidly.

It is a happy thing that Christianity takes courage in both hands and faces the criticism of science. But medievalism yet survives; and there are religions which still elude the search-light of science, for minds steeped in such medievalism, Mr. Wigley's book will be a healthy eye-opener.

U. C. BHATTACHARJI

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA: *By S. G. Panandikar, M.A., D.Sc., Econ. (London). Publishers Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. 1933.*

The aim of this book as has been stated by the author himself, is to show that the main obstacle to the industrial and economic progress of India is the absence of an efficient, steady and contented labour force. An attempt is made to suggest measures for overcoming this obstacle, keeping in view the growing consciousness of the workers as much as the apathy of the employers of labour. In a programme of further protective labour legislation, the author recommends reduction in the hours of work, progressive tightening up and extension of the operations of the Indian Factories Acts, setting up of better machinery of inspection and enforcement of the recommendation of the Labour Commission in regard to the employment of children and women.

With regard to the recognition of Labour Unions, which has been causing the greatest amount of dissatisfaction amongst the working classes today, the author suggests that the best policy for the employers is to recognize such Unions, even if they include some outsiders in the Executive. In case there are leaders who are not working sincerely for the welfare of the Unions, they will soon be found out and dismissed by the members within a short time unless they are helped by the antagonism of the employers. The unhealthy characteristic of the Unions are more likely to be removed by toleration than by hostility.

The book will be read with considerable interest by all those who are concerned with the problems of industrial labour in India.

N. SANYAL

THE MUSIC OF ORIENT AND OCCIDENT: *By Margaret E. Cousins, B. Mus. Publishers B. G. Paul & Co. Madras. Rs. 2.*

This book of 199 pages contains numerous articles contributed to the press during 1915-'35 by Mrs. Cousins. Twenty-two different subjects are touched in as many chapters. They range from Internationalism in Music, its national value, its emotional nature to personal studies of the Composer, Scriabine, the Veena-player Seshanna. A comparative study of Eastern and Western Music is also given. Rather a bewildering variety! Mrs. Cousins herself confuses that the book is without a plan.

Nevertheless, the keynote is clear. It is emotional understanding. The theme cannot be missed either. It is an attempt towards the mutual understanding of the East and the West by a comparative estimate of different musical systems. Those who believe in the emotional approach and the observation of similarities between national idioms more than in the scholarly tackling of musical problems and in the study of differences in idioms, which are the bases of comparative semantics, for the above-mentioned laudable objective in the domain of culture, cannot fail to appreciate this volume. Mrs. Cousins' enthusiasm is genuine and her ears sensitive. The middle-class of India is just now getting interested in music. Its interest will increase by Mrs. Cousins' essays. The value of the book could have been increased by studies of the northern Indian system.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

KANDAN, THE PATRIOT (SECOND EDITION): *By K. S. Venkataramani.*

JATADHARAN AND OTHER STORIES (1937): *By K. S. Venkataramani.*

ON THE SAND-DUNES (SECOND EDITION): *By K. S. Venkataramani.*

PAPER BOATS (FOURTH EDITION): *By K. S. Venkataramani.*

The above books have been published by the Svetaranya Ashrama, Mylapore, Madras. Their printing and get-up offer testimony to the excellent progress that our press has achieved in recent years and their prices are quite reasonable.

Mr. Venkataramani, I am afraid is not known in this part of the country, although he has been highly spoken of both in India and abroad, and what is more, some of his books have run into several editions. It appears from the pressnotes of Madras that in his own province, he is esteemed as a great writer. His *Paper Boats* was published in 1921 with a Foreword of Dr. Annie Besant.

Kandan, the Patriot, is a novel of New India in the making and gives us an interesting picture of the reaction of the Non-co-operation Movement in Madras Presidency. I have seen a more penetrating picture of its influence on Upper India in the famous Hindi novel, *Premashram* of Premchandraji. *Kandan* has not indeed grown to the fulness of that great book, but it presents a delightful sketch of the village life of the Cauvery Valley as it was roused from its age-long slumber at the call of the country. *Kandan* is the type of many silent workers who sacrificed all they had and martyred themselves for the motherland, and Rangar who gave up his Indian Civil Service for love and self-respect is not an unfamiliar figure. I have met him elsewhere. The end is tragic for the innocent Kandan is shot dead by the military in a riotous meeting and Rangar and Rajeswari, the heroine are sent to jail. The author, I am sorry to say, has failed to reproduce the pathos of the situation. He lacks the dramatic power without which no author can come out successful in a situation like that.

I liked *Jatadharan* better than *Kandan* because Mr. Venkataramani is a better story-teller than a novelist. Jatadharan is a lovely character. He obtained a triple first class of Madras University and would have shone in the Indian Civil Service but sacrificed all his earthly hopes and served for fifty years as a humble village school master.

Mr. Venkataramani excels in description but his dialogues suffer from a sense of unreality. Apart from the fact that his characters speak chaste prose, his Panchamas shout, "Hip, hip, hurrah!" (*Kandan*) and his gipsy beggar says, "The *jin* will fetch you a damsel fairer than water-nymph or an Ariel and build you a palace nobler than Ducal mansions" (*In Quest of Power*). Immediately after a railway collision for which he is responsible, Sundaram, the Station master quietly talks with his wife about the past of *Kandan*, the patriot. Chandru, the boy of five, speaks thus of his truant uncle: "He has left us all for ever, to roam the world over like a free boy. How I wish I could join my uncle and wander with him for ever in pathless tracks in jungles and winding foot-line by the side of streams."

His musings *On the Sand-Dunes* left me cold. Far from being original, they seemed to me as stale as a book read and re-read for an examination. The wild sea breeze has not inspired the writer with thoughts throbbing with freshness and life.

The *Paper Boats* are excellent studies of our village life in the South. It is not surprising that the book was well received in Europe and America, for it offers vivid picture of a Hindu village.

My Little Arunalam is a thing of beauty. It is a nice little sketch written with love and sympathy. The author rose to the greatest expression of his genius when he caught the pathos of the unfortunate Pariah's life. One begins to think that he is the *jinnee* of the fields he tills and has sprung from them like the golden harvest that he gathers. Like the Mother Earth he is ever cheerful, forgiving and generous.

Mr. Venkataramani's English style has been highly admired by Mrs. Besant and other English critics. C. R. Reddy calls him the Keats of English prose. Though goodness knows what he means by that, undoubtedly Mr. Ramani's command of the English language is very great. His books ought to find a good market in Northern India.

S. N. Ray

HISTORY OF THE KAYASTHAS, PART II: *By Gopinath Sinha Varma, B.A., L.T. Published by the Varman & Co., Mahalla Quanungo, Bareilly, 1935. Price 2-8. Pp. iv+289.*

The author is to be congratulated for bringing out the second part of his interesting book, *The History of the Kayasthas.* It comprises a mass of material collected from various sources such as inscriptions, ancient literature, traditional accounts and social history of the present day; and is, as such, a useful book for the proper understanding of the history of the Kayastha community as a whole.

The present part is divided into two chapters. In the first chapter, the author gives us an account of the different castes of India with their clans or sects and tries to determine their respective position in Hindu society. In the second part he gives a detailed account of some royal families which are, in his opinion, Kayastha in origin.

One cannot however always comply with all the opinions of the author, nor is it expected that one should. It is however necessary to point out certain statements with which one might disagree. Thus there are few who would share with the author the view that 'the highness or lowness, purity or impurity of a particular Hindu caste, does not depend on the birth but is actually determined by the power and the influence, the wealth and the affluence, the knowledge and the pushing nature of its members" (p. 20).

With regard to the history of the name Kayastha, clear distinction ought to have been drawn between the term used as an office-designation and as the name of particular caste; for the Kayasthas as a caste came into existence only in the 9th century A.D., while we hear of Kayasthas even in the Yajnavalkya Smriti (I. 336) which is dated as early as the middle of the 4th century A.D. The derivation of the word Kathoi, which as he thinks came to be designated as Kaiths or Kayasthas, does not seem to be very sound (p. 69).

The author's claim of the Kayasthahood of many ruling families is not always laid on sure foundation. Thus at p. 45, he describes the Sena kings as 'the Sena Kayastha families', while at p. 92, he describes them as Kshatriyas who freely married with Kshatriyas. It has however been proved by historians that the Senas were Brahma Kshatriyas. It is also doubtful if the Pala kings were Kayasthas (pp. 73-4), the grounds for such an opinion being rather insufficient.

The printing of the book leaves much to be desired and a table of errata would have been a welcome addition.

T. C. Raichaudhury

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A SUPPRESSED PEOPLE *By J. C. Heinrich (Allen and Unwin). 1937. 18 cr. 148p. 3/8.*

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first two of them deal with "Oppression Stimuli" among the depressed classes in India and in the case of the Negroes. The author concludes that there is a parallel between the Indian sweeper and the Negro in America. The last chapter refers to "The Indian Church at Work." He seems to have some pet theories which he endeavours to prove by copious quotations from other writers and has thus obscured his own views on the subject. He was a Missionary in the Punjab and, as is usual with his class of people, speaks with an authority on Indian Christians in the Province. Evidently there was no love lost between him and his flock. But he had no justification whatever in referring to the poor Indian Christians in the Punjab in such derogatory terms. Throughout the book he refers to them as "Christian Sweepers." Recently the Punjab Government, in response to an appeal by Christians, issued an order that they should not be described as "Christian Sweepers" in official documents. He has deliberately hurt the feelings of Christians in the Punjab. It cannot be that he did not know that they resented this label. He mentions a report by a certain district missionary in which it is stated that the police records in his district "show an increase in major crimes including murder among the depressed classes since they have embraced Christianity." This report of a brother missionary can be challenged and the motive of the author in quoting it is fully revealed. "Christian Sweepers," as the learned Divine is pleased to call Indian Christians in the Punjab, has sufficient influence now. They ought to demand from him statistics to substantiate these remarks, failing which he should be called upon to withdraw these words from his book and tender an unqualified apology. If, however, Indian Christian leaders do not help their poor brethren and sisters whose feelings are outraged by the author, the "Sweeper Christian" will be well advis to abandon these leaders and look for help elsewhere. This reviewer can say without any fear of contradiction that the moral degradation of the class of Indian Christians to which a reference is made by the author is directly traceable to the low moral standard of the white missionary who induced them to embrace Christianity. At any rate it is wrong to generalise so as to misrepresent a whole community. Another missionary friend told the author, "The Indian Christians of—are the most selfish, self-satisfied, self-centred people on the face of the earth." The fact is that the friend was describing the moral calibre of the missionary-in-charge of the place. Further we are told, "The extent to which Indian Christians adopted skirts, stockings, shoes, hats, neckties, topees, etc.; and the number that 'passed' to the status of Anglo-Indians has long been a concern of thoughtful missionaries." This is simply not true. In the olden days when a man or woman decided to turn Christian, he was often advised and sometimes forced by the missionary to put on European clothes. I have just been reading the auto-biography of an eminent Indian Christian of the Punjab. He says that his old mother was crying when they took her to the church for baptism not because she was going to be a Christian but because against her wishes she was forced to put on a skirt. Needless to say that that was the first and last time she ever adorned herself in European attire. When Indian Christians along with Hindus and Muslims became advanced in western education they naturally took more and more to the western style of dress. Indian Christians went a step further and their women adopted skirts but they did not give up the head dress. The more frequent use of the English language for daily use among Indian Christians inspired in them a certain amount of self-confidence and they asserted equality with missionaries which the latter resented. This resulted in the "concern of thoughtful missionaries." The author is talking of things that happened about 30 years ago, though the book was published this year. We should have been told that many Indian Christians who owing to circumstances were obliged to pass as Anglo-Indians are gradually coming back. Has the learned author recently seen any Indian Christian woman in the Punjab wearing skirt?

This book will not serve any useful purpose.

S. A. WAIZ,
in *The Servant of India*

YOGA IN DAILY LIFE: *By Sri Swami Sivananda Saraswati. Ananda Kutir, Rikhikesh, Himalayas. Published by Em. Airi, Editor, Ideal Home Magazine, Amritasar. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 1-10.*

This is a wonderful little book of extraordinary merit and is written by a Yogi in simple English language. It contains the most practical hints on various kinds of Yoga. The Foreword and Introduction covers 19 pages and there are 9 sections. The first section deals with the preliminary practices for yoga; the second section deals with Bhaktiyoga; the third the Karmayoga; the fourth the Rajyoga and Jnanayoga. Different kinds of *Asanas* are explained in the fifth section; the sixth section gives particulars of three defects of mind that confront the beginner and remedies thereof have been suggested; the seventh deals with the most difficult subject of Brahmacharya and how to attain it. In the eighth section the author describes yoga in a nutshell; and the last section contains narratives and stories of the lives of great Yogins. In the Appendix some very important letters, some routine duties of the householder, and a spiritual diary, etc., have been given. The most interesting feature of the book is the very happy reconciliation of the different cults of Jnana, Bhakti, and Karma and their relation with Yoga, and so this part of the book may be said to be invaluable to all those who would practice Yoga, containing all the necessary information about Yoga itself. It will be no exaggeration if we repeat the remarks of the Publishers—"This inspiring and soul-stirring little volume will undoubtedly contribute its mite to the moral and spiritual perfection of the human race in general and the aspirants in particular."

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

MANAMEYODAYA, AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON THE MIMAMSA OF NARAYANA: *Edited with an English translation by C. Kunhan Raja and S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri. Adyar Library, Madras. 1933.*

This is an elementary but important work of the Bhatta School of Mimamsa composed in the 16th century A.D. by Narayana Bhatta of Malabar, a versatile scholar, poet and philosopher. It was first published in 1912 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 19. The present edition by two well known South Indian scholars presents a much improved text with the help of an additional Madras MS., and includes an accurate and reliable English translation as well as notes which bring the contents of this lucid yet terse philosophical treatise within the easy reach of the general reader. There is a detailed table of contents and a comparative list of doctrinal differences between the various schools, which undoubtedly enhance the value of the edition. The book deals chiefly with two Mimamsa topics in accordance with the views of the Bhatta-school, *viz.*, Mana or recognized means of valid knowledge, and Maya or the categories constituting the deceptive content of valid knowledge; but there are critical references to the views of other Indian philosophical systems. We have no doubt that this substantial publication will not only enhance the reputation of the series in which it is included but will contribute efficiently to the study of Indian philosophy in general and of the Bhatta phase of Indian Realism in particular.

S. K. DE

ENGLISH-TAMIL

TOLKAPPIYAM (PORULATHIKARAM): *Done into English, with exhaustive comments and illustrations by R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L. Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit and Superintendent of Studies in Indian Languages in the National College, Trichinopoly, etc., etc. Murugavilasa Jnananukula Press, 1933; first fasciculus. Pp. 48, paper cover. Price As. 12.*

The publishing of this edition of the third part of the *Tolkappiyam* is sufficient indication of a revival of Old Tamil studies in Tamil-land which is most refreshing to observe. *The Porulathikaram* or the section on the subject-matter of Poetry is the earliest treatise on *alankara* or poetics and rhetoric as well as lists of themes for Tamil poetry. The work was compiled at a time when pure Tamil ideas were reigning dominant in Tamil literature,—extraneous, North Indian Aryan elements not yet being able to create much impression. When Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri's edition of the *Porulathikaram* is published as a part of the entire *Tolkappiyam* which is evidently contemplated by him, there will be a certain amount of overlapping, the two Tamilian scholars working in the same special line, but that is unavoidable when we are concerned with some work of fundamental importance. Mr. Vasudeva Sarma gives the Tamil text in Tamil characters, with the English translation below each *sutra*, and then he has an elaborate explanation or commentary in English. The subject-matter of Tamil poetry as classified in the *Tolkappiyam* and other works has already been made known to English readers by scholars like V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and others. We are now glad to have the original text of the *Tolkappiyam* for this important and what may be described as the most characteristically Old Tamil topic with an English translation and with exhaustive comments and illustrations. It is quite a new world, absolutely different from that of Sanskrit poetics, the Old Tamil division of subjects for poetic treatment into *akam* a 'inner matter' meaning 'love', and *pur'am* or 'outer matter' meaning life in general, excluding love and including chiefly warfare. The subdivisions or consideration of *akam* with reference to the various situations in which the lovers find themselves and with reference to the terrestrial and seasonal environment and temporal conditions, and other influences or surroundings, and a similar classification of *pur'am* in reference to the geographical surroundings and the various stages in warfare, are rather elaborate and categorical, rivalling certain aspects of Sanskrit rhetoric when it gives elaborate classifications of lovers and sweet-hearts and their various moods. These are too detailed matters to be discussed or delated upon. All this we find promulgated in a systematic manner in the *Porulathikaram* of the *Tolkappiyam*: and as a repository of the Old Tamil view-point of criticism of Old Tamil life 1500 to 2000 years ago, deducing the law from earlier and contemporary Tamil literature and also giving the law to it, the importance of this section of the *Tolkappiyam* is patent to everyone. Mr. Vasudeva Sarma has brought to bear the result of his wide reading in Early Tamil and general literature in his commentary, and altogether his work appears to be exceedingly well done. We hope he will with other Tamilian scholars help to make much more widely known to the outside world the great literature in his mother-tongue, by means of similar translations. I only wish to mention in passing the manifold advantages of using the Roman script in a proper transliteration to make such works doubly useful to the outside public, which certainly has a good number of lovers of Dravidian in general and of Tamil in particular, without their being readers of Tamil.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

SARVA LAKSHANA SAMGRAHA: *By Bhikshu Gourisankara. Price Four annas only. Pocket-book size. Pp. 158. Obtainable from Manbhari Devi, Village Puthi, P.O. Bawni Khera, Hissar (India). Fourth Edition.*

This little book contains definitions of 3231 words of Vedas, Vedangas, Darshanas, Smritis, Puranas, etc., of Sanskrit literature, which are generally met with and it will thus be the most helpful compendium for study of Sanskrit philosophy specially. The definitions are generally quotations from the most well known and authoritative works and are therefore, quite dependable. It serves the purpose to a certain extent of "Nayakosa" the most renowned work of Bheemacharya of Poona. This publication has already been well received by the scholars of the East and West. The price has been reduced to one-third of what was in previous editions.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

BENGALI

KADAMBARI: *By Prabodhendunath Thak Ranjan Publishing House, 25-2, Mohan Bagan Ro Calcutta. B.E. Asvin, 1344 (1937). Price Rupees 5.*

One of the most notable features of this hig attractive rendering of the first part of Banabhatt classical romance into Bengali is the fact that the auth has succeeded in shaking off the burden of cumbro Sanskrit and producing a really Bengali version, whi is eminently readable. Without departing from t original but without being tediously literal and unintelli ble, he has given us the romantic story in an easy a smooth form suitable to the genius of Bengali. He has n attempted to achieve the impossible; and within t limitations which he has imposed on himself he has be eminently successful. The limitations have natura produced a mixed result, attended with both loss a gain. Those who are conversant with the original w perhaps miss the real Banabhatta in it; on the other ha readers of Bengali will gain in it an almost new creati which is not unfaithful to the original but which prese it in a more suitable Bengali form. It is well kno that these Sanskrit romances, in spite of th sentimentality and extravagances, still retain their h on the imagination of the reader by these very peculiariti no less than by their wonderful spell of language a vivid picturesqueness of imagery. But these things a in themselves almost untranslatable. In the last centu Tarasankar made an attempt to reproduce, as far possible, these characteristics, but the result had been heavily Sanskritised and alien form which never ma a wide appeal. Our author has profited by the experie of his predecessor, but in trying to avoid one extreme has often gone to the other. In the letter printed a foreword to the work, the wonderful literary instinct Rabindranath is undoubtedly right in pointing out t the version has, in many cases, suffered lapses from proper dignity by the intrusion of popular and colloqu expressions. The youthful love depicted in Banabhatt romance moves in a somewhat strange and fantas atmosphere of myth and folk-tale, and is perhaps m sentimental than passionate in its expression; but t unreality of the dream-pageant acquires a new vita and interest not only from the graceful treatment of t tenderness of human love and friendship, but also fr the nobly wrought diction in which they move with re dignity and splendour. The extravagances of t luxuriant style have been condemned by many a mod critic, but its undoubted melody, majesty and picturesq ness, eked out by an exuberant fancy, help to make i fit vehicle for the strange story, which images the supr realities of a love having its root not only in this but also in the recollective feeling of cycles of existe As such, the fancy, the sentiment as well as the verb finished form is inseparable from the poetic express and every translation should take cognisance of this f But in an analytic language like Bengali it is difficul reproduce the graces, beauties and subtelties of a synth language like Sanskrit. The extraordinary power compounding and compression which Sanskrit posse gives it a peculiar capacity of expression; and the e on the mind is that of a perfect whole in which the p coalesce by inner necessity. This impression canno produced in an analytic speech like Bengali, still les English, in which the content is to be conveyed, no a single sentence synthetically merged into a whole, l the idea which it expresses, but in a series of loo connected predication. These are some of the inhe difficulties of translating a Sanskrit work, but they be doubly accentuated in the case of a strangely sty and elaborate work like that of Banabhatta. Our a is aware of these difficulties and does not minimise them. But the method he proposes gives us only a partial solution; and he has not always been able to avoid the dangers of adopting an easy, rather too easy, and familiar style and diction in adapting the highly factitious work of Banabhatta. Nevertheless, our author's attempt is indeed highly praiseworthy; and, considering the difficulties, is no mean achievement in Bengali. We offer him our sincere felicitations for a labour of love which testifies to his great attachment alike to Sanskrit and Bengali.

S. K. De

ABHIJNAN: *By Upendranath Ganguly. To be had of the Author, 27-1, Fariapukur Street, Calcutta.*

Abhijnan is the name of a modern Bengali novel by Sj. Upendranath Ganguly. It is the latest of his masterly productions.

Though the author, like a mature artist, keeps himself and his views always in the background, yet in course of the natural development of the plot one meets with two of the most vital problems of the Bengali society. The first problem is the increasing tension between the Hindu and the Muslim sections of the society, and the second is the utterly helpless position of a Hindu woman, however innocent, under circumstances that cannot be prevented by her own society.

The intensely humanistic outlook of the author gives him a correct perspective of the Muslim society which, surely, like any other society, consists of both good and evil elements. Sandhya, the heroine of the piece, while proceeding immediately after her marriage ceremony to her father-in-law's house in Calcutta from the latter's village home, is carried off by a band of ruffians, some of whom are Musalmans. She is lodged thereafter in the safe custody of two Muslim brothers belonging to the gang. The captive life of Sandhya within the clutches of such ruffians would certainly take the reader's breath away, had not the catholic imagination of the author brought in nothing short of an angel in the form of the ruffians' sister Amina, the solace and saviour of Sandhya in her hour of crisis. Amina, her husband, her father-in-law, her brother-in-law, in fact, the entire lot, will illumine the whole of Muslim society of Bengal with the consciousness of the essential spark of Divinity in the heart of each of its individual members. This correct understanding and frank statement of the brighter side of Muslim life by a Hindu writer will no doubt look almost like a bridge over the gulf between the two sections of the Bengali society.

This, however, is only a side-light. The main theme concerns itself with the second problem, namely, the unenviable fate of Hindu women supposed to be polluted by the breath of ruffians. They are disowned by their near relatives, though the latter are unable to give them the necessary protection. The society has no decent corner where they may find a shelter, and they have, perforce, to walk out either to make an end of their life or to lead a life of shame.

Indeed, there is something absolutely rotten in the body of the present-day Hindu society. Tyranny of men over women has perhaps gone too far. The whole burden of preserving the spiritual health of the society appears to have been transferred entirely on to the shoulders of women. Libertinism among the male section is hardly looked upon as a social crime. It is allowed to pass almost as a normal event. The society is not ashamed even of harbouring public women for aiding and abetting the male section to violate the laws of chastity. Chastity, undoubtedly, is the very life-force of a society. Self-restraint is the central formula of human growth. The history of the cultural advance of humanity is nothing but a record of the progressive realisation of the blessings of self-restraint by the human race since the first appearance of the Cave-man. And chastity has to be preserved both by men and women. Any inequality in this respect is bound to disturb the moral equilibrium of a society. Chastity and equality have to go together in order to preserve the love, harmony and sweetness of the Hindu home and to keep up the vitality of this hoary race that has outlived innumerable catastrophic changes on the surface of its social and political life. But, long before this may be achieved, Hindu women have to learn to shake off their age-long habits of cringing servility, to recover their self-respect and to feel that they too have a voice in carving the destiny of society.

The author, in his Abhijnan, has astonished us, and filled our hearts with high hopes by depicting with his masterly strokes such an intrepid and intensely self-respecting female character as Sandhya, the heroine of Abhijnan. Sandhya is not a mere individual player in a particular drama of life. She represents a type moulded by the deft fingers of the author, a type into which Hindu womanhood is to evolve before it may be expected to restore the spiritual equilibrium of society. Sandhya is not a mere clod of earth, a mere doll that may be played or trifled with or thrown away in the ditch to rot or to be broken into pieces at the sweet will of her natural male guardians.

When her husband, Priyalal, who had so lately on the honeymoon night sealed his heart with hers with all solemnity, pleaded his helplessness in the presence of his strong-willed father to do anything for her, she appealed to him in the name of their conjugal love to leave his father's house and accompany her to the wide world, where she promised she would find a living for them both. But Priyalal was too docile to honour his love by displeasing his father. Sandhya was stunned, but that was only for a moment. In an instant she pulled herself together, brushed aside the thin crust of her feminine servility and dazzled her weak husband by the lustre of her self-respecting womanhood. She said that she pitied his weakness, but could not excuse it. With a lightning spark in her eyes and her head raised high, she told her husband, "When you don't mind forsaking me, remember that I also am going to forsake you. No amount of your overtures will ever be able to bring me back." Sandhya remained true to her word to the last day of her life. And this she did without treading the usual path of physical or moral suicide. Nor did she choose to follow the footsteps of a wild revolutionary, in discarding the fundamental laws of chastity of a Hindu wife. With her self-respect of an extremely aggressive type she very wonderfully harmonised the code of honour of a Hindu wife. This marks her out as an original creation of the author. Even when she parted for life from her offending husband whom she could never pardon, she did not forget to take the dust of his feet. This was undoubtedly an expression of her unflinching loyalty to the ideal of a chaste Hindu wife.

Of course, Sandhya felt intensely for her husband: yet she was firm in her resolve of vindicating her injured womanhood. Her stern refusal to follow her husband like a bitch as soon as he was pleased to whistle, is a lesson for rousing the self-respect of Hindu women. It is an epic protest against the inequities to which they are being subjected by Hindu society.

Sandhya will live long to inspire Hindu women with the strength, self-confidence, self-respect and moral courage of self-conscious womanhood.

[Swami] Nirvedananda

CHHELEDER ARABYA UPANYAS OR THE ARABIAN NIGHTS FOR CHILDREN: *By Gajendra Kumar Mitra. Mitra and Ghose. 11, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 80. Price Rupee One only.*

The stories in this collection have been watered down, perhaps with a view to making them suitable for very young readers, to such an extent that much of the charm peculiar to the *Arabian Nights* is lost.

The publishers have secured and published in this book one of the famous illustrations of the Arabian Nights by Abanindranath Tagore, which testifies to their good taste, not always to be found in our publishers so far as the artistic quality of book-illustration is concerned.

PULINBIHARI SEN

PANJABI

GIDDHA (*The Popular folk-dance of the Punjab*): *By Professor Devendra Satyarthi. Punjabi Pyare, Amritsar. Price Rs. 5 net.*

Professor Davendra Satyarthi has travelled all over India, fascinated by the romance of village life and has collected folk songs of U. P., Bengal, Maharashtra and other parts of India. Giddha is the first fruit of his labours. The songs that village girls and young lads sing when they dance with the joy of living in the Punjab. No one knows who composed these songs, but they have come straight from the heart of men and women, and express desire and hope, joy and sorrow with a directness which is rarely found in the works of sophisticated urban poets.

There is a spontaneity about them and freedom from any communal divisions which shows that in the villages truths of life prevail and people not only share their joys and sorrows together, but respect the beliefs of each other. For instance, singing begins with a prayer, and the singer starts with invoking "Devi" the Goddess of song. Then he offers his homage to "Allah" the name which the Muslims give to God and then he bows before the Sikh Gurus. The same way there is no exclusion of any community from the singing parties. Describing the "Giddha" the song runs :—

> Adorned with jewels from their house started
> "Fatan" and "Partapi".
> All blooming maids came to dance,
> They sparkled in the light of moon,
> As sparkle golden threads in the sun
> The beautiful girls danced
> As dance young deer in wilderness.

The Punjab supplies soldiers to the army and a whole chapter describes the sorrows of love-lorn wives left behind by their husbands.

> "The sand on which you trod
> I put to my heart.
>
> Thy figure I no more see
> A dust cloud fills my sight.
>
> The moon will rise again
> But without thee
> My sight will have no light.
>
> He came to me in my dream,
> I opened my eyes and he was there no more.
> With every turn of the spinning wheel
> I spin the story of my suffering.
>
> Handful of paper has come
> But it brings no news of thy coming.
>
> My eyes are tired of waiting,
> For sake of God turn home again.

The little book gives picture of the simplicity a sweetness of village life and shows that rich and p alike share in the joy of life and paths of meetings a partings, happy and unhappy marriages. That civili tion can provide glittering trappings for the setting a dance, but can not surpass the joy of those who gat in the village-common under star-lit skies and un impulse of emotions which dancing and singing invok

J. S.

MARATHI

SIR BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA BHATAVAD KAR: *By Miss Gargi Bhatavadekar, Bombay Vaibh Press. Price Two Rupees.*

That a grand-daughter should write an exhausti biography of her distinguished grand-father is. I belie a unique instance in biography-writing: and theref Miss Gargi Bhatavadekar is to be heartily congratula on bringing out an authentic biography of her gra father, the late Sir Bhalchandra. The authoress has allowed her relationship to the subject of the biogra to influence her judgment and the treatment of subject from beginning to end is absolutely impart and exemplary. Sir Bhalchandra was not an All In Leader of the type of Sir Pherozshah Mehta or Go Krishna Gokhale. He did not certainly shine with fierce light of either but his was the gentle moo mellow and soothing light that pleased all that ca in contact with him and that endeared him to all. Bhalchandra did not start institutions but he was c nected with every institution which aimed at the pro tion of the good of the people. Being a medical m by profession, matters relating to health and hygi claimed his first attention. It was therefore no won that he took a deep and abiding interest in the p motion of temperance. For more than twenty years, was the soul of the local branch of the Tempera Association. His services to the Bombay Municipal where he was the uncrowned king's (Sir Pherozsh Mehta's) first lieutenant, were long and varied. Polit of the moderate type had a soft corner in his heart. was a wonder that in spite of a highly extensive exacting medical practice, Sir Bhalchandra found ti to take an active and often a leading part in the num ous activities and institutions with which he was c nected. In many respects, Sir Bhalchandra was typical person. Gentle in speech and manner, neat tidy in dress. honest. truthful, straightforward in spe and act, ready to oblige the needy even at consider monetary sacrifice to himself, it was not surprising he was loved by people of all communities alike. was singularly free from the communal virus and was how he could claim staunch and unfailing frie and co-workers from every community. He was a ma boundless industry and robust optimism and was tru both by the Government and the people. His pri life was very simple. A loving patriarch that he he commanded the affection and respect of a hos children and grand-children and relatives. The auth tells us that there were at times forty per in his domestic service and that his hospitality princely. As in public, so in private life. he paid utmost attention even to the smallest deatils. Prosp did not spoil him and the financial shock which he did not sour his temper. He was orthodox in religious views but this fact did not prevent him sympathising with the religious sentiments of others bringing this very inadequate review to a close. it w be impossible not to mention the name of his de brother Mr. Vishnupant who was of immense assi to him in all his activities. His sudden death in 1911, left a deep mark of sorrow on Sir Bhalchandra, to the end of his days. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that men like Sir Bhalchandra are the salt of the earth. Selfless, unassuming, obliging, straight, honest, truthful and charitable even to opponents, he never offended any one by word or act and always commanded every body's respect. As Carlyle has said, Biography "is the most universally pleasant, and most universally profitable of all reading." and the biography of Sir Bhalchandra written in chaste and flowing Marathi will certainly be found to be very profitable indeed.

V. S. S.

PESHWA-KALIN MAHARASHTRA *(Maharashtra during the Peshwa Regime)* : *By Vasudev Krishna Bhave, B.A. Poona. 1935. Pp. 558. Price Rupees 3-8.*

Mr. Bhave is an author of considerable fame in Maharashtra and some of his books enjoy great popularity among his people. But none of his earlier books perhaps deserve a more sincere tribute of praise than this latest work of his on social, economic and administrative institutions of Maharashtra during the rule of the Peshwas. The chief merit of the book under review lies of course in much original research on the part of the author, but in his able handling of facts already brought to light by the laborious researches of eminent historians of his country. The first attempt to portray the social life of Maharashtra was that of Mr. D. V. Kale. Mr. Bhave's book has removed a long-felt need for well-written treatise to popularise the more beneficent phases of Maratha activities than their race for empire in the North.

The book under review consists of 32 chapters on topics of varied interest. Chapters 2 and 3 give us the history of the city of Poona and its buildings and temples. The city of Poona grew up piece-meal out of the village of Poona which again had been an agglomeration of three Khedas of Poone, Kasari and Kumari. Out of the important *Peths* of Poona, namely, Aditvar, Budhvar, Shukravar, Sadashiv-peth, Ganesh-peth, Rasta-peth and Shanivada all except the last-named one—which formed the citadel of the city—were built by private individuals. Taxes were realised from the people partly in cash partly in kind, consisting of articles produced by different castes and sub-castes.

K. R. Quanango

GUJARATI

SHRAVANI MELA: *By Umashankar Joshi. Printed at the Virvijaya Printing Press. Ahmedabad. Published by Vora & Co., Bombay. Cloth Bound. Pp. 238. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1937). Illustrated cover.*

Shravani Mela (a fair in the month of *Shravan*) is the title of the last of fifteen stories found in this book. The story reminds one of the annual Sipi fair held near Simla, where jungle maidens and youths assemble in their hundreds, dance their jungle dances, make purchases and also arrange (matrimonial) matches. The description of the fair and of its chief visitors Ambi and Devo, are graphic, vivid and appealing. The other stories are written also on an equally high level. The first story for instance, depicts the innermost desire of old men of the older generation, who consider their life wasted unless they see their grandson (son's son) playing in their lap and in depicting it, the author paints the light and shade in the domestic life of the middle class Hindu householder with an unerring brush. The whole collection is a welcome addition to the story literature of Gujarat.

RAJ HATYA: *By Chunilal Vardhaman Shah. Printed at the Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound. Pp. 373. Price Re. 1-12-0 (1937).*

Mr. Chunilal Shah with his usual facile pen presents in this novel, the decline and fall of Hindu Rule in old Gujarat. The objects he wants to set forth is that when a king neglects his official duties he must prepare himself for the worst of fates: that even in old times in India people know the principle that the subjects of a king were justified in driving him out when he behaved in an unkingly fashion and carrying administration through their chosen representatives. King Ajayapal was done away with to enforce the above principle. In three parts, in this novel, the author has brought out various aspects of the history of Gujarat in that period in a felicitous way.

K. M. J.

(1) MANDAGNI. (2) MANDABAD KEM MATADAVO? (3) MANAS MANDO KEM PADE CHHE? (4) BRAHMACHARYYA.

These four pamhlets are all from the able pen of Dr. Jatashankar Nandi N. D. (New York). N. D. (Bezwada). M. M. S. A. (N. Y.), Vice-President of the Academy of the Indian Naturapathic Association, and form parts of a series called *Jeevanprakash Granthamala*, published by a society with a suggestive title "Arogyarakshak Jnanpracharak Granthamala" and available at a very cheap price from Savarmati (Ahmedabad). The pamphlets are designed to preach the natural laws of health among the masses, and discuss Brahmacharyya, loss of appetite, etc.

P. R. Sen

TELUGU

KARUNYAM (Eight short stories): *By Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao. Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 1. Price As. 4. Pp. 96. To be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Patapet, Tenali.*

Mr. Kutumba Rao would have done well, had he been more realistic in the choice of his material for these society stories.

PAPAM (Nine short stories): *By G. Venkatachallam. Yuva Karyalaya Series. No. 2. Pp. 93. Price As. 4. Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Pathapet, Tenali.*

Mr. Venkatachallam's place is very high among the story writers in Telugu. But the subject-matter of the stories in the present book does in no way record the past, reflect the present, or reveal the future of the society we live in.

R. S. Bharadwaj

BOOKS RECEIVED

GUIDE TO THE ALL-INDIA EXHIBITION OF ARTS AND INDUSTRIES, LAHORE. *Pp. 83+6 plates. Price Annas eight.*

PROFESSOR'S PAROXYSM: *By Mahankali Sriram Murthi. Published by the C. S. P. E. Godavary district. Copies available from M. S. Murthi, Nalam's Lane, Cocanada. Pp. 32. Price annas two.*

A short drama depicting the struggle of a cultured young man trying to live upto his best traditions.

JAGADISH-CHANDRA BOSE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN youthful Jagadish-chandra, the unknown enthusiast, first set out along the arduous road to fame, beset as it was with wearisome obstacles at every step, I proclaimed both in prose and verse my unquenchable faith in his eventual attainment. In this day of bereavement, I have not the same strength of voice to pay tribute to his resplendent memory. For it is but a short while ago that the call also came to me to voyage to the same unknown bourne. I was fated to return, but my body and mind are still clouded by its mists, and I feel as if my friend, who has gone before, has left for me his invitation to follow. At any rate, I cannot have long to bear the sorrow of our separation.

The sorrow is not mine alone, but is shared by the whole country. And yet it is not as though his pursuit in the realm of Science was abandoned, unfinished,—of its results the world is not deprived by his leaving it; that which is unfading, immortal in his achievement remains to us. His absence in the flesh but makes the gains of his spirit more vivid,—the truths revealed by his work are a bequest that will become more fully ours. For me, personally, there remains the consolation that what friendship urged, I was enabled to do; what further was in my power to give as poet I offered when that power was at its height, and my salutation to his genius remains enshrined in my poems.

Science and literature occupy different apartments in the edifice of culture, but there are connecting passages through which offerings may be exchanged, and of these Jagadish made constant use; wherefore it became possible for the Scientist and the Poet to be in close communion. Science, it is true, had but little room in my work,—none the less it occupied a large space in my thoughts; and the same was the case with Jagadish in regard to literature. So the windows of the minds of both of us were ever open for an interchange of atmosphere. And another thing that brought us together was the love of our motherland.

Life lies invisible in some hidden recess in the depths of matter. The hope that the researches of Jagadish would some day place this truth on a scientific foundation, intoxicated me with joyful anticipations, for I had from childhood been familiar with the teaching of o *Rishi* : **All these which are the process o creation flow from and are vibrant with Lif** Of that all-pervading vibration Science was b coming more and more cognisant, but it had n been able to gather into its storehouse of fac any proofs of its identity with Life. So whe the experiments of Jagadish began to disclos the life-like responses of matter, I felt that th day of the recognition of this truth by Scien could not be far distant.

Then Jagadish brought the resources of hi laboratory to bear on the vegetable worl where, though the existence of life was not i doubt, a difference of kind had been taken fo granted. Exquisite was the delicacy of th apparatus evolved by the genius of the Maste —apparatus that proved its no less wonderfu power to probe the secrets of vegetable lif and our explorer awaited with infinite patien the messages of the similarity with animal li of its workings, as they came to be yielded u

I had not the scientific equipment to follo his conclusions in detail, and my untutore imagination may have leaped beyond the infer ences warranted by the facts; still, I believe my unbounded enthusiasm afforded my frien real delight though, perhaps, not unmixed wit a quizzical amusement. Competent appraiser amongst his visitors were rare in those day and the stimulating breeze of my unstinte wonderment may have been of help to spee the barque of his endeavour on its way. M unfaltering belief in Jagadish's success adde strength, I am sure, to his own conviction a to the reality of the goal of his quest.

So far for the first chapter. In the next, o professor, accompanied by his worthy helpmat went off on an expedition over the seas t announce the truths he had gathered and off them to the scrutiny of expert criticism. The was my mind filled with a rapturous foretast of the glory that awaited our motherland i the appreciation of the genius of her gifted s in foreign lands. And as acute was my distre when I learnt that money difficulties were stan ing in the way of Jagadish's expected victor for had I not my own bitter experience of ho sadly achievement could be frustrated by me lack of material resources? For that ve reason my own means, at the time, did n permit of my coming to his aid personally; so I had to cast our burden on a friend,—a wonderful friend, whose noble, unostentatious generosity I have the melancholy pleasure here to make public.

This friend was the late Maharaja of Tippera, Radhakishore Manikya, and the deep affection and high regard which he happened to conceive for me, has remained a mysterious marvel throughout my life. At that juncture the wedding of his son was about to be celebrated in right royal style. I seized the opportunity to tell him that I was supplicant for a favour worthy of the occasion. He smiled when I set forth the nature of my request. "I do not know," said he, "nor am I competent to judge of the work of Jagadish Bose. But to you I can refuse nothing, and I am not concerned to inquire what you will do with my gift," with which he handed me a cheque for Rs. 15,000. That gift I dedicated to pave the way for the triumphal march of my friend, and this I deem a fit occasion for placing the credit where it is due.

Thereafter, as everybody knows, Jagadish carved his own way to universal recognition. His European reputation attracted the attention of a high Government Official, whose influence enabled him to extend his researches into the flora of different localities, till at length his growing fame made it practicable for the splendidly equipped Bose Institute to be founded near his home.

Thus was the apparently impossible made possible by sheer dint of his keen insight, his unwearied perseverance, his indomitable courage. It was, I think, the first time in India that a solitary worker was able to draw from the coffers of the Government, as well as from his own wealthy countrymen, such large contributions to help on his work. Once Jagadish-chandra over-stepped the period of initial stringency, the goddess Lakshmi came forward with abundant favours, and gave up for him her usual fickleness.

In the day of his success Jagadish gained an invaluable energiser and helper in Sister Nivedita, and in any record of his life's work her name must be given a place of honour. Thenceforward his renown spread all over the world, overcoming every obstacle.

That was for me the time when cruel inclemencies beset my own field of work, as I struggled on, through sunshine and storm, labouring with my embankments of clay that kept melting away one after another. Thus immersed and drifted apart from kith and kin and friends, I was unable to follow the later development of Jagadish-chandra's researches, and so it becomes me not today to attempt to embellish with my feeble testimony the acclamations of the world at large.

[*Authorised translation by Surendranath Tagore of the Poet's talk to the students at Santiniketan, on receiving the news of death of Jagadish Chandra Bose.*]

WOMEN AS PEACE TEACHERS

By KEDARNATH DAS-GUPTA,

General Secretary of the World Fellowship of Faiths

Whatever may be the outcome of negotiations for world peace, one thing is certain, that we must find a different method for the realization of peace and happiness. Men in the past and the present failed to keep war out of the world. Our hope now lies with the new generation and women.

Millions of men were killed and billions of money were wasted in the last world war, from which we have not yet recovered; thousands are being murdered at this very moment in the East and the West, yet almost all Governments of the world are preparing for a still greater war. If another world war come—may God forbid it—it will completely destroy civilization in a few days with modern scientific armaments; but, still there is a ray of hope to keep the world out of war.

The wars in the past were all creations of men, women had no responsibility in starting them. Why not then let the women have a greater share in the management of the public affairs in the world today ? They manage their homes well, and I believe they can govern the world as well. Men failed in their allocated task, but women succeeded in theirs.

The Census report of the population shows that there are more women than men in the world. It is the law of democracy that the majority should rule. Many men of thought hold the view that women are superior to men in the power of the heart. The man of intellect can be a villain, but he who has a good heart can never harm anybody. In statistics of murder cases we find that the number of women murderers is very small. Women are born with protective instincts—mother to protect their children. A wife is called the 'better half of man'—the supreme ruler of the homestead.

In 35 years of my public life, I have come into close contact with several great women leaders, who were all members of our organization. Among them were the great social worker, the late Jane Adams, who was the President of our World Fellowship of Faiths; the late Dr. Annie Besant; Poetess Sorojini Naidu of India; the Rev. Doctor Maude Royden of England; the world-famous English Actress, Dame Sybil Thorndike; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt of U. S. A. and the famous Educationist, Dr. Maria Montessori. They are all as great in their particular sphere of action as any man of their time.

I am very happy that the World Fellowship of Faiths has elected a woman as its International Director, Mr. Clarence Gasque, of Los Angeles, London and Paris, who has brought new light to our great movement.

The most excellent book *Women in World History,* written by Miss E. M. White, of London, tells us the stories of the great deeds of the eminent women of many races, creeds and countries. I learned from this book the position of the women, past and present. I recommend everyone to read this admirable book.

In our Hindu mythology we find that when there were wars between Gods and demons, the Gods invoked the Mother-Goddess to save the world from destruction. She incarnated as Durga, Kali, destroyed the evils and established the Kingdom of Righteousness. Women are made in the pattern of the Mother of the Universe—they should have no enemies. Among the peace workers today there are more women than men. I believe more than ever before that if women take the lead in world affairs they can make the ideal of peace real. In 20 years' time a new generation could be brought up by them, who would know that war is a crir against humanity. Until 7 or 8 years of a a child does not come much into contact wi men. During this impressive age a mother c help to build its character any way she lik which is not so easily done in later years wh the character is more or less formed. The cl when soft can be moulded into any form.

If you let a child play with a toy gun i inclination will be to kill. If you tell Christian child that his Saviour was killed the Jews, naturally he will hate the Jews. you teach children to love all people as the selves, naturally they will grow with th consciousness. Many great men in the worl history were made what they were by the i fluence of their Mother.

The world is spending millions in scienti training for war. Can Peace be obtained wit out any scientific training? I therefore wish put before the public, the idea of starting experimental scientific training college women to educate children for world peac Just as women learn music, dancing, actir painting, cooking, sewing and other professio as their accomplishments, they should also le how to educate children scientifically for wo peace. Diplomas and badges should be gi to them for such accomplishments, which increase their value in the public eye.

I hope in the near future every *woman* *be a peace teacher* and then the world will b better place for heroes to live in. I therefo put the following Resolution before the si International Montessori Congress at Cop hagen:

> Be it resolved that the Sixth International Monte Congress, assembled in Copenhagen, recommend t Madame Dr. Maria Montessori establish special cla to train Mothers and Women Teachers to give p education to children and that she be requested to t the initiative in such a movement, and to be empow to formulate and direct the programme and to work such details by the appointment of Committees, or ot wise as she may deem wise for its success.
>
> (It was unanimously adopted with great enthusias

Dr. Maria Montessori observed that the p was very practicable, and she agreed to prep a course of ten lectures on the subject. World Fellowship of Faiths proposes to hold experimental class next summer in London train Women Teachers to educate children World Peace.

THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE RESERVE BANK ACT

By AMAR KRISHNA GHOSE

THE Government of India, on the recommendation of the Central Board of the Reserve Bank of India, propose to move at the forthcoming session of the Central Legislative Assembly an amendment of the Reserve Bank of India Act in order to limit the holding of shares of the Bank to a maximum of 200. At present a shareholder may hold any number of shares, but his voting capacity is restricted to 10 votes only, one vote being awarded for 5 shares. The reason for this amendment so soon after the passage of the Act is that there is a growing tendency towards a maldistribution of the share capital of the Bank as originally allotted, and the proposed amendment is a measure designed to correct it.

It will seem not a little remarkable that in December, 1933, when the Bill was on the Legislative anvil, Mr. S. C. Mitra proposed this very amendment. But on that occasion, unlike the present one, the proposal was from the Opposition; Sir George Schuster on behalf of the Government strongly opposed the amendment, which was finally defeated by a margin of one vote. The arguments for allowing free transfers of the shares that were used by the Opposition then are being used by the Government now, for they believe that shares have been tending to concentrate in the hands of a few rich capitalists and that elready more than 13 per cent of the votes have been "frozen." The possibility of undesirable results arising out of free transfers of shares from one area to another must have been present in the minds of both the Joint Committee on the Reserve Bank Bill and Sir George Schuster. The Joint Committee had considered the idea, but had concluded that the advantages of free marketability were so great that transfers from one register to another should be freely allowed. The Committee had confidently hoped that the contingency of one or other register being denuded of a large number of votes was extremely unlikely to arise, as original holders would hold them firmly as a "locked-up" investment. Both the Committee and Sir George Schuster, however, agreed that should one register accumulate shares heavily while another register was being denuded, the "Government should consider bringing in special legislation in order to prevent the thing going too far."

During the short time that the Reserve Bank has been in existence, its shares have been on a substantial premium in the stock markets and they have mostly gravitated from registers in other centres to Bombay, which owns about 55,000 more shares than were originally allotted to its register. It is likely that the high premium on Reserve Bank shares has been to some extent responsible for the upsetting of the Government's expectation that they would be regarded as "locked-up" investments by the original holders. It is reported that nearly 20% of the Reserve Bank shares have been held by practically all the exchange banks in India through their nominees, and it has been feared that another 30 or 40 per cent may be thus cornered, their voting power being put into what a friend described as "cold storage." Apprehension has also been expressed that "a few interested persons, either in India or abroad, may get control of the Reserve Bank voting power," if nothing is done to have the shares distributed fairly evenly throughout the country.

If the proposed amendment be carried into effect—whether it will succeed in making a rough socialization of the Reserve Bank will be considered later, it will involve a great fall in the market value of the shares. The free market will be no more and banks will be reluctant to take the risk of lending against the security of the shares, for they will be no longer able to transfer the shares to themselves, but will have to depend upon an unstable market for realization of their dues. It will, therefore, be natural for them to demand larger margins and higher interests. Reserve Bank shares will lose much of their investment value and there is grave doubt that the prospect of a moderate dividend and franchise will suffice to satisfy a middle-class investor in investing in Reserve Bank shares.

There is no doubt that the compulsory denudation of banks and other institutions holding large blocks of Reserve Bank shares will result in some increase in the voting strength of the shareholders. As soon as these shares shall have been on the market, the premium on the shares will decrease. This will force many of the lesser holders either to sell out at the first opportunity or to hold on to their shares, without going to burden themselves with an investment of fluctuating value. In the circumstances, the only class of persons who will be anxious to hold them will most probably be that which will purchase them with the object of getting as many votes as possible out of them—*i. e.*, the designing capitalists who aim at dictating the policy of the Reserve Bank and of whom formerly the Nationalist Opposition in the Central Assembly and now the Government of India themselves stand in fear. The capitalist will find little difficulty in distributing his shares among people within his control and under his management, thus increasing his own voting power and because he is allowed to transfer his votes at elections of Members of the Local Boards, also increasing the chances of getting a certain number of his own nominees in the Local Boards. Thus he can work his way up to the Central Board. There is nothing in the Reserve Bank Act to prevent him from resorting to these tactics. In fact, the possibility of such a thing happening had been pointed out in the Central Legislative Assembly by Mr. S. C. Mitra in proposing his amendment. It was for Sir George Schuster to point out that, though in the Act there was a Clause (Clause 56 of the Act) to prevent any man from influencing nominal holders of shares to exercise votes at his discretion, it would

> "actually be ineffective for the purpose of preventing a rich man acquiring a beneficial interest in these shares. . . . Therefore, I feel that to pass this amendment will have no practical effect . . . . . . I feel that it will not achieve its object, but it will certainly achieve a very serious disadvantage in interfering with the free marketability in these shares."

It will be noticed that the proposed amendment, involving as it does interference with free marketability in the Reserve Bank shares, seeks to create an innovation in the fundament principles underlying the creation of the Reser Bank as a shareholders' Bank as distinct fro a State Bank. There is a belief in certa quarters that Reserve Bank shares were n floated at all with the intention of giving form of investment to the public in India, b mainly and principally only with a view enable them to exercise their franchise in t affairs of the Reserve Bank. That it should b so no one will deny. But that these shar were also intended to be a form of profitab investment will be clear from the followi extract from the speech of Sir George Schust on this very amendment :

> "We have designed this whole scheme in order create a free market in these shares . . . I again p it to my Honourable friends (the Opposition) that th will not achieve their object by passing this amendme but they will completely wreck what is *one of the ma features* of our present scheme, namely, the creation a free market in these shares."

The amendment, therefore, proposes a vit departure in principle.

To conclude, it would seem that, if t object of the amendment is merely to th the frozen votes, it may succeed to an exte but if there is any intention of a rough equitable distribution of the voting streng within the country, the measure will be qu reasonably ineffectual. The designing capital who wants to have a voice in the working the Reserving Bank will not only have t same opportunities as before, but he is like to be presented with fresh opportunities to car out his plan. The advantage of having mo votes on the Register at the expense of a fr market and free voting is to me a doubtful o

THE ROYAL VETO IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Prof. DHIRENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D.

I have followed with considerable interest what might be described as a bilateral controversy on "the royal veto in the new Indian constitution" to which the parties are two professors—one engaged at Lucknow University and the other from Faridpur Rajendra College in Bengal. The initiative came from Lucknow—Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee. Faridpur opened fire in reply—Professor Bimalendu Dhar. Boiled down the controversy may be said to have centred round these three points, namely, (1) whether an "innovation" has been made in the Government of India Act, 1935, in regard to the mode and manner of the exercise of the "royal veto"; (2) whether the King can veto any Dominion legislation; and (3) whether the King is competent to approve or disapprove of a Dominion law in direct opposition to the advice tendered by the British Cabinet. I must say at once that the questions canvassed may be examined from constitutional as well as legal aspects. I am afraid, however, that there has been a measure of confusion with regard to the issues in the writings and comments of both these careful students of the subject. What is legal is not necessarily constitutional; what is constitutional is not necessarily legal. It is, as they say, the "fiction" of English law. It is not to be supposed, however, that the legal formula does always or generally conflict with the constitutional rule. Sometimes conflicts do arise leaving us in a state of "legalized anarchy," and that is why Mr. Justice Evatt has in a recent work, *The King and His Dominion Governors,* put in a fervent plea for formulating constitutional understandings into the rules of positive law.

So far as the first point is concerned, the parties to the controversy have not apparently taken note of the difference in phraseology used in the two Acts—the Government of India Act and the Government of India Act of 1935. For example, reference is made in the repealed statute to *His Majesty in Council* [ss. 69 (1) and 82 (1)] while in the new Act power is given to *His Majesty* to disallow any Indian legislation, Federal or Provincial, as the case may be [ss. 32 (3) and 77]. Legally and constitutionally, this is an "innovation" of far-reaching importance, for in this respect direct relations have been sought to be established between His Majesty and the authorities in India, and at least in theory, if not in actual fact, the power of the executive Government in the United Kingdom under the old Act to veto or disallow Indian legislation is eliminated. This follows also from the provisions in the new Act with respect to the constitution of the Federal legislature as well as of the Provincial legislatures [ss. 18 (1) and 61]. *His Majesty* is at present part of the Indian legislatures represented in the provinces by the Governor and at the Centre by the Governor-General. *His Majesty* had no place in the Indian legislatures under the repealed statute, the Central legislature consisting of the Governor-General and two chambers and the legislature in the provinces being uni-cameral with no place even for the Governor [ss. 63 and 72 (a) (1)]. It is thus clear that a higher legal and constitutional status has been accorded to the Indian legislature under the present Act to bring them perhaps in line with the legislatures in the Dominions.

There seems to be another confusion, and it has arisen from a failure to distinguish between *prerogative rights* and *statutory powers.* The powers of His Majesty in Colonial or His Majesty in the matter of disallowance of Acts contemplated in the two Acts which have provoked the controversy are statutory, and it is not proper to use the expression *prerogative* in respect of these powers. The Crown's power to veto legislation in any part of the Empire exists by common law unless specifically destroyed or repealed by a competent legislature. In this connection attention may be drawn to *Attorney-General* v. *De Keyser's Royal Hotel Ltd.,* which is a leading case on the scope of the prerogative in modern times. It was held in that case that the prerogative to take the lands of a subject in case of emergency in time of war without compensation had been superseded for the time being by the statute and that the Crown was not in any event entitled to act under the prerogative. By the 1919 Act *His Majesty in Council* alone was given power to disallow Indian legislation thus leaving *His Majesty* absolutely free also to veto any Indian legislation, Central or Provincial, in exercise of his prerogative power upon the doctrine enunciated in the case referred to above. That power was left undisturbed.

The question may arise as to whether or not the provisions made in the 1935 Act with regard to the disallowance of Acts are in derogation of, or in addition to, the prerogative powers of the Crown to veto legislation. I shall not argue that point at this stage; suffice it to note in passing, however, that where the *statutory power* restricts the *prerogative power* and does not merely put it into statutory form in identical terms, the *prerogative* must be exercised subject to the restrictions imposed by the *statutory power* and that in approaching the issue in a proper perspective the Crown's prerogative to veto legislation should in the matter of Indian legislation be read with the provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935.

There is a third confusion. The writers, for instance, seem to have confused the power to *reserve Bills* with the power to *disallow Acts*. To veto completed legislation is extremely offensive; it is more derogatory than the reservation of Bills. Reservation may again be of two kinds—compulsory and discretionary. Both reservation and disallowance are provided for in the new India Act. Dr. Chatterjee is completely in error in suggesting that the *Act* confers upon His Majesty power to disallow Indian Acts *even after a year*. In this respect my sympathy and support are entirely on the side of Professor Dhar of Rajendra College. For the law is clear on the point. Section 77 lays down :

> "Any Act assented to by the Governor or the Governor-General may be disallowed by His Majesty *within* twelve months from the date of the assent, and where any Act is so disallowed the Governor shall forthwith make the disallowance known by public notification and as from the date of the notification the Act shall become void."

The same procedure applies *mutatis mutandis* to Federal legislation as contemplated in Section 32. It must be noted that "*within a year*" has nothing to do with any prerogative right that might still belong to the Crown upon a strict construction of the statute and the common law—a point which, as I have already said, it is not intended to cover in this article. One other point of difference must be borne in mind. It was incumbent upon the Governor-General under the repealed statute to send to the Secretary of State an authentic copy of an Act assented to by him, and *His Majesty in Council* could *at any time* signify his disallowance of the Act. In the new Act the Secretary of State has been eliminated, *His Majesty in Council* has been eliminated and a time limit (*within twelve months*) has been fixed.

As regards the second point, without going into the historical origin of the power of disallowance it may be stated that for many years now it has found a statutory expression in most of the Dominion constitutions from which it follows that if that power is to be exercised it is to be regulated and controlled solely by the statutory provisions whatever might have been the prerogative in the past (Sec. 58 of the New Zealand Act, 1852; s. 56 of the British North America Act, 1867; s. 59 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900; and s. 65 of the Union of South Africa Act, 1909). The New Zealand and North America Acts being earlier statutes the power to disallow was reserved to the *King in Council*. That power could be exercised within a period of two years from the receipt of the Act from the Dominion Governor-General. In the Australian and South African statutes the period prescribed is one year after the assent of the Governor-General has been given, and the power to disallow was conferred on the *Queen* and not on the *Queen in Council*. It should also be noted that these provisions were not to apply to the States or the Provinces as such.

The Irish Free State Act, which has in recent years been substantially modified, contained no provision for disallowance. The prerogative and not the statutory power rules Newfoundland in this regard inasmuch as the constitution is based on Letters Patent and not on Statute. "In fact," as the Conference on Dominion Legislation etc., 1929, reports, "the power of disallowance has not been exercised in relation to Canadian legislation since 1873 or to New Zealand legislation since 1867; it has never been exercised in relation to legislation passed by the Parliaments of the Commonwealth of Australia or the Union of South Africa." In law therefore the statutory power to disallow does not exist so far as the Irish Free State is concerned. That power in relation to South Africa has been destroyed by the Status of the Union Act, 1934 [s. 11 (2)]. It has further been affected by the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act of the same year (s. 6). It is not correct to say that the King is competent in strict legal theory to veto completed legislation in all the Dominions. For some Dominions such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand the power exists; in the Irish Free State and South Africa it does not. Whether His Majesty would in certain circumstances exercise the power where it exists is not a question of law but of policy, but it may be inferred from the conventions long since est-lished that he would not invoke it even where he had that power.

So far as the third point is concerned, the issue is not free from difficulty. Of course it is stated in the report of the Conference referred to above (*CMD* 3479) that

> "it is the right of the Government of each Dominion to advise the Crown in all matters relating to its own affairs and that consequently it would not be in accordance with constitutional practice for advice to be tendered to His Majesty by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in any matter appertaining to the affairs of the Dominion against the view of the Government of that Dominion."

But that report has no binding effect in law. The question should be examined in the light of the Statute of Westminster or any subsequent Dominion legislation.

By the Westminster Statute the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 has been repealed and the Parliament of a Dominion has been given power not only to destroy or affect the common law of England but also the provisions of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom or any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act in so far as the same is *part of the law of the Dominion* (s. 2). It remains an open question whether a provision which forms part not only of *a law* but of *a treaty* becomes by operation of this provision subject to repeal by a Dominion. It seems to be clear also that arrangements or agreements entered into by the United Kingdom which are *not part of the law* of the Dominion cannot be affected by the Dominion concerned. Again Parliament of a Dominion has been given full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation (s. 3). This may give rise to a widespread conflict of laws in the entire British Commonwealth and the proper interpretation of the provision remains for the competent Courts to determine. Two divergent laws having extra-territorial operation may, for instance, be enacted by the United Kingdom Parliament and a Dominion Parliament. Will His Majesty's subject in a Dominion while abroad be governed by British law or by His own Dominion law? Where the Judicial Committee is still the final appellate court the judgment in such a conflict of laws may go against the Dominion upon the doctrine of the omnipotence of the British Parliament. Whatever might be the range and extent of powers conferred upon Dominion Parliaments by the Statute of Westminster, that Statute in strict law is subject to repeal by Parliament. Generally, however, it is contemplated that the King will act on the advice of His Dominion Ministers in relation to Dominion affairs in so far as the taking of such advice does not encroach upon the rights of the British Parliament or affect seriously the King's relations with His Government in the United Kingdom. Once again we are confronted with legal anomalies which have been described as "fictions of law."

Attention may, however, be drawn to certain provisions in the Status of the Union Act and the Royal Executive Functions and Seals Act of South Africa. These two Acts are a statutory recognition of the theory or the constitutional rule that the King should act on the advice of His Ministers of the Dominion concerned. It is laid down in the Status Act that the Executive Government of the Union in regard to any aspect of its domestic or external affairs is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union. Again save where otherwise expressly stated or necessarily implied any reference to the King shall be deemed to be a reference to the King acting on the advice of his Ministers of State for the Union. But reservation is made in respect of the provisions of Sections 12, 14, 20 and 45 of the South Africa Act of 1909 (s. 4). Further, Section 4 and Section 6 of the Seals Act are important for this purpose. There also the King is brought in direct relations with the Ministers of State for the Union of South Africa.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japanese Destruction of Chinese Cultural Institutions

Japanese aggression in China has taken many forms, but the deliberate destruction of cultural and humane institutions and the indiscriminate aerial bombing of civilian population centres in the present invasion constitute the blackest page in the inventory of Japanese acts, writes Y. Y. Tsu, Head of the Department of Sociology, St. John's University, Shanghai, in the Sino-Japanese conflict number of *The China Quarterly* :

In the fourth raid on Nanking, the National Health Administration building was made the target of bombing and was completely destroyed . . . The Central University College of arts was also completely destroyed. In Canton, Chung-shan University, second largest national university, was bombed and destroyed. Tung Chi College with its splendid medical school at Woosung was bombarded by the Japanese forces early in the Shanghai hostilities, on the pretext that it harbored troops, which was emphatically denied by the college authorities.

The most flagrant example of Japanese "barbarism" towards Chinese cultural institutions, points out the writer, is the destruction of the famous Nankai University of Tientsin. Its work in economic research deserves some reference :

The Nankai Institute of Economics, founded by Dr. Franklin L. Ho, now Director of the Political Affairs Department of the Executive Yuan, has played a distinctive role in promoting research in economic and social problems and in training research workers. Its English publication, *The Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly*, enjoys a wide circulation among western academic circles, while its index numbers on cost of living, wholesale prices, foreign trade and foreign exchange have been extensively used by such organizations as the League of Nations. The University represents a financial outlay of $3,000,000. Its Library had about 2,000,000 volumes, including one of the best and largest collections dealing with social and economic conditions in China and in foreign lands.

When the Japanese forces gained control of Tientsin, they turned their attention to Nankai . . . So thoroughly was the work of destruction carried out that by July 31, the whole University, including the Library, two men's dormitories, the women's dormitory, the chemical engineering building, the electrical engineering building, faculty residences, and the Administration Hall, was reduced to a mass of charred and twisted debris. What was once the jewel among the non-governmental universities of the country is just a heap of ashes on the northern plains, because it had the ill-fate of being in the way of the invaders.

Had Nankai been an isolated case, its destruction might have been accounted for as an accident of war. But there was the repeated aerial bombing of Central University at Nanking. The Chancellor, Lo Chila-lun, reporting the destruction of the University College Arts said : "This was the fourth time that Japa planes had bombed the University." The gr Chung-shan University at Canton was partly destro by Japanese planes. In commenting on it, Chance Chou Lu said that the University embraced th hundred *mow* of land with no other buildings in surroundings and that if the Japanese did not intend bomb Chinese cultural institutions, there was no rea why they should have subjected it to repeated bomba ments.

It is evident, then, that these raids on t educational institutions are not accidental.

Japanese forces did the same thing in the Shang War of 1932 when they destroyed the establishment the Commercial Press in Chapei, the leading publish of China, together with the famous Far Eastern Libra When Japan occupied Manchuria, the first thing she was to close the North-eastern University and all insti tions of college grade, permitting only middle and prim schools to remain. In Peiping and Tientsin, within week after she gained control, she caused all old sch textbooks to be withdrawn and burnt, the teaching San Min Principles dropped from the curriculum, Chi history textbooks revised, etc.

We are forced to the conclusion that in all Japan is following a fundamental policy toward Ch namely, to crush Chinese nationalism. She dislikes Chinese universities and colleges intensely because knows that they are the fountainheads of modern Chi renaissance. She calls it anti-Japanese spirit.

An estimate of $10,942,242, the total material from the damages done to Chinese educational cultural institutions in Shanghai by Japanese bomb and shelling up to October 15, was given in statis released by the Social Affairs Bureau of the Shang City Government.

Of the total amount $6,623,159 represents losse local universities and colleges; $2,199,954 to mi schools; $252,129 to primary schools and the remai $1,860,000 to cultural institutions.

Where Japan Rules in China

There may be people who yet believe t some outside power should be given the opp tunity to introduce "" Paradise " in Ch Norman D. Handwell's article in the "Wa China" supplement of the *Asia* will disillu those who may believe that Japan should allowed to try to bring prosperity to China, Japan does not seem to have brought m prosperity to the Japanese-sponsored "I Hopeh Anti-Communist Autonomous Gov ment" :

This "Bogus East Hopeh Regime," as the Ch would prefer us to label it, consists of twen countries, all but six located in the so-called "demilit zone" north of Peiping and Tientsin and south of the Great Wall. Its population is variously estimated at from four to six millions with the former figure appearing more dependable. As to the actual power in this region, Albert T. Lu had the following to say in March of this year: "There is at present at least one Japanese adviser in every *hsien* (country) in East Hopeh, who wields greater power than the magistrate and interferes with practically all the matters of the magistracy. In Tungchow (capital of the regime), there is a host of Japanese advisers who constitute the real administrative power behind the puppet regime."

Banditry has increased in this autonomous region in the past few years:

Armed soldiers under the leadership of Shih Yu-san and Liu Kuei-t'ang have roamed through the region and have extended their wanderings southward into interior Chinese provinces. More than once Liu has operated southward through Hopeh Province and into the neighbouring provinces of Honan and Shantung, plundering along provincial border regions. More than once also his band has been dispersed, only to have Liu himself return to the Japanese Concession in Tientsin to bide his time until funds and encouragement arrived to start him on his road of ravage once again.

Gambling and narcotic trade are openly encouraged in this area:

In East Hopeh in every county seat and in its outlying districts Japanese and Korean *ronin* (rowdies) have opened up gamoling houses, brothels and "Foreign Companies" where drugs are sold. Many of them have used the young Chinese, sold them cocaine until they acquired the habit or caused them by gambling to take the family goods or ruined them by making thieves of them. Some Chinese investigators have claimed that these Japanese and Korean toughs have been in league with Japanese consular and military officials . . . Some of these "Foreign Companies" even bear signs that they are Japanese-authorized.

The author then notes the effects of the smuggling trade:

The country seats and market towns are full of Japanese-made goods which are sold cheaply because imported duty-free. The result has been the closing down of numerous native industries such as the paper-making industry of Ch'ien-an County, the village cloth weavers' industry of Yu-t'ien and even the new Huahsin cotton mills of T'ang-shan. Shops remaining sell only Japanese goods. Last year the East Hopeh government set up a series of customs stations of its own to collect customs duties at the rate of one-fourth of the Chinese national tariff. Chinese claim that there is a close connection between the Japanese military and the open legalization of smuggling by the "puppet" government . . . . . Conditions have become such that European and American importers have been openly approached by Japanese smugglers (in the guise of legal importing firms) offering to smuggle their goods in by way of East Hopeh at large savings.

The East Hopeh Government has been carrying on a programme of denationalization of the educational system:

The Chinese school text-books have been systematically revised. All references to Japanese aggression, past, present or future, have been eliminated, and also every allusion likely to make the Chinese patriotic and loyal to their own country. Thus all citations of the party principles of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party, have been barred, as have all references to the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen—an action comparable to the deletion from American texts of all reference to the signers of the Declaration of Independence. All students in middle schools and above are required to take a compulsory course in Japanese and have as required reading the *Kwantung Pao* (journal of the Japanese Kwantung organization) and the *Ta-t'ung Pao* (a Manchurian daily).

For the obvious purposes of restraining and drugging the ideas of the young patriotic Chinese, the reading of the Confucian Classics and the proclamation of Confucian doctrines are being encouraged—ceremony more than content is stressed.

In furtherance of this mental drugging of the Chinese, all shops selling nationalistic Chinese publications have been subjected to confiscations and closings. Should Japan extend her sway elsewhere in China it is only logical, in fact it would be imperative, that she would also extend this policy of mental doping. Already reports have arrived from North China that, in regions newly occupied by Japanese troops, various units are sent into the country to tear down all nationalistic Chinese posters and, even from within the huts of the peasants, all pictures of Dr. Sun Yat-sen or General Chiang Kai-shek.

The Accused: An International Study

The Living Age makes the following extracts from a report issued by the Howard League for Penal Reform, showing the lot of the politically suspected persons in different countries:

AUSTRIA:—Police have the right to send politically suspected persons to certain places of ~~detention~~ without trial for an unlimited period, and all intercourse with the outside world is controlled by the authorities.

BULGARIA:—In political cases prisoners are sometimes arrested and held by the police for several weeks without trial. Other suspects are ~~interned~~ without trial in remote villages.

IRISH FREE STATE:—Under the Public Safety Act it is an offence in political cases to refuse to answer questions put by the police.

GREAT BRITAIN:—A confession is not admissible in evidence if induced by threats or promises. Cases are, however, known where the police have held out the hope of a lighter sentence as an inducement to plead guilty, and complaints are sometimes made of excessively long questioning before a suspected person is charged.

GERMANY:—Laws apply only to cases tried before the ordinary criminal courts. In cases where the State Police or Secret State Police take action against politically suspected persons without bringing them before the public prosecutor and the court, their action is completely free from judicial control and in every way legally unfettered. The Secret Police can keep a person in a concentration camp for an indefinite period.

NORTHERN IRELAND:—By orders under Special Powers Acts, refusal to answer police or examining magistrate or other officer is a criminal offence even if answer may tend to incriminate the accused; answers to police or magistrates may be used as evidence of offence. Persons may be detained indefinitely.

HUNGARY:—Sometimes the third degree is used, especially in the case of political prisoners.

ITALY:—Independently of any judicial procedure a special non-judicial committee presided over by the prefect has the right to send a person to a place of detention for one to five years if he has acted (or has shown intention to act) against the authority of the State so as to damage national interests.

Poland :—Persons who, in the view of an administrative authority, may possibly endanger the State or the Government can be detained in concentration camps for a period of three months, which can be extended indefinitely, without any judicial control.

Soviet Russia :—The law is scrupulously carried out according to the code in all non-political charges. In all political or quasi-political cases the political police are at liberty to arrest any Russian citizen without a warrant or without indicating the charge; the arrested person may be held indefinitely without trial, and may be tried, condemned, and punished in secret.

Torture, according to the report, is 'usually spoken of as a stain upon the honor of past ages, from which our own is free. Yet no one who examines the evidence can doubt that the use of torture is more widespread today than it was half a century ago. The evil is not extinct but is growing.'

"Advantages of War"

An extract reproduced from the *Unity* in our last issue shows how the German child is being militarised through the agency of text-books. A recent issue of the *Unity* published extracts from another such text-book from Germany, *Der Deutsche Aufsatz* by Oberstudienrats Dr. A. Vogeler, in which appears the following scheme of a paper on the "Advanatges of War":

> Advantages of war. I. For the State: (1) War is an antidote against the ~~rotten herbs~~ of peace, where rationalism sends everything to sleep by overcoming idealism; (2) when patriotism is awakened the holy fire of the enthusiasm for the Fatherland is set alight; (3) the victors acquire a predominant position of force, of prestige and of influence, which is their reward; the vanquished are not dishonoured, if they have defended themselves bravely; (4) peoples learn to know one another and to respect each other, the exchange of ideas and viewpoints is facilitated; (5) commerce seeks new channels, which often are profitable; (6) the arts flourish, and poesy and painting particularly find excellent subjects.
>
> II. For the citizen: (1) War supplies occasions for the development of talent, and without war there can be not so many great men in the world; (2) war gives the possibility of displaying virtues; (3) the religious sentiment is awakened in the conqueror as well as in the conquered; (4) active people amass fortunes; (5) to die for the Fatherland is sweet, and the conqueror remembers those who fell in battle.

The *Unity* concludes:

> Here is poison for the minds of children, gently administered by the school-system of a country which has suffered more terribly from war than any other modern nation. And this is only one sample among many! That Germany is the only country engaged in this business is not to be believed for a moment. An examination of text-books in France, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, would reveal, we fear, a very similar situation. Which means that a whole new generation of Europeans is being ~~reared~~ in the ideas that produced the most ghastly war in human history!

Laurence Housman's Fight with the Censor

Laurence Housman who had the unique experience of having thirty-two of his plays censored, writes in the *Evening Stan* (quoted in *The Living Age*) the very interes story of his encounter with the Censor:

> My personal entanglement in its cog-wheels b in 1902, when I submitted for license a Nativity called *Bethlehem*; license was refused on the score the Holy Family must not figure in a stage-play.
>
> As regards the actual presentation of the play, ban did not make much difference. A 'Bethle Society' was formed, members obtained tickets and play was performed, theoretically in private, but act to a public, though limited in number, and expensi collect. This circumvention of the Censor cost me a five hundred pounds. Had there been no censor there is no doubt that Gordon Craig's beautiful produ would have brought a handsome profit to all concerne
>
> Now what justification had the Censor for his act A few years later, he licensed a play called *Eager* in which the Holy Family appeared in the disguis peasants seeking shelter for the night. When I wro ask the Censor why he had given a license for wha had refused to me, he first denied that he had don and then fell back on the excuse that in that play one of the Holy Family—St. Joseph—spoke.
>
> To that I nailed him. If I arranged in my play only St. Joseph spoke, would he, I asked, give it a lice He could not do otherwise than say Yes; and so, for next five years, my play was publicly performed wi ridiculous 'Earth-Angel' standing by Our Lady's and saying her words for her!

Another of his encounters with the Ce was over his plays about Queen Victoria:

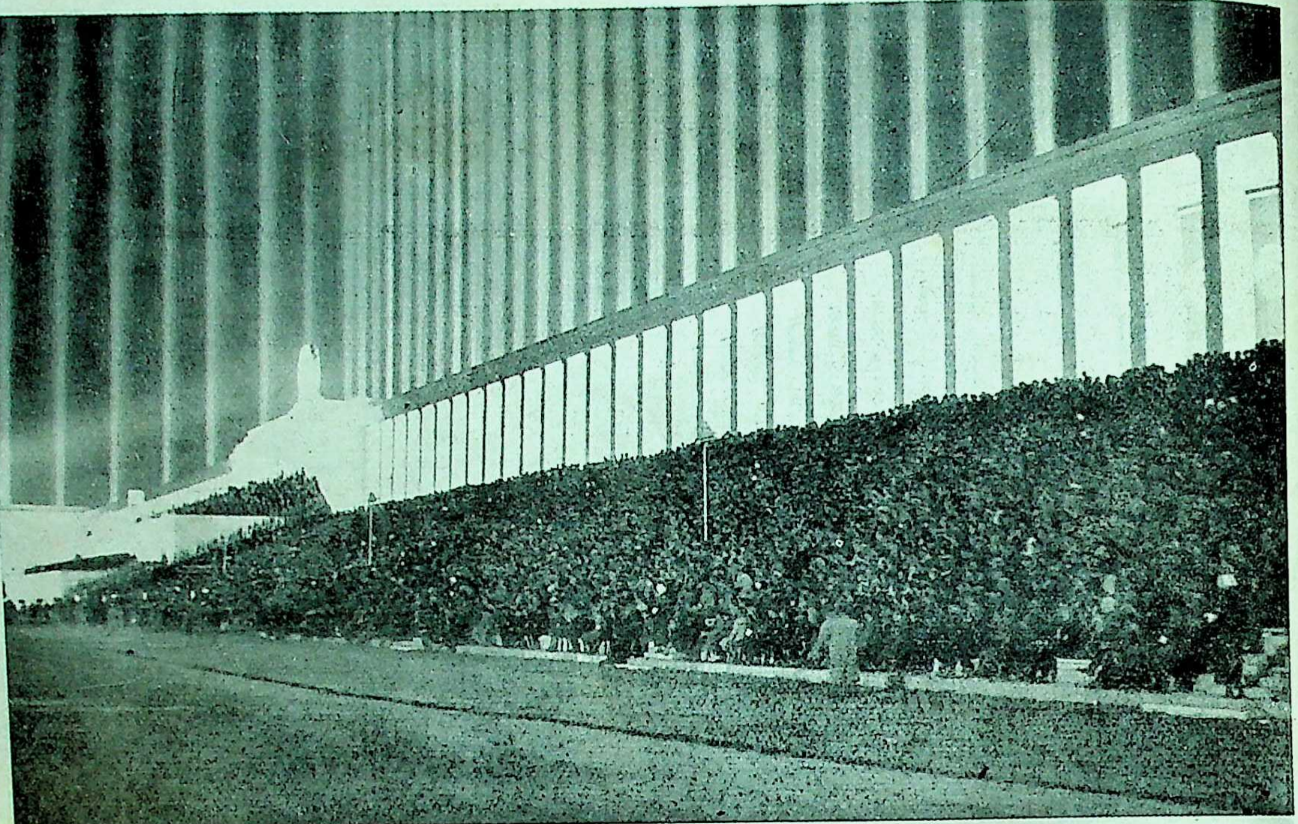
> On these plays being submitted to the Censor, I informed that the Lord Chamberlain was unable to a license for plays containing so sacred a characte the late Queen Victoria. Once more, for getting the dramatically presented, I had to resort to the same c as that which I adopted for *Bethlehem* and *Pains* *Penalties*, and secure for them a technically pr performance which escaped the jurisdiction of the Chamberlain; and under these safeguarding conditi ten of the plays were performed very successfully at Gate Theatre for five weeks in 1935.
>
> And now at last (thanks, presumably, to the com sense of the former King Edward VIII) a license public performance has been granted them; and a rule has been devised by the Lord Chamberlain in to give the concession its proper red-tape accompani
>
> It is now decided that one hundred years after accession of a deceased sovereign the sacredness of or her character has sufficiently diminished to allo stage presentation. So, on June 21, 1937, the day its centenary, my first scene representing the acce of Queen Victoria and nine or ten other plays of series made their first public appearance.

Mr. Housman concludes with the follo remarks on censorship:

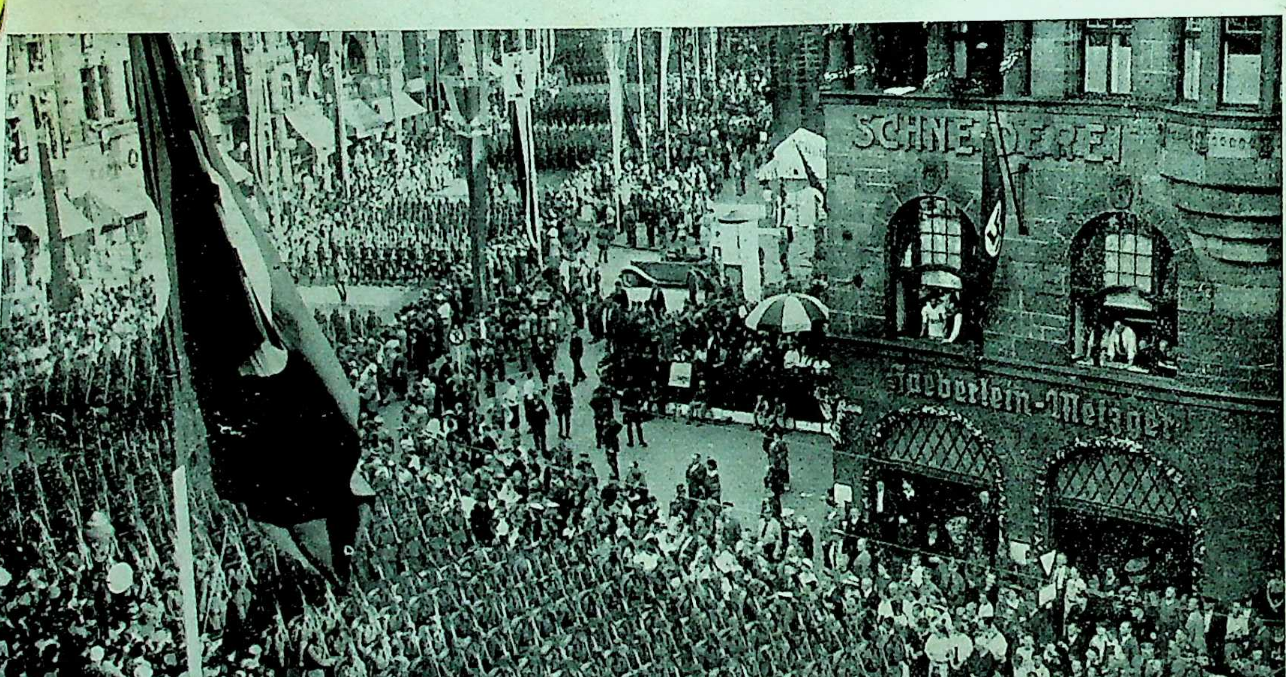
> But is it not a strange incongruity, in our demo system, that a functionary of almost autocratic p and subject to no judicial appeal, is able, as effe as a Bolshevik government to destroy property, impo a playwright and deny to the public perfectly entertainment, merely on the basis of a stale tr which he can alter at will, as was proved by his sequent passing of my two earlier plays? Is it wonder that I am out to discredit a department so date in its working, and from which I have received unjust treatment?

Herr Hitler's house. Wachenfeld House near Berchtesgaden

The Duke of Windsor and his wife during their visit to the Empire Sportsfields (Stadium), Berlin



Federation of Labour Congress 1937. The Tribunes with giant searchlights during the parade of the political leaders on the Zeppelin Meadow



SCHNEIDEREI
Haeberlein-Metzger

The march of the Labour Corps through the streets of Nurnberg

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Ancients

Very generally origins of civilization are looked for in barbarism of primitive races. Various grades of civilizations flourished on earth simultaneously in ancient cycles as they do now, at the same time tracts were inhabited by what are called savage peoples. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, the President of the Archaeological Institute of America, remarks that objects excavated by the archaeologists must not be looked upon as 'the beginnings of a civilization but the products of a culture that had to be thousands of years old before such work could have been conceivably done':

> The undoubted evidence of the remains of great ancient cities in the Indus Valley has been best proven thus far by the excavations of Taxila, Mohenjo-daro, and Harappa. In these three cities—only the fore-runners of scores of others to come—have been found objects that prove a standard of life as high, and probably higher, than in contemporaneous Mesopotamia or Egypt.
>
> Nothing, however, has been found anywhere, except in the valley of the Indus, that shows as high a stage of art and civilization as that which we can date positively as about 3500 B.C. Take the copper model of a two-wheeled cart found in a lower stratum at Harappa in the Punjab; the terra cotta images dating earlier than 3000 B.C.; the personal ornaments of gold, silver, copper, carnelian, faience, tin, lead—nothing of iron—and the wheel-made pottery found along the entire length of the Indus Valley. Consider the cave paintings of neolithic and even of paleolithic times which show such undoubted artistic delineation and sense of colour. In all these pieces of early artistry we have, *not the beginnings* of a civilization, but the products of a culture that had to be thousands of years old before such work could have conceivably been done. But the best of such proofs, one left to the last, has been the discovery of over 1000 Indus Valley seals of steatite. The engraving in these seals shows not only hundreds of personages, deities, fauna and flora—and also a series of as yet undecipherable pictographic glyphs—but also gives us an artistic technique of a character higher than anything known, of as early or an earlier date. Perhaps best of all is the absolute fidelity in the delineation of the fauna of the Indus Valley and of other regions not too far distant. In some of the later work the designs of an architectural character, and the technical decoration of carnelian by calcining, and the treatment of glass, furnish interesting analogies between Indian and Mesopotamian design and work.
>
> Shall we not say that early Mesopotamian and early Indus Valley civilizations both developed *in situ*, not dependent upon each other, but having intercourse with each other by commercial contact? Who will say as yet that the civilization of the Indus Valley is not a locally developed part of the early chalcolithic culture which may well be associated with the so-called Mediterranean dolichocephals of South Asia and Europe?
>
> Enough has been discovered, enough can be reasonably deduced, however, to claim that there was in the Indus Valley an aboriginal population, which may have been in earliest times quite savage, but that it, when overrun, conquered, and amalgamated with invaders from other lands, proceeded with its own culture perhaps tinged with that of the invaders, and that it also fused with the newcomers in the creation and furtherance of the splendid civilization of which the cities and artifacts enumerated above are but a foretaste of what is to come, and which will help us assign to its proper place in the history of world culture, the early civilization of the Indus Valley.

The Eclipse of International Law

Dr. A. Berriedale Keith introduces his article in *The Indian Review* with the following paragraph:

> Nothing is more significant of the present day than the complete disappearance of respect for International law among the nations of Europe and Asia alike. The Great War was seriously believed by the vast majority of those who fought for the Empire to be a war destined to inaugurate a regime in which international law would be placed on the same secure footing as that enjoyed in British communities by municipal law. The Covenant of the League of Nations was intended by its framers to give as far as possible effect to this ideal. To abolish war completely might be impossible, but the attempt was made to achieve that end as closely as possible. The guarantee by each member of the League of the territorial integrity and political independence of every other member was strengthened by the drastic provision of sanctions under Article 16. No wonder that President Wilson, believing the effectiveness of the Covenant, was able to proclaim that the question of neutrality, over which the Empire and the United States had differed so dangerously during the war, had in effect been solved, since in any future war there would be essentially no neutrals, for all members of the League would be plainly bound to the performance of duties in the defence of international law, which would be inconsistent with the time-honoured conception of neutrality.

In conclusion Dr. Keith remarks:

> Whether and when a renaissance of international law may be expected, it is hard to say. So far the outlook is wholly unpropitious, for both Italy and Germany have successfully defied international law, and almost every other Power has shown itself prepared to do so when it thinks fit. The attitude of the United States has, on the whole, not proved helpful. It has been felt throughout Europe that the United States cannot be relied upon to support by any form of action intervention to establish

the principles of international law, and the resistance of the United States Government to efforts to induce it to stand out in defence of Ethiopia seems fully to justify the general impression. Nor has the British ideal of aiming merely at the conservation intact of the British Empire without running the risk of war contributed substantially to the cause of the maintenance of respect for international justice.

An Inside Story of China

G. Venkatachalam met Miss Agnes Smedley, the authoress and friend of China, by accident when he was in Shanghai. He was introduced over the phone by a common friend to Miss Smedley who invited him to tea that same day. He writes in *The Scholar* :

I accepted the "tea" and drove to her residence in the French Concession (in Shanghai).

The sitting-room was cosy, modern in its fittings but distinctly Chinese in atmosphere. The shelves and teapoys were filled with books. From behind the curtains stepped out a pale, worn-out but nevertheless alert figure, simply but effectively dressed, with a refined intellectual face and cultured grace, and greeted me warmly with a strong masculine grip. That's how I met Miss Agnes Smedley. She had just then returned from America *via* Russia and was full of praises for the Soviet Theatre. She was first and foremost an artist and not a politician. Intolerable economic and social conditions of a mad world made her a rebel.

A remarkable woman in many ways, Miss Smedley had an adventurous career in the cause of art and freedom. American born, university trained, cosmopolitan by nature, she led a Bohemian life in her younger days and contacted the intellectuals of the East who visited the States in search of learning. She was a friend of the Indian students in America, Germany and Russia.

A regular contributor to Indian periodicals, she kept herself in touch with Indian affairs, and her writings in *The Modern Review* on Russia and China were greatly appreciated by Indian students.

"China will have to fight Japan. That is inevitable," she said with the fervour and fanaticism of a nationalist. "But not as yet," she mused with a sigh, "China is a house divided against itself, and there is no leadership. Chiang Kai-Shek is an opportunist, a dictator and his fall must first come before China can do anything. The intellectuals are not with him or his Government; the peasants are his pet aversion and he hasn't done anything for them; the youth resent his regime; and more than half China do not follow him."

"China's man of destiny is not Chiang Kai-Shek," she said, "but a strong silent man, a communist, now living in hiding in the fastnesses of the north-western China, with a big price on his head, and who in time and when the Nanking Government falls will be the chosen leader of New China. This man is a great strategist, a military genius, and is the creator of the Red Army. Millions look up to him and follow him, and even the minor War Lords, who are ever quarelling today among themselves, will accept his leadership and throw their weight with him." "Chiang Kai-Shek has to come to terms with him if he wishes to see a united China, and the Nanking Government should support him in his "anti-Jap" drive and not hound him as they now do," she continued after a pause, "and a crisis with Japan alone will push things to a final issue."

How British Women Won the Suffrag

The following graphic survey of the f for woman's suffrage in Great Britain is c densed from an article written by Elsa G Secretary of the suffragette Fellowship, in *Theosophist* :

For forty years (1865-1905) the women of G Britain, under the leadership of Mrs. Millicent Fa worked hard and consistently for Woman's Suffr This demand was simple—that the taxpaying wome Great Britain should be granted the vote on the terms as the men, so that the women could have a in the framing of the laws under which they had to

The first Woman's Suffrage Bill was introduced Parliament in 1870 by John Stuart Mill, a name de respected by all feminists. The Bill was not tre seriously, and a Woman's Suffrage Bill was introd into Parliament every year from 1870 to 1914.

At the beginning of the 1900's the young wome that time began to grow restless. They bitterly rese the subjection of their sex, and being classed politi with those considered incapable of voting—lun criminals, paupers, and minors.

In 1905, there arose in Manchester two wome Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel—who lized that to make Woman's Suffrage a practical poli issue, women would have to adopt different meth Up to 1905 every constitutional method of winning vote had failed, and it was of no use continuing with these methods.

Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter realized that win the vote, women would have to adopt an Government policy combined with militant tactics, so to force any Government in power to grant the vote the tax-paying women of Great Britain.

Thousands of women joined the organization Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel—the Women's Social Political Union. Women of all ages, social position political creeds sank all their differences and wor shoulder to shoulder in their determination to win for women.

The story of the sufferings of the women endured hunger-strikes and forcible feeding is yet to told; it will be a story of courage and heroism, wh will make Britishers proud of the women who fou and sacrificed everything for the belief in their cause

At the outbreak of war, 1914, all suffrage w ceased; and in February 1918 the limited franchise women over 30 years slipped through Parliament as Sex Disqualification Act. In July 1928 came the franchise for every woman over 21 years.

Why and for Whom Do I Write ?

The following was written by Rom Rolland in answer to a questionnaire circulat by the *Review Commune* and has been rep duced by the *Student's Call* :

"Why do I write?" Because I cannot do oth wise. Because even if I did not write on paper, I sh be writing in my mind, in my thoughts, so as to them clear. Because for me writing is the highest m of thinking, and of acting. Because to write is for to breathe, to live.

There is no "idealistic pessimism" whatever in th "why," as is implied in the editorial remarks of *Commune* on the questionnaire it has sent out. Eve man has to breathe with the lungs given to him. Each has his particular way of acting. The activity is such as the man is—either pessimistic or optimistic, either selfish or collective.

My activities have always and in every case been dynamic. I have always written for those WHO ARE ON THE MOVE. I have aways been on the move, and I hope never to stop as long as I live. Life will be nothing to me if it is not movement—straight ahead of course! And that is why I am with the people and the classes who are making out its course for the river of humanity, with the masses of the organisd proletarian workers and their Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. They are being carried forward by the irresistible surge of historical evolution. And I obey the same destiny.

"For whom do I write ?" For those who are the vanguard of the marching army, for those who are waging the great international battle, victory in which should ensure the establishment of the human community without frontiers and without classes. Communism is today the only world-wide party of social action, which, without reservations and without compromise is carrying the flag and making its way, with a considered and courageous logic, towards the conquest of the high mountain land. The rest of the army will follow—though it may be at a distance and with desertions and withdrawals more than one. We, the writers summon the laggards to hurry up. But we do not need to wait for them. It is up to them to overtake us. The marching column never stops.

The Artificial Silk Industry Known as Rayon

A considerable amount of attention has recently been paid by the leading textile mill owners in Europe, America and the United Kingdom and in Japan for the production of Artificial Silk Yarn and Short Staple Fibre. In an article on the subject in the *Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber* Rustomji Nowroji Bapasola gives the following short description of how to manufacture Artificial Silk on extensive scale :

The Artificial Silk is produced in European countries in five different processes. The most important and reliable process which is commercially the cheapest and the most economic is known as the Viscose System. The Viscose Artificial Silk which is produced by treatment on wood or suitably on cotton pulp, cotton linsters, fly cotton, cotton waste etc., with Caustic Soda and Carbon Bisulphide. This process is now very extensively used in Europe because it is commercially the cheapest, the best, economic, and the better process ever known. This process is used practically by almost all the leading factories in the world which are now producing Artificial Silk Yarn. Regarding the raw materials, cotton waste and cotton linsters can be used; Caustic Soda is also used in large quantities; Sulphuric Acid, Carbon Bisulphide, Sodium Sulphide, Zinc Sulphide, Chlorine, soap or other chemicals.

Nitrate Cellulose process was first introduced in Germany somewhere in 1899, but it is used on a very negligible scale today. The Nitrate Cellulose silk is produced by the treatment of the cotton pulp with Nitric and Sulphuric Acid.

The Acetate Silk process which is a very important one because it gives dull lustre similar to silk—but unfortunately the cost is very high, and there are only a few factories in Europe who have taken up the manufacture of the same—the process under which the silk is manufactured by the treatment of Acetic Acid, Acetic Anhydride and Catalyst. It does not lossen much in water.

This was also manufactured from the cotton or wooden pulp by treatment with Caustic Soda and Alkali Sulphate, and this process is known as Ether Silk; but this process is rarely used.

This process was very largely employed in 1914 before the war, and it is still used by various factories. As the goods turned out by this system are costlier than those of the Viscose System, almost all manufacturers have decided to discontinue this system and make use of the Viscose system. These goods are manufactured from wood pulp or pulp by treatment with the direct solution of Ammonial Copper Hydroxide and Cellulose, and the silk is slightly superior to Viscose System.

Philanthropy

Swami Iswarananda concludes his article on philanthropy in the *Triveni* with the following remarks :

In India the exclusive emphasis on duties, which far from being a matter for congratulation ought to be a matter for regret, has been the cause of much evil, and requires to be corrected and supplemented by a due insistence on the rights of the weak. In the education of the masses in their long-neglected and suppressed rights lies the salvation of India's starving millions. A scheme, based solely on the ideal of Dharma, is workable only in a society composed only of saints, but is impractical in a world composed as it is at the present day of average human beings.

The concept of Dharma is being re-emphasised now in the inadequate doctrine of the trusteeship of the capitalist. There is absolutely no doubt that it is far superior to the prevailing ideal of individualism, profit-making and self-aggrandisement. But its implications are not fully realised. Trusteeship ought to imply the right of the beneficiaries to the benefits of the trust. It may be said that the trust is a moral trust and the rights also are moral rights. If so, it has to be answered why there should be the *legal* rights to the beneficiaries? The advocates of the doctrine of trusteeship fail to see this point, and therefore would be satisfied with the supposed trusteeship of the capitalist. It is a precarious arrangement to which no society with any desire for stability, order and equity can trust itself. There is no authority to enforce the administration of the trust, because there is no right created and declared for the beneficiaries. To leave the trustees to their own will and pleasure in the discharge or neglect of the duties attached to the trust, and to compel the beneficiaries to be satisfied with whatever philanthropic crumbs may fall from the tables of the trustees, is a very odd form of trusteeship indeed!

The Ideal of Social Service in India

Social service is one of the best means of self-evolution. It means labour of love. Every nation has an ideal of its own. The national ideals of India are service and renunciation. Writes Swami Sambuddhananda in *Prabuddha Bharat* :

Social service in India is not without its speciality. "The term has a somewhat different meaning in Great Britain and America." In India it is absolutely shorn of the sense of superiority and arrogance that are often the inevitable accompaniments of such acts of charity, and implies a spirit of love and reverence. The keynote of social service is selfishness or sacrifice. In all acts of social service the spirit of selfishness must predominate; otherwise it is a positive disservice. Service without sacrifice is unthought of and unthinkable in India. It is inseparably or indissolubly combined with renunciation. Service and renunciation do not exclude each other but like body and soul are interdependent. Renunciation is the very soul of all kinds of service, in and through which it manifests and shines.

If we look back to the Upanishadic age, of which the other subsequent ages are but echoes, we come across many a glowing reference to service. The *Chhandogya Upanishad*, which is regarded as one of the oldest of the Upanishads, declares in its first verse of Ch. XXIII of Bk. II: "Three are the branches of Dharma. Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first." Another Sruti maintains: "One should learn the triad—self-control, charity and compassion." Mere inculcation of charity has not been the only function of the Srutis, but they have laid down sufficient hints for its proper execution.

Chariy and compassion were also extolled in the age of the *Mahabharata* although some limitations are found to have been put upon them. Sri Krishna in the *Bhagavad-Gita* (Ch. XVIII. 5) says, "Sacrifice, gift and austerity are purifying even to the wise."

Heritage of India

Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, concludes his speech, as delivered at the Annual Convocation of the Patna University and published in *The Calcutta Review*, with the following remarks:

I do not forget that in recent times efforts are being made to meet some of our vital needs. But no reforms of a radical character in any field of activity will ever be possible nor can India rise to her full stature spiritually and economically until and unless she takes her rank among the free nations of the world. No material gain, no earthly possession can ever compensate for the loss of man's liberty. The conflict of ideals and interests between a subject-race and the power that wants to hold it in its leading strings is as old as history itself; it can be solved peacefully and amicably only if the latter accords to the former the same treatment as it demands from others in respect of its own rights and privileges.

In defining freedom I can do no better than follow the language of a British peer, a statesman and philosopher, who has dealt with the question with remarkable lucidity in one of his recent books. What, he asks, is the ultimate goal of enlightened man? The answe that one of the aims is that nations should be free alien domination. What, he asks, should be the pa set for civilized mankind? The answer is, within nation the individual should be free, free to t worship, speak and act as he would, subject to similar rights of others, free under the protectio equal justice to pursue his lawful business as he c Men should no longer be bound down from birt death by the hampering restrictions that come bondage, poverty, overwork and environment. Fre consists not only in the absence of restraint but als the presence of opportunity. Liberty is not a single simple conception. It has four elements—nati political, personal and economic. The man who is free is one who lives in a country which is independ in a state which is democratic; in a society where laws are equal and restrictions at a minimum; i economic system in which national interests are tected and the citizen has the scope of a secure l hood, an assured comfort and full opportunity to ris merit.

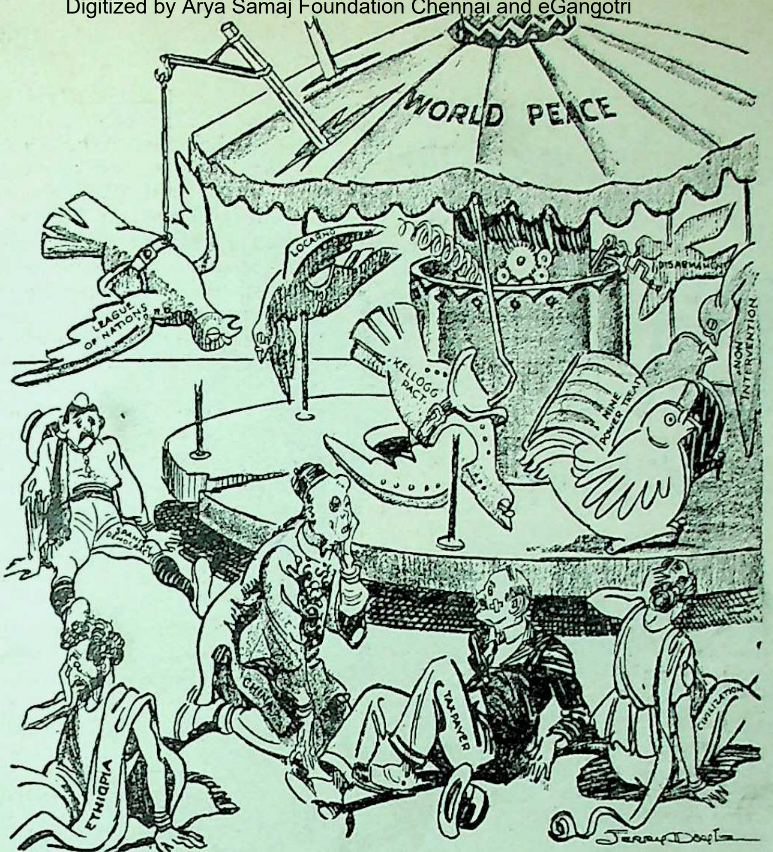
This freedom, so truly and courageously define not ours today and until this condition is reached, will never achieve true greatness or happiness, base the glorious features of her past civilization.

Awakening

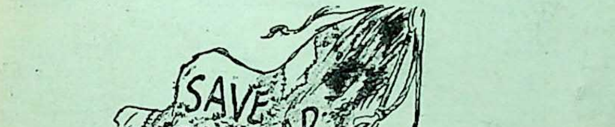
Behind an infinite secrecy of the dark
from which the world of prying lights was shut
there walked in the Destroyer,
and underneath the pall of an ominous hush
rehearsed reparation in the deep of my
At last the stage was made vacant
for the new act of life's play,
when a fiery finger from the sky touched a fring
the dark
and a lightning thrill pierced the immensity of
breaking it to pi
A stream of awakening began to course through the
of a blind inertn
as the first flood of the rainy June pursues its
branching
amidst the emptiness of a dry river bed.
Big boulders of shadows barricaded the passage of
and created confusi
till they were swept away and the spirit of new
unbared herself in a luminous horizon of
This body of mine—the carrier of the burden of a
seemed to me like an exhausted cloud
slipping off from the listless arm of the mor
I felt freed from its clasp
in the heart of an incorporeal light
at the furthest shore of evanescent things.

RABINDRANATH TAGOR
in The Visva-Bharati Qu

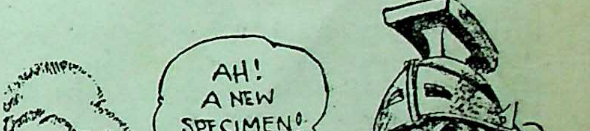
* * *


WORLD PEACE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS
LOCARNO
DISARMAMENT
NON INTERVENTION
KELLOGG PACT
NINE POWER TREATY
SPANISH DEMOCRACY
CHINA
ETHIOPIA
TAXPAYER
CIVILIZATION
JERRY DOYLE

"The merry-go-round broke down"
—*New York Post*

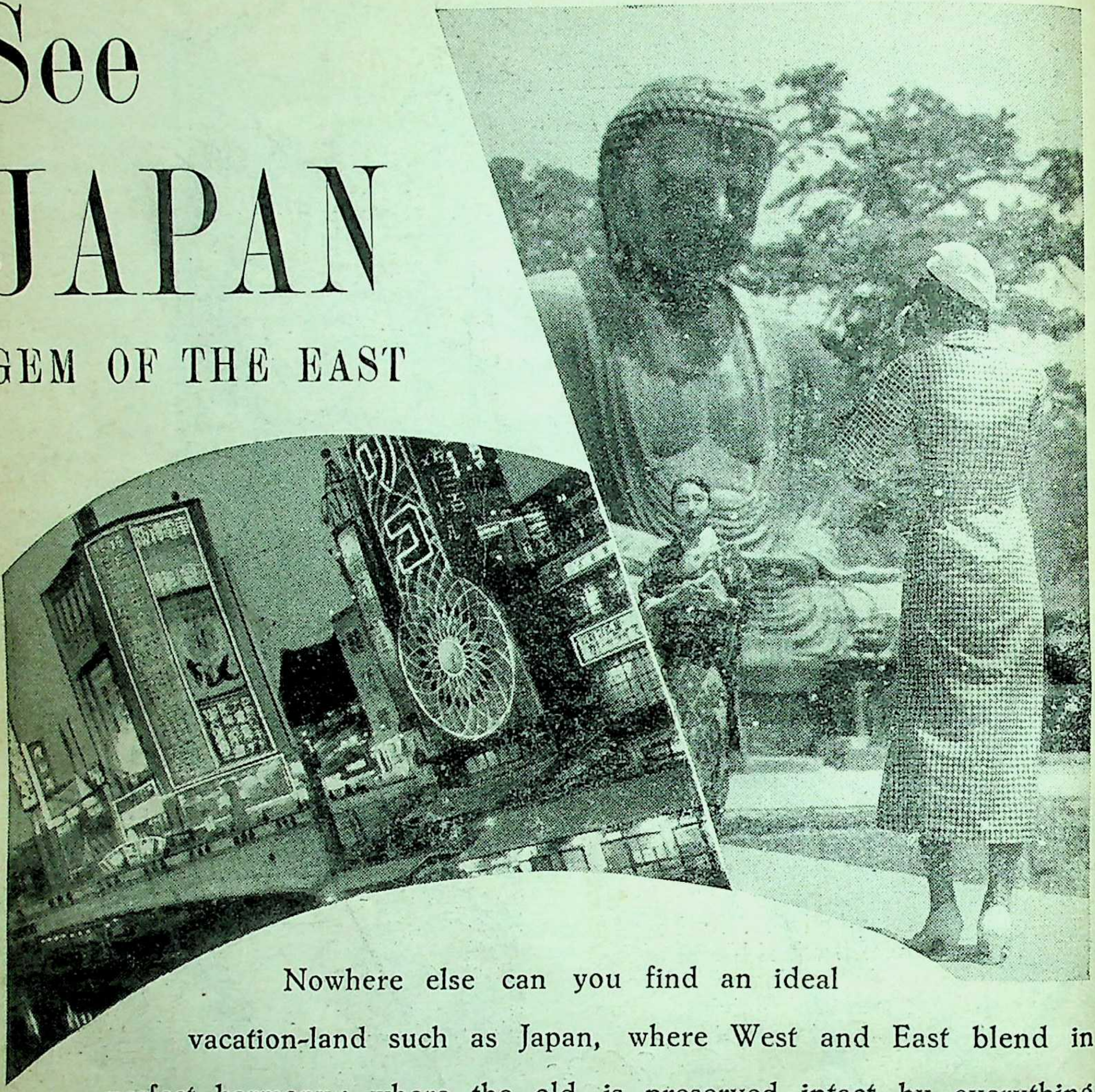

SAVE THE WORLD FOR DEMOCRACY
1917
U.S.
HEP! HEP! HEP!
SPOILS OF THE WORLD WAR
Copyright 1937 by Chicago Tribune
ORR

On the march again
—*Chicago Tribune*


AH! A NEW SPECIMEN!
MODERN METHODS OF DESTRUCTION
HELPLESS CIVILIAN POPULATION
CARGILL

The Science of War
—*The Daily Iowan*

See
JAPAN
GEM OF THE EAST

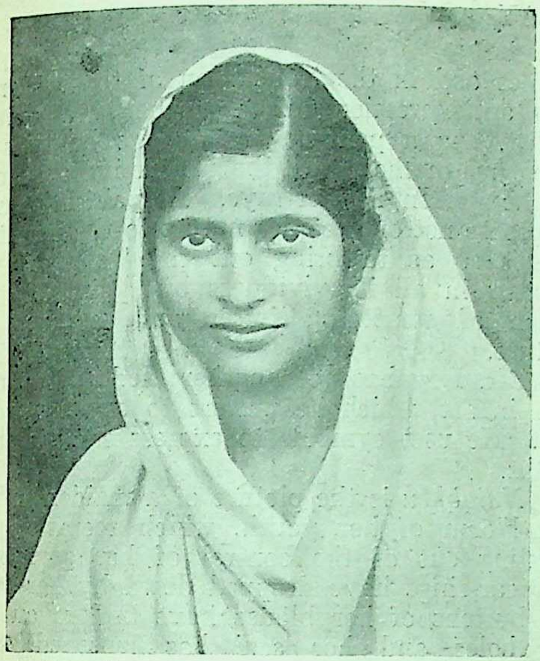


Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land — and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Srimati Sarala Devi

Srimati Sarala Devi, Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly is a distinguished political worker of Orissa. She was the first lady to be a director of the Central Co-operative Bank, Cuttack. She is also the whip of the Congress Party in the Orissa Assembly.

Srimati Parbati Gidwani is the President of *Balkan-ji-Bari*, (All-India Children's Association) and is the Editor of *Gulistan*, a journal intended for children.

Miss Usha Setalvad is an associate editor of the *Pushpa*, "the Children's own Paper," which is published under the auspices of *Balkan-ji-Bari*.

Srimati Parbati Gidwani

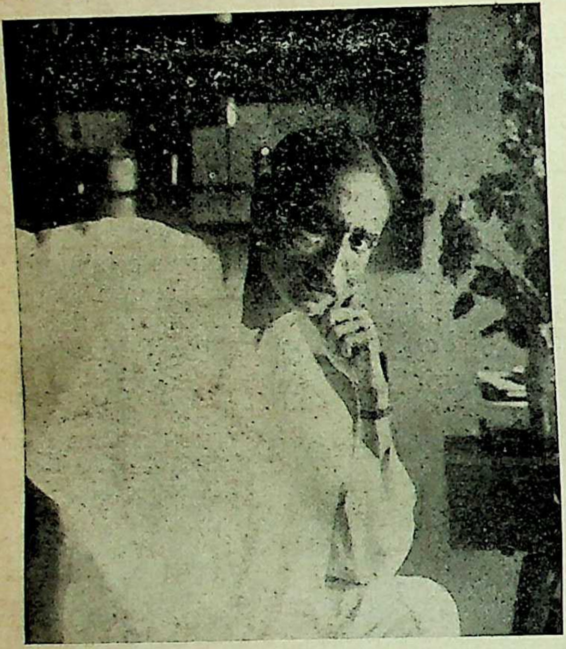
Miss Usha Setalvad

THE BATTLE OF FORMS IN ART

By R. C. RAY

Art as a form of expression of life has taken two divergent shapes. One is the basis of what is known as the idealistic school of art and the other the basis of what is known as the realistic school.

Synthetic art, if one is permitted to use the term, is really a compromise between the two. Thus while it accepts the spirituality of the idealist, it does not reject altogether the external beauty of nature—"harmony, anatomy and perspective." Again, while it accepts the "materiality" of the realist, it never revels in the flesh and gross courseness of the external world.



Mr. J. C. Roy, Artist

The art of Mr. J. C. Roy, Artist and Curator of the Calcutta Corporation, belongs, it appears, to this synthetic school of art. Mr. Roy is an idealist in the conception of his themes and in the translation of those themes into an expression in colour he is a refined realist. As a painter of portraits he tries to bring out in the figure the distinctive character of the person he portrays. In painting landscapes he not only copies nature to the minutest details so as to bring out the "soul of the woods" in all its vividness but points to the vision of something fairer and sublimer in Nature.

Mr. Roy has got another mode of expression in art, which he prefers to call Symbolic Art. He uses symbols to express some hidden truths.

Natabhru is the picture of a maiden in the full bloom of her youth, which seems to be bursting out of the control of her garments. Her ear-rings have dropped down by her feet, the buttons of her blouse have broken out of the holes and her *sari* has loosened. She suddenly becomes aware of the situation and gets embarrassed. In her bashfulness she stops dead with down-cast eyes. The pitcher she is carrying on her side gets unseated and is emptying itself of all the water in it.

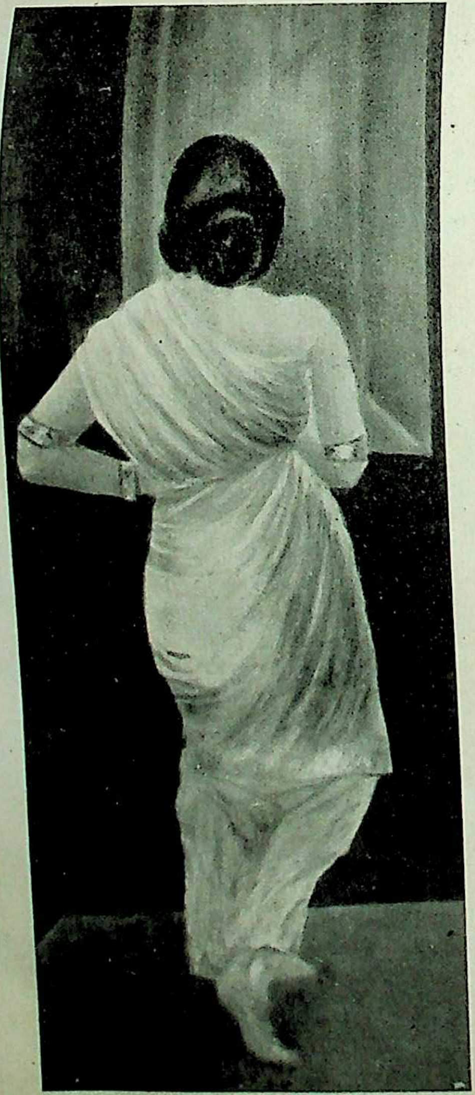
Pratiksha (Awaiting)—This is the picture of a slim Bengalee beauty looking out of the windows for . . . who knows for whom or what.

The World is the title of a picture in which a thoughtful maiden, a model of aggressive beauty, is giving finishing touches to the shape of the world in her earnest efforts to make it perfectly beautiful. The picture is symbolic of the reformer's attempts to turn human society into a better order of things for the happiness of mankind.

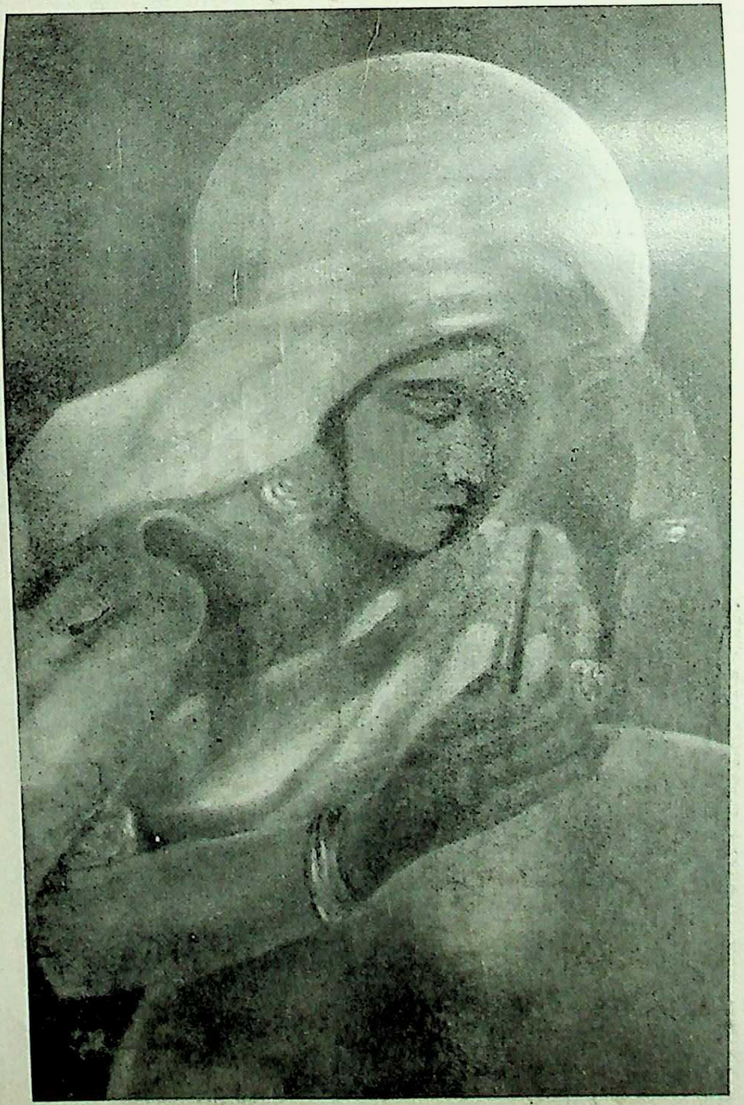
These, and *Probhati, Soul of the Country, Midnight, Sagarika, Karnafuli, Kanchanjang* and a portrait in oils of the late Sir Surendr Nath Banerjea are some of Mr. Roy's paintings which appeal to the critical eye the most.

[Three of Mr. Roy's paintings are reproduced in the next page.]

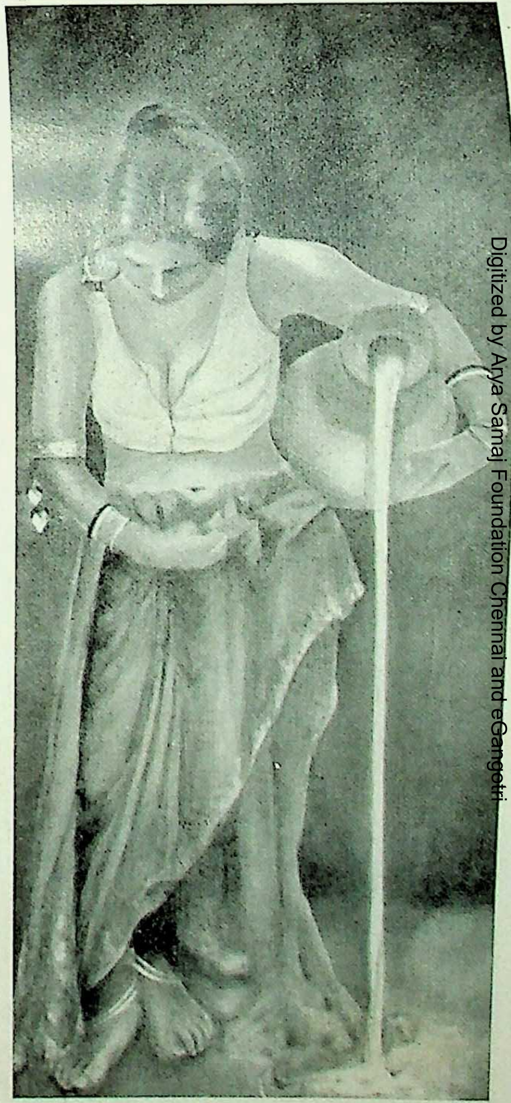
* * *



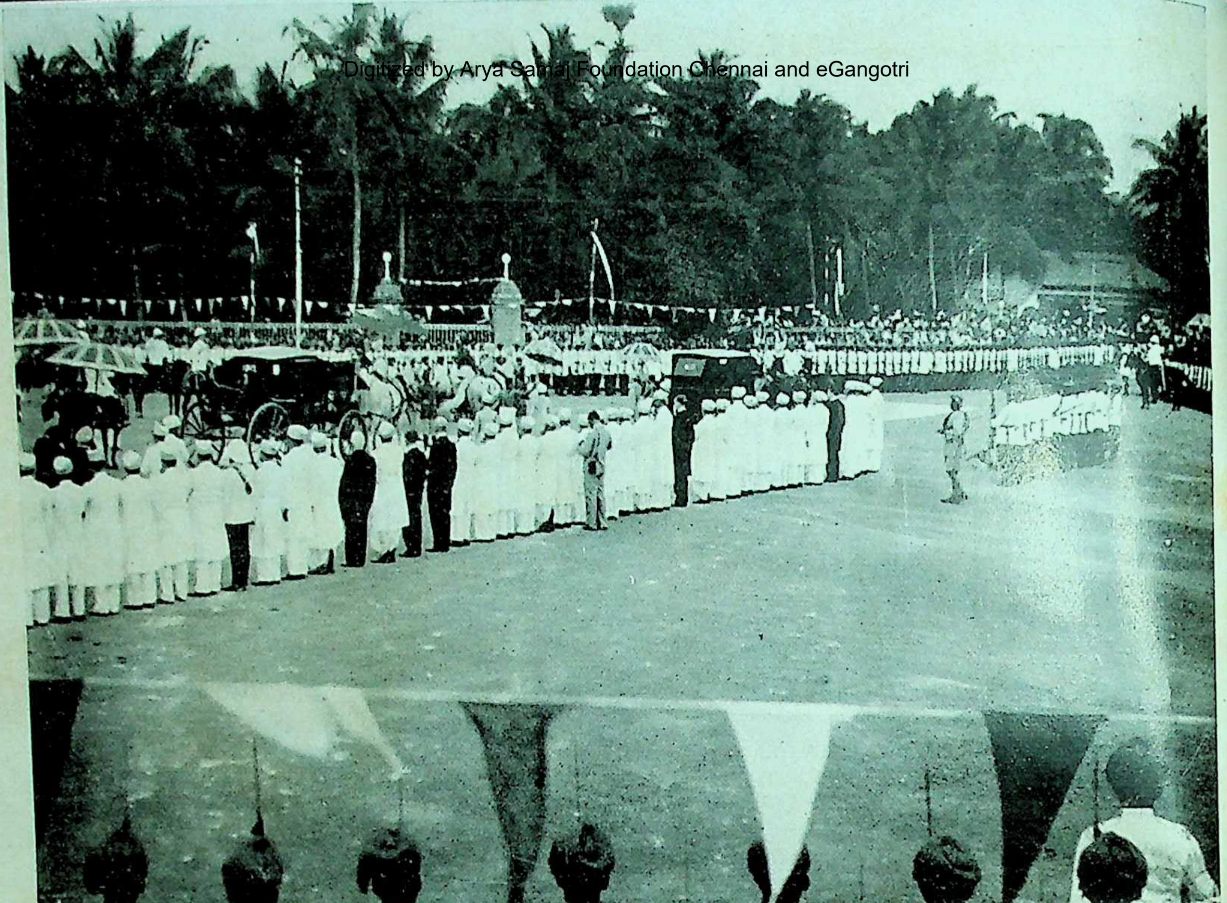
Pratiksha (Awaiting)



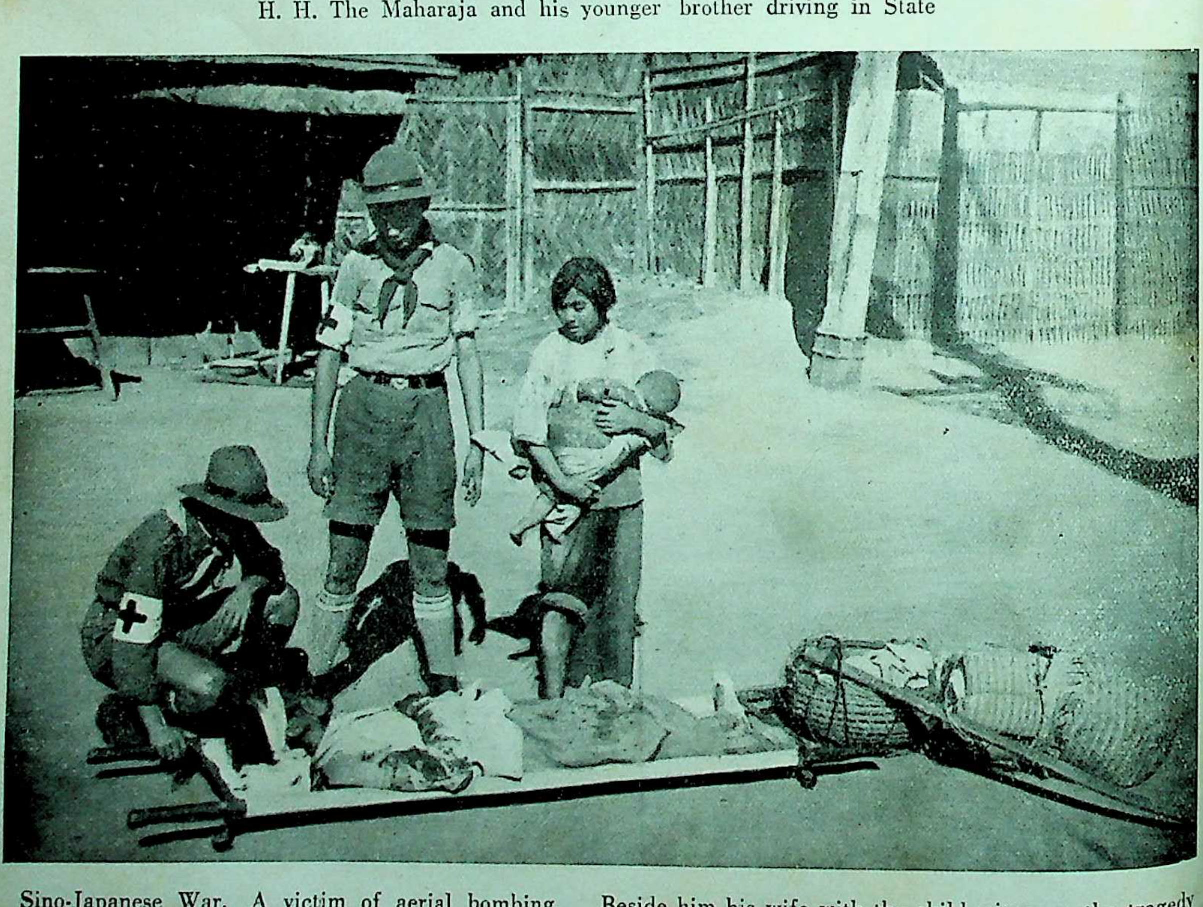
The World



Nata-bhru (The Bashful Maiden)



A view of the Sasthamangal Procession
H. H. The Maharaja and his younger brother driving in State



Sino-Japanese War. A victim of aerial bombing. Beside him his wife with the child witnesses the tragedy

Notes

"The Dignity of States" and "The Dignity of the Bully"

When, after the last world war, the Italian Philosopher Benedetto Croce made certain observations in his book, *The Conduct of Life,* on the dignity of States, he did not perhaps anticipate that the cap would fit Italy also. But the present world situation reminds us of what he wrote in chapter XXXV of that work. Said he :

> The dignity of States has a counterpart in the dignity of the bully, who will yield only to a bully stronger or luckier than he . . . . Base and cowardly likewise . . . the procedures of States in their dealings with other States : sharp commands and the big stick for the weak and the weaker; respectfulness and politeness for "Powers" of equal power; cringing, flattery and bootlicking for the stronger! Show me a State which, in the war just over, maintained its dignity in the ethical sense of the word. We had the spectacle of France, a trembling mendicant for aid from anyone in a position to lend it; the glad hand of fellowship extended to savages and barbarians (?) ; Senegalese and Indian Gurkhas galloping about the "fair land of France"; words of feminine allurement for peoples she had, in better times, insulted and despised; invitations, vain ones, sent to far Nippon for yellow troops to defend her invaded territory; unctuous democratic manners, and pious ejaculations on "Latin sisterhood," for neighbouring countries of Latin origin; consecrations to liberty, human justice, and democracy, for a republic farther removed . . . . . . who could enumerate the full list of such acts of fawning that in an individual similarly placed would have been regarded as morally disgusting? But the war won and over, it is a different story. France "wraps herself in her dignity." She now steps forward as the high administratix of justice—Monsieur de Paris, one might almost say—toward the great people that is her neighbour. Forgetful of common bonds of humanity, insolent, sarcastic, cynical, she now applies the high-sounding maxims of liberty and justice to the advantage of her exclusive interests; with an occasional descent from the high horse, even now, however, as it proves convenient to conciliate one or another of the great powers.

Croce then turns his attention on England and the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

> At the culminating point of German fortunes, at the critical moment of the war, we had the spectacle of England and the United States—not vanquished but deeply shaken—condescending to advances which were offers of compromise and peace. And these advances? They were insolently repelled by the momentary victor, the proud German State, which a short time afterwards was making advances on its own account (and what craven ones!), finally accepting, meek as a lamb, everything that was written for it on a piece of paper!

The Italian Philosopher concludes :

> States are magnificent animals, mighty, colossal; but their chief desire is to endure, and to escape destruction they will resort to any device that is available.

Effects of War on the Chinese People

According to an article in *The China Weekly Review,* owing to the Sino-Japanese war, the mentality of the Chinese people "has undergone, for better or worse, a drastic change."

> The most noticeable change is that we become very militaristic in our conception. We have been known to be great lovers of peace; but after many disillusionments, we have come, at last, to the conclusion that peace cannot be had unless it is supported by strong armament. Only yesterday we cried for the retrenchment of our military expenditures, criticised the reckless spending in the attempt to build up our national defense, and frowned upon the increasing outflow of our wealth for the purchase of foreign arms and munitions. But today, we lament our want of big cannon and anti-aircraft guns, and deplore bitterly that we have not spent enough to prepare for our national defense. We even go so far as to point a finger of condemnation at the many beautiful buildings in the Civic Center—once a pride of our hearts; and ask each other, "It is a great pity that these buildings should be put up at enormous expenses for the purpose of decoration only and without any military value. And would our national defense be very much strengthened, if the money spent for this purpose could be saved for the purchase of more airplanes and guns?" It is a general contention that the story of war would be told differently, if our soldiers were as well-equipped as our enemy. The inferiority of our war equipment has struck so deeply into our hearts, that if we have our own way in shaping our national financial policy, we would not in the least hesitate to spend every cent of our national revenue for military purpose. Dr. Koo's statement in a speech at the Brussels Conference that "China regrets that her rearming in recent years has not been more rapid or more extensive, so that she may offer more effective resistance and lessen the toll of suffering ruthlessly imposed on the Chinese people" speaks eloquently of our prevailing sentiment.

Another change is that the people have become more public-spirited.

The old adage "Mind your own business" has lost its luster and fascination, and its place has been fittingly taken by a very popular slogan, "Contribute money if you can; otherwise, render your services." The realization that the present war is a war against all the Chinese people makes us sensible of the necessity of uniting ourselves into a whole and indivisible body. We find ourselves literally in the same boat, and therefore must pull together for our mutual salvation—a task, which, we are fully aware, cannot be successfully accomplished should we remain individualistic and selfish as in days of yore.

Likewise, the Chinese have "become bold and enterprising."

It must be admitted that our people generally are timid and lack courage. But the frequent air-raids conducted by our enemy have very much taken away our fearfulness, and given us a new soul. When our ears are filled with the sound of bombing and booming, and when our eyes are filled with the scenes of death and destruction, we become intrepid and can no longer concern ourselves with the firing of a bullet or with the sight of a bloody corpse. Nay, we do not attach much value to our life as we used to. In spite of the frequent air-raids here and there, our people in the affected areas have still maintained their composure and conducted their "business as usual." Many people have even refused to evacuate from the war zones, and contentedly lived a trying life among the ruins.

The Chinese have become more realistic and less superstitious. They place their "faith in the saying, 'God will help those who help themselves'." They have "also become self-reliant." They do not really any longer believe that any substantial assistance would come from the League of Nations or any other quarter.

According to the pronouncements made by our officials, the present war is going to be a protracted one. We agree that is the only course for us to pursue, and so, despite our increasing sufferings and hardships, we show not the faintest sign of defeatism. On the other hand, we apply more devoutly and persistently to the task of our national salvation. It is hoped that with the prolongation of the present war, our people, baptized by the fire of our enemy's guns, will be able to pick up some more sterling qualities and become different persons with new ideals and outlooks, so that in the end, from the ruins a new nation will spring up, fresher and healthier, to be accepted as an equal among the community of nations.

China's Firm Resolve

The following telegram was received by the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta from China's field headquarters on December 16:

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek made a statement from the Field Headquarters yesterday evening declaring that China would continue to resist Japanese invasion notwithstanding the evacuation of Nanking.

"Withdrawal from Nanking has no effect upon the Government's policy of resisting Japanese aggression but it strengthens the National determination to continue fighting. Since the seat of the Government has been removed elsewhere, Nanking has neither political nor military significance. I therefore, ordered the withdrawal of the forces from Nanking to other lines according to my plan of withdrawing whenever the enemy's superior armament makes unnecessary sacrifice too great."

The battle for the possession of Nanking commenced on the 5th and lasted for nine days, in which the defenders made heroic sacrifices exacting a heavy price from the enemy.

The casualties were extremely heavy on both sides in the street fighting which lasted till yesterday noon after which the Chinese authorities ordered a withdrawal inasmuch as all defence works were destroyed by intensive Japanese bombardment.

Chinese mobile units are extremely active behind the Japanese lines on the Yangtse delta. It has been reported that Taichang to the north-east of Quinshan has been retaken.

Congress President's Assam Tour

The tour of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the province of Assam has aroused great enthusiasm in that province. This is due to the desire for freedom which people naturally have and which the Indian National Congress fosters and has been trying to fulfill more than any other organization in India, as also to the personality of the Congress President. His selfless devotion to the cause of freedom, his courage, his intellectual equipment, his literary gifts and his energy have combined to give him that personal magnetism which draws lovers of freedom to him wherever he goes. His articles on his tour giving his impressions of the province possess high literary charm, in addition to their political and economic importance.

Bengalis in Assam Province

The British-ruled province of Assam is more extensive than the region which is inhabited mainly by Assamese-speaking people. There are areas included in the province which have been peopled since time immemorial by hill and forest tribes who speak their own languages, which are non-"Aryan." And there are areas which have been the home of the Bengali-speaking people for centuries from before the commencement of British rule. And there is Assam proper, which gives the name to the British-ruled province, and which has been the home of Assamese-speaking people since time immemorial. These are the main divisions. But, of course, there are Assamese-speaking people outside Assam proper, as there are Bengalis outside Sylhet, Cachar and part of Goalpara, which are mainly Bengali-speaking. If the British Government so desires, it can transfer these Bengali-speaking areas to the province of Bengal. But if any such step were taken, it would not do to transfer Sylhet alone, leaving Cachar and the Bengali-speaking portion of Goalpara to form part of the province of Assam, as they do at present.

We say this, as during his tour in Assam Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed the opinion that Sylhet's proper place is in the province of Bengal. Perhaps he has not been correctly reported, or, perhaps as he was not making a formal official pronouncement, he did not take care to add that Cachar and parts of Goalpara also formed parts of Bengal.

The people of Andhra-desa and Karnataka have expressed a desire to form separate linguistic provinces for themselves. Bengalis also have such a desire. The All India Congress Committee has approved of this desire. It has also supported the desire of the Bengalis so far as the Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bihar are concerned. If there is to be a linguistic province of Bengal, all the Bengali-speaking areas in both the provinces of Bihar and Assam should be transferred to Bengal. It would be unjust and illogical to transfer only some of them, leaving the rest to form parts of Bihar and Assam as at present.

Bengalis in the Province of Bihar

The All India Congress Committee has passed a resolution in favour of transferring the Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bihar to Bengal. Recently the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee considered this resolution It said that it was within the competence of the Central Government to effect this transfer, and therefore the All India Congress Committee should be informed accordingly.

There is no reason to suppose that the All India Congress Committee does not know what provincial governments can do and what the central government alone can do. Therefore, to communicate to the All India Committee what was presumably known to it already would be a superfluous endeavour to remove its supposed ignorance. The All India Committee might not appreciate the compliment.

One would have thought that, if the Bihar Committee at all considered the A. I. C. C. resolution, it would either support it, or oppose it mentioning the grounds of its opposition.

Bengalis Outside Bengal: Inter-provincial Migration

In the course of one of his Assam speeches Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said that it did not matter whether some Bengalis lived in Assam or in Bengal. What he probably meant was that, as Bengalis were Indians, it was all one to him whether they lived in one part of India or in another part. He was quite right so far. One may generalise his observation and say that it does not matter in what province of India Sindhis, Panjabis, Hindusthanis, Biharis, Bengalis, Assamese, Oriyas, Andhras, Marathas, Gujaratis, Tamils, Kanarese, etc., live.

As a statement in the abstract, we accept it. But persons whose mother-tongue is the vernacular of a particular province often find that even if their family has settled in another province, has been living in it for generations, has no home in the province of its origin, and spends, saves and invests its earnings in the province where it has settled, they are discriminated against in the province which is now their home.

In the case of Bengalis living in the province of Bihar, it is curious that even fully qualified Bengalis of, say, Manbhum, which has been a Bengali-speaking district from before British rule, are not considered equally eligible for public service in Bihar with Biharis, though the families of these Bengalis have been in Manbhum for centuries. So, as the natives of Manbhum are not considered as good Biharis as the natives of, say, Patna, is it not only right and proper that Manbhum should form part of Bengal again, as it did all along before its inclusion in Bihar.

"The Statesman" On Sir C. V. Raman's Comments on Sir J. C. Bose's Work

The Statesman of Calcutta, an Anglo-Indian daily which has not been noted for friendliness or justice to Sir J. C. Bose, has the following editorial paragraph on Sir C. V. Raman's comments on Sir J. C. Bose's work as a scientist:

> Sir C. V. Raman's comments on the late Sir Jagadis Bose's work as physicist and biologist lack grace and have been justly resented. It has been common ground to Sir Chandrasekhar and others that Sir Jagadis was one of the first Indians whose devotion to science attracted interest in the West. It would have been better for the Nobel Prizeman of Bangalore (formerly of Calcutta) to leave it at that instead of making observations which are as inopportune as they are unfortunate and which clearly tend to belittle Sir Jagadis' work. Scientists do not always hold a high opinion of one another. We ourselves noted certain aspects of the deceased scientist's work which touch a difficult borderland. But there are moments when a dissentient view should be either withheld or expressed with dignity and a consideration for a prevailing opinion and sentiment.

We do not wish to make any comments on what *The Statesman* has said.

Sir C. V. Raman spoke on Sir J. C. Bose's work both as a physicist and as a biologist.

As Professor Raman is a distinguished physicist, his estimate of Sir J. C. Bose's work as a physicist would have been entitled to serious consideration if it had been an unbiassed and dispassionate scientific estimate. But Professor Raman himself knows, as others do, that he is prejudiced aganist Sir J. C. Bose. His very comments, which *The Statesman* has criticised, show his bias. Therefore, it would have been better for him if he had kept quiet. Sir J. C. Bose's reputation can take care of itself.

As regards Sir J. C. Bose's work as a biologist, Sir C. V. Raman says :

> I am not competent to speak with complete authority on his work in the field of Biology. But few Biologists whom I have met in my travels in America and Europe have been inclined to attach importance to the sensational claims made on behalf of Sir Jagadis Bose's work.

Sir C. V. Raman assumes that he can speak on "work in the field of biology" with *some* authority, though not with "*complete* authority." Why is he so modest ?

If he wanted the sentence following his modest disclaimer of "complete authority" to be taken as a serious scientific pronouncement, he should have mentioned the names, addresses and standing of the biologists whom he met and who are alleged to have disparaged Bose's work, in order that their opinions could be verified by correspondence with them and weighed as against those of many world-famous biologists, whose estimate of Bose's work has been read even by laymen—if, of course, anybody cared to take so much trouble.

Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's Convocation Address

In November last Mr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee delivered a fine Convocation address at Patna. He dwelt on the culture and thought and glory of ancient India and proceeded to observe :

> It may be asked that if such has been the greatness of India as a home of culture and thought, why is it that she has lost her political independence and has become a subject nation? Would it be true to say that the catholicity and universal sympathy which contributed so much to the everlasting freshness of India's civilization, concealed in them the germs of her political downfall? Did they engender that other-worldliness which spelt ruin to the prospect of India's freedom? History supplies the answer. Did not India produce Chandragupta and Samudragupta, Pratapsingh, Sivaji and Ranjit Singh, in spite of the pacific teachings of our ancestors? Did not the nameless but illustrious heroes, the Indian Argonauts, who explored the mysteries of the unchartered seas and spread Indian culture to the farthest East, prove that Hindu pacifism did not eliminate enterprise and love of adventure? Indian sages and philosophers never suggested that cowards and weaklings would ever be the torch-bearers of India's great heritage. None but the valiant can achieve salvation. India's culture has been responsible for India's bondage. That culture tra planted to the Himalayas and beyond has not taken edge off the material spirit of Mongolian races.
>
> Is it then her climate that deteriorated the stu Aryan, Turk and Afghan in turn? If this were so, h are we to account for the rise of the Mahrattas a the Rohillas, the Jaths and the Sikhs? How are we explain the resurrection of the Rajputs? How co Hyder Ali of Mysore hold his own against the Mahrat and the English? It is not the climate, it is not culture; we must seek the cause of our downfall e where.
>
> India fell mainly because her people were at t critical hour divided and disorganised. Her influe waned when the forces of disintegration, political a social, were at work. If we left our neighbours alo we revelled in internal strife.

He concluded by saying :

> I do not forget that in recent times efforts are bei made to meet some of our vital needs. But no refor of a radical character in any field of activity will e be possible nor can India rise to her full stature spir ally and economically until and unless she takes h rank among the free nations of the world. No mater gain, no earthly possession can ever compensate for t loss of man's liberty. The conflict of ideals and in ests between a subject-race and the power that wa to hold it in its leading strings is as old as history its it can be solved peacefully and amicably only if t latter accords to the former the same treatment as demands from others in respect of its own rights a privileges . . . . . . The man who is fully free one who lives in a country which is independent; in state which is democratic; in a society where the la are equal and restrictions at a minimum; in an econ system in which national interests are protected and t citizen has the scope of a secure livelihood, an assur comfort and full opportunity to rise by merit.
>
> This freedom so truly and courageously defined, not ours today and until this condition is reached, In will never achieve true greatness or happiness, based the glorious features of her past civilization.
>
> The Indian Universities, if they are to play th role in the rebuilding of a new India must not reg themselves as exclusive institutions which exist ap from the currents of the country's life. Let them tr their alumni in a worthy manner, saturate them w the lessons of Indian history and civilization, instil i them unity and reason, strength and dauntlessness, insp them with skill and knowledge and teach them to ap themselves devotedly and unselfishly to the service their fellowmen. Let the teachers of the Univers consider it their sacred duty to be the interpreters India's heritage, the seekers of truth and knowledge prove to the world that Indian scholars are second none in their efforts to serve the cause of the human and the sciences in relation to the unfettered prog of India and of human civilization itself.

Frontier Premier Dr. Khan Sahib on "Bande Mataram"

(From Our Own Correspondent)

PESHAWAR, Nov. 29.

As a good deal of misunderstanding has been cre over the question of "Bande Mataram" and "Allah Akbar" by interested persons in the province with view to discredit Dr. Khan Sahib in the eyes of co-religionists, I interviewed Dr. Khan Sahib at K

> in this connection to ascertain his views on the question. Dr. Khan Sahib stated that both "Bande Mataram" and "Allah-O-Akbar" are quite separate slogans and cannot be mixed with one another, adding that "Bande Mataram" was the national anthem of the country while "Allah-O-Akbar" was a slogan to inspire confidence amongst the believers of Islam. Dr. Khan Sahib further stated that he had no objection in adopting "Bande Mataram" as the national anthem of the country holding that the song contained nothing objectionable for the Muslims.
>
> —"*The Hindusthan Standard*"

Survey of Bengal Fish Industry by Madras Officer

> In pursuance of the announcement made by the Minister in Charge of Industries and Agriculture, Bengal, during the Budget session in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, it is understood that arrangements have been completed to undertake immediately a survey to explore the possibilities of developing the fishery industry in the province.
>
> The Government of Madras was approached some time ago for lending the services of a suitable officer for the purpose. He will begin his work of surveying inland fisheries in the province from the next month.
>
> The Government of Bengal as a result of the proposed survey will be in a position to decide for themselves as regards the steps to be taken for implementing various proposals that are likely to be contained in the report to be submitted by the Madras Officer.

Perhaps the sea-board of Bengal is not less long than that of Madras, nor do Bengal rivers contain less fish than those of Madras. Perhaps, too, the fish-eating population of Bengal is larger than that of Madras. How is it then that Bengal does not possess a "suitable officer" for the purpose of a fishing industry survey?

Probable Result of Congress and Muslim League Opposition to Federation

We have pointed out in our last (December) number (pp. 718-719) and in some previous numbers that the probable result of the opposition of the Congress and of the Muslim League to the Government scheme of federation will be that the Government will win over the Muslim communalists by extending the operation of the Communal Decision to the Indian States. In the British India part of the Federal Legislatures, Hindus, who form more than 70 per cent of the population, have been reduced to a hopeless minority, having been given only 42 per cent of the seats in the Assembly. Hindus are a majority in the Indian States also. If among the representatives of the States nominated by their rulers, Hindus be similarly reduced to a minority, their proportional strength in the legislature will be further reduced. The Communal Decision can be extended to the States without amending the Government of India Act. The Hindu rulers can be persuaded or practically forced by various kinds of pressure to nominate more Muhammadans as their representatives than they can claim on the basis of population; and the Moslem rulers will naturally nominate more Musalmans as their representatives than they can claim on the ground of their numerical strength.

If the special correspondent of *The Hindu Outlook* of Delhi has been correctly informed, the mischief apprehended is already a certainty. Says he :

> I understand from reliable sources that the Congress Opposition to the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act is having undesirable reactions. The British Government and the Viceroy are determined to see Federation through, and lacking Congress co-operation, are looking for support in the Muslim camp. The main point of Muslim objection to Federation is that the Muslims are not assured of having one-third of the quota allotted to Indian States representation. This point is likely to be conceded and the Hindu States are already being sounded as to whether they are agreeable to send a sufficient number of Muslims to the Federal Legislature to make up the Muslim one-third. It is expected that under the persuasion and pressure of the Political Department the Hindu States will agree to the proposal. An important Muslim State is said to be angling to make Mr. M. A. Jinnah the first Federal Prime Minister.
>
> I further understand that in order to meet the danger ahead active steps are being taken to form a pro-Federation party in the country.

We had suggested that, just as Congress has accepted office in most provinces and has thereby prevented reactionaries there from capturing power and doing harm to the cause of freedom and nationalism, so Congress might accept office at the Centre and prevent reactionaries from weakening the forces of freedom and nationalism. Congress should capture all the seats in the Federal Legislature that it is possible for it to do and form a Central Congress Government. In most of the provinces Congress has formed governments, overruling doctrinaire objections. As regards the Central Government also no doctrinaire objection should be heeded by Congress.

It should not be taken for granted that the ruling princes are all against Indian nationalism. Why should it be assumed that no ruling prince is a patriot? Efforts should be made to persuade as many princes as possible to give their subjects the right to elect the States' representatives—if not all the representatives, at least some to begin with. Should such efforts fail, endeavours should be made to persuade the princes themselves to nominate men of enlightened and progressive views. In all circumstances we should try to make the best of a bad job.

Congress is a non-communal body. Therefore, some people may think that it should do nothing which will prevent the strength of the Hindu element in the Federal Legislature from being further reduced, as that may be construed as a communal move. But Congressmen know, as others do, that Hindus form the backbone of nationalism in India. We do not say that there are no nationalists among Muhammadans. But the plain truth is that it is the Hindus who have fought for freedom for all Indians irrespective of race, creed or caste. If in the Central Legislature the Hindu element be reduced to a hopeless minority, the cause of nationalism will also be a hopeless cause there. So let not the use of the word Hindu frighten Congressmen. They are quite capable of facing facts. Let them face facts, though the facts may wear a Hindu garb and bear a Hindu name.

Mr. Shiva Rao's Address at Trade Union Federation

In the course of his presidential address at the third general session of the National Trades Union Federation, held in Calcutta last month, Mr. Shiva Rao observed :

> Even a man so entirely on the workers' side as Mr. Giri has been compelled to utter a word of warning that the workers should not declare strikes except as a last resort, and place themselves in the wrong by striking without notice. I agree, if I may say so, with the view expressed by the Minister of Labour in Madras and am confident that the Federation generally endorses principle enunciated therein. But emphatically I do not accept the analysis of the present situation put forward in certain quarters that this manifestation of industrial unrest, widespread and potentially dangerous in certain centres as it is, is due to the inflammatory teachings of a certain set of people. Whatever may have been the truth of the assertion eighteen years ago that the workers could be led into a strike by mischievous or overzealous agitators, we know that today they are not so ignorant or credulous as to become the innocent dupes of partisan propaganda. I have too high a regard for the shrewd practical sense of the workers to accept this view of the situation.

But the following editorial note in *Harijan* (December 11, 1937) seems to show that what was true eighteen years ago is still partly true in some areas at any rate :

> The Ahmedabad labour strike is over—not without having done a lot of harm all round. The only one good result of it may be this that the workers have learnt one more lesson of not listening to those who would encourage strikes as such, and have also perhaps realised the value of the Labour Union which has by now weathered many a storm, and which makes for the solidarity of the labour interests. The Indian Labour Journal, which is the official organ of the B. N. Rly. Indian Labour Union, commends to its readers Gandhiji's article 'Storm Signals' and has addressed very sensible remarks both to the workers and the labour leaders. "They must," it says, "formulate their grievances, present them to the proper quarters, seek the aid of Provincial Governments for their redress, and if all channels fail, resort to the ultimate weapon of strike. It will never do to strike work and then to evolve a list of grievances and demands. Also : "Labour organisations should develop a streng of their own. There had been sporadic strikes througho the country in 1920. There were record strikes in th textile and other industries including railways in th year 1928. We have now strikes all over the countr They do indicate in uncertain terms that the workers ar prepared to make any sacrifice in order to secure bett conditions. But mere strike without the development trade unions which function continuously and systemat cally do not carry the workers far. The leaders wh figure so much in strikes should set themselves down do some regular trade union work. But, unfortunatel most of them do not seem to have faith in trade unionis which, according to them, is reformist. Some of the go to the extent of stating that workers cannot see think beyond improving their own conditions and a revolutionary thought can only emanate from th bourgeoisie. They may be entitled to think so but the should not exploit labour for this purpose."

Nevertheless, it is true, as Mr. Shiva Ra proceeded to observe, that

> We must look elsewhere and deeper for the wave unrest which is undoubtedly sweeping over the countr There is a certain amount of natural impatience both the part of the workers themselves and those who ar leading them, with existing conditions—an impatien which is finding expression in strikes of differe kinds, . . .
>
> . . . The strikes that have taken place during the la few months are the first fruits of a release from the repre sive but otherwise do-nothing policy of the provinci Governments of the last several years. The workers a impatient for reforms that have long been overdue, a hopeful that under the new provincial Governme especially with the pledges that the Congress has give both at its annual sessions and in its election manifest a definite and comprehensive programme will soon b put into operation. The volume of industrial disconte prevalent in India is a measure of the failure of the o administrations to deal with the workers in a spirit fairness and justice. It is a heavy burden they have l for the autonomous provinces of today.

Mr. Harold Butler at N. T. U. Federation Session

In the course of his address at the Nation Trades Union Federation session Mr. Harol Butler, Director of the International Labou Office, Geneva, said :

> "I have realised," continued Mr. Butler, "that have come to India at a very interesting time, and it not difficult to see the movement of ideas which is taki place at the present moment in the various provinc One sees, one feels that a great deal of energy h developed in the social field. One feels that more rap progress is likely to be made in the course of the ne few years that has been accomplished in the past. An I think it should not be a question of social legislati alone, but a question also of developing what might b called social consciousness.
>
> Even the short experience I have in India has give me tremendous encouragement. It makes me feel th real advance is beginning to take place here and that great deal more is likely to be accomplished in th immediate future."

Appeal for World-wide Boycott of Japanese Goods

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has received the following cable from Dr. John Dewey, Prof. Albert Einstein, Mr. Bertrand Russel and Monsieur Romain Rolland, from New York :

> 'In view of the wanton destruction of oriental civilization, and for humanity, peace and democracy we propose that the peoples of all countries should organize a voluntary boycott against Japanese goods, refuse to sell and load war materials to Japan and cease co-operation with Japan in ways that help her aggressive policy, while giving China every possible help for relief and self-defence until Japan has evacuated all her forces from China and abandoned her policy of conquest. Wish the Congress to endorse this statement and give publicity and call all India to join action.'

Indians have already been supporting the movement for boycotting Japanese goods. As ordinary purchasers of goods cannot generally distinguish Japanese goods easily from other articles offered for sale by shopkeepers, the movement must depend for success to a large extent on the support which it may receive from the firms importing Japanese goods in bulk. Indian leaders should approach these firms. The import and export trade of India with Japan is valued at many crores of rupees, and so, is not negligible, as the following figures will show :—

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

Years	Exports to Japan	Imports from Japan
Pre-war average ..	16.85	3.64
1923-24	50.16	13.82
1924-25	55.15	17.12
1925-26	56.66	18.19
1926-27	41.01	16.47
1927-28	29.01	17.90
1928-29	34.43	17.68
1929-30	32.27	23.59
1930-31	23.73	14.51
1931-32	13.94	13.34
1932-33	13.95	20.48
1933-34	13.46	16.36
1934-35	24.59	20.80
1935-36	21.89	21.84
1936-37	30.07	21.27

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following reply to Dr. John Dewey to the cable received from New York :

> 'Your cable. Congress already expressed condemnation of Japanese aggression and full sympathy for China, called for boycott of Japanese goods and agree to general policy and objective of your statement and is giving publicity. Congress is most willing to co-operate for humanity, peace and democracy everywhere and for elimination of fascism and imperialism.'

In issuing the cable and the reply thereto to the press the Pandit draws "the attention of the public again to the urgent necessity of abstaining from purchasing Japanese goods."

How to Help China

The Congress President continues :

> "Horror piles up on horror in China and armed might and air bomb and poison gas kill hundreds of thousands of her children and crush her very soul. We are sickened at the brutality and inhumanity of the Chinese scene. But mere sympathy is not enough. We must give such help as we can. This help can be of two kinds—refusal to purchase Japanese goods and financial assistance for medical relief. I trust that Congress Committees and other organisations will carry on propaganda for this boycott. Donations for sending medical relief will be received in the All-India Congress Committee office and will be forwarded to proper quarters. Urgent demand for medical supplies has been received by us, and I earnestly trust that the people of India will give what they can for relief of suffering and tortured humanity in China."

In our last issue, page 718, we printed what Madame Agnes Smedley wrote from Taiyuanfu, Shansi Province, China, about the urgent need for medical supplies and doctors. She wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru also.

Profiteering By Railways

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, M. L. A. (Bombay), presiding over the first zonal Conference of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation last month in Calcutta, said :

> "The wealth which the railway worker earns is squandered in irrigating other lands. The worker is getting a petty wage, has to do hard work and on retirement 65 per cent of his fellow-workers remain unprovided against future needs. Even the trifle of a gratuity is not paid as a matter of right. About four lakhs of the workers are excluded from the benefit of the provident fund while crores go to the share of the higher official. No national Government could have tolerated the huge drain of railways for a single day."

Secondary Education Board Bill

We commented on the draft of the Bengal Secondary Education Board Bill in our last issue. We are for its total rejection. It was referred to the Calcutta University for its opinion. The syndicate of the University appointed a committee to consider the Bill. The committee consisted of English and Indian members, the English member being Mr. Wordsworth, who retired from the Education Department after filling the offices of professor of English, principal of the Presidency College and Director of Public Instruction. Among the Indian members was such a veteran educationalist as Sir P. C. Ray and two Muhammadan professors. Such a committee has reported against the Bill unanimously. The Senate has adopted the report of the committee unanimously. In moving the adoption of the report by the Senate Mr. Justice C. C. Biswas said in the course of his effective speech that an attempt had been made in some quarters to create the impression that the University was opposed to the establishment of a board for the control of secondary education. But, said he :

> "That is a delusion which ought to be dispelled at once. The University has never opposed it and does not oppose it now, but what it asks for is a genuine Board conceived on right lines which will really promote the interests of Secondary Education in the province, not mere name which will merely conceal beneath a false exterior all the elements of Secretariat domination, with the make-weight of communal bias thrown in into the bargain.
>
> Give us, we say, a body, academic in character and academic in outlook, which will not make Secondary Education the sport of party politics or communal jealousies, but taking a juster and wider view of its responsiblities, will function as an instrument of true national progress, initiating its own policy of educational advance in an atmosphere of real freedom, unhampered by outside dictation or any ulterior considerations, so constituted as to represent and reflect all varieties of experience and command the unquestioning confidence and good-will of the community as a whole with sufficient resources placed at its disposal in no spirit of cheese-paring economy to enable it to accomplish its great task of providing larger and more varied educational opportunities for the younger generation."

Historical Records Commission

The fourteenth session of the Historical Records Commission was held last month at Lahore. It met "after seven years' of suspended animation." Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the president, gave an account of the very important work which has been accomplished in the interval. Very appropriately and justly he described at some length the monumental labours and achievement of Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the doyen of Maratha historians. Those who know cannot but give due credit to Sir Jadunath also. He referred also to the work done under the auspices of the Panjab Government and the Governments of Gwalior and Baroda. "But the outstanding event in the discovery of English sources on Maratha history is the acquisition of Sir Charles Malet's manuscript Letter-book, 1780-1784 by a scholarly Indian Prince, Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Singh, D.Litt., who is going to edit it."

Sir Jadunath Sarkar added :

> One large branch of Deccan history which was almost unknown before Sir Pandurang S. Pissurlencur of Goa devoted himself to its exploration and publication, is the Portuguese relations with the Maratha State and its Muslim predecessors (the Sultanates of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur) and the social and religious condition of the Maratha race living in Goa territory. Here a new world has been opened to our gaze by this scholar, whose tireless industry and accurate learning have amplified the field of our knowledge almost beyond belief. May he long continue to do so.

"The Indian National Academy"

An association, named the Indian Natio Academy, with its headquarters at Benar has been proposed to be formed with t following among its important objects :

> (*a*) To produce a comprehensive authorita history of India.
>
> (*b*) To keep in touch with the progress of Ind historical research, to synthetise its results and to re Indian history in their light from time to time.
>
> (*c*) Search, collection, preservation and study the original sources of Indian history.
>
> (*d*) To synthetise studies in various branches aspects of Indian history and archaeology and for purpose of such synthesis to arrange conferences provide other facilities to students working in different fields for mutual consultation and collaborati
>
> (*e*) Study of Indian geography, ethnology, anth pology, linguistics and also of Indian civilization, cult and art.

It has been proposed that the work engaged in research in Indian history belong to different provinces of India may meet in small conference to exchange views about constitution and to inaugurate the propo Indian National Academy. The conference meet at the Bharata-Mata Mandir, Benares, December 30 and 31, 1937.

The conveners are Dr. Hirananda Sa Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Achar Narendra Deva and Pandit Jaychandra Nar A reception committee has been formed Dr. Bhagavan Das as chairman, Seth Srin Sah as treasurer and Rai Krishna Dasa secretary. The object of the proposed acade is laudable.

National Trades Union Federation Resolutions

The first resolution passed by the Natio Trades Union Federation at its recent sess in Calcutta was a very important one, many of the other resolutions. It runs thu

> 1. (*a*) This Federation views with alarm deplorable plight in which the industrial worker India are placed on account of extremely low wa long hours of work, bad housing conditions, lack provision against risks like sickness, old age, unem ment, and invalidity. The Federation regrets the fact the efforts of the Central and Provincial Governmen improve the conditions and raise the standard of li the Indian working class have so far been negligib
>
> (*b*) While recording its conviction that s ownership and control of the means of production be the only solution of the economic problem, the Fe tion urges that during the transition period vig efforts should be made to ameliorate the condition of working class. It, therefore, suggests to the Govern and Legislatures in India to undertake the programm Labour Legislations stated below in the immediate fu
>
> (*i*) A scheme of social insurance giving the wor protection against the risks of sickness, unemploy

invalidity and old age entirely under the control of Public Authorities;

(*ii*) Reduction of hours of work to 48 hours per week leading eventually to 40 hours week without reducing wages;

(*iii*) Legislation for fixing minimum living wage for all industries regulated and unregulated;

(*iv*) Legislation for the protection and general improvement of the conditions of work and life of workers employed in plantation, docks and other occupation;

(*v*) Abolition of child labour under the age of 15.

Some of the other resolutions related to the international convention regarding hours of employment, safety and prevention of wastage in coal mines, housing slum-clearance, urging the Government of India to quicken the pace of industrialization of the country, recognition of trade unions, trade disputes, Sino-Japanese war, civil liberties, and trade union unity.

General Sir Ian Hamilton on Japan's Aims

General Sir Ian Hamilton, who is now 84 and who accompanied the Japanese armies in the field in 1904 at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, addressed the Royal Scottish Corporation at their dinner in London on the 1st December last. This is part of what he said :

> "How monstrous it will seem to posterity that throughout 1937 the European nations should have been quarrelling like dogs over a bone about Spain, which has not the smallest intention of allowing itself to be gnawed by an outsider. This at a moment when we ought to be having military conversations between the general staffs—not of France and Britain alone, but between the general staffs of Europe. There are serious things happening which demand that the whole of Europe should stand together.
>
> "ROAD IS MARKED"
>
> "The Emperor of Japan is marching from the island of the Rising Sun. His fighters drink up the great rivers of China. The smoke of their bombs makes dark the air. His road is clearly marked Hankow, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bhamo, Burma, Assam, Bengal. That is the prospect if nothing is done. Nothing less than Europe can definitely hold up that army.
>
> "You may say I am talking rather wildly. But in 1913, as Inspector-General of Overseas Forces, I put a brigade on board the ship at Singapore. I sailed out of sight of land and no one knew where I had gone. In the small hours I went back and captured the island."
>
> Sir Ian said that since his day the fortifications and searchlights had been improved out of all recognition, but so had the means of attack. "For that reason," he added, "I have always urged that Trincomalee in Ceylon, and not Singapore, should have been our wartime base."

It will be noticed that Sir Ian observed that in order to frustrate Japan's ambitious plans the whole of Europe should stand together. He was completely silent as to what India should do to defend herself. Yet, as will be presently seen, he did not think meanly of the soldierly qualities of Indian sepoys.

Sir Ian Hamilton on Indian Soldiers

As noted above, Sir Ian Hamilton accompanied the Japanese armies in the field in 1904 at the time of the Russo-Japanese war and subsequently wrote *A Staff Officer's Scrap-book During the Russo-Japanese War.* In that book, vol. i, pp. 7-8, he has written :

> Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirement of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion. If, for instance, a non-commissioned officer and a dozen men are required to picquet a mountain top two or three miles distant, until the column has passed, and are then to find their way back and follow on with the rear guard, no one in his senses would send British soldiers. They might lose their way; they might unseasonably exhibit a preference for fighting and require to be extricated; or, in some way or another, accentuate the anxieties of their general, even if they did not form the text for a regrettable incident despatch by getting cut up completely. For advance guards, rear guards, road-making, night fighting, escorts to convoys, and for everything in fact that takes place in these mountains except a definite attack upon a definite position, the best native troops, being more in touch with nature, can give points to the artificially trained townsmen who now form so large a proportion of our men. I do not ignore the fortunate fact that the scouting and reconnoitring of the British army has vastly improved since the South African War. But even so, we remain, a long way behind more primitive nations in these important warrior characteristics.
>
> All this is supposed to be a secret, a thing to be whispered with bated breath, as if every sepoy did not already know who does the rough and dirty work, and who, in the long run, does the hardest fighting. Nevertheless, these very officers who know will sit and solemnly discuss whether our best native troops would, or would not, be capable of meeting a European enemy! Why—there is material in the north of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations, if once it dares tamper with that militarism which now alone supplies it any higher ideal than money and the luxury which that money can purchase.

No one need speculate now whether Indian soldiers can meet the best European troops on equal terms. In the last world war they met the best European troops in European battlefields and proved more than a match for them. Owing to heavy casualties among the British officers of the Indian army, Indian officers had to take their place. They proved as good officers as the British ones.

But, though India can produce both good privates and officers, Europe in general and Britain in particular must be her saviour.

Sir Ian Hamilton speaks only of Sikh, Gurkha and Pathan soldiers, because practically other Indians have been demilitarized.

Fanaticism in Medicine

As there are fanatics among religionists, who believe that their -ism is right and absolutely and wholly right and all other -isms wholly wrong, so there are medical men who believe that it is only their system of medicine which is scientific and perfectly scientific and all other systems unscientific, inefficacious and wholly wrong. The Secretary of the British Medical Association seems to belong to the class of medical fanatics. In his report to the Council of the British Medical Association on his visit to India, 1936-37, that gentleman writes :

> 25. In addition to the private practitioner there are the Hakims and the Vaids (the practitioners of the indigenous systems of medicine, Unani and Ayurvedic), whilst there are also the so-called homœpaths, who buy their degrees for a few rupees, and quacks of all kinds. The compounder (dispenser), who has been trained at one of the Government hospitals, attempts to practise medicine side by side with the qualified graduate or licentiate. It must not be forgotten that many of those who qualify in scientific medicine practise Ayurvedic medicine as well, the deciding factor as to the choice in some instances being the wish of the patients. There is of course no legal restriction which prevents the unqualified from carrying on some form of so-called medical practice. The population generally is illiterate, superstitious, ignorant, and prejudiced, and consequently unable to appreciate the difference between the qualified and unqualified. The natural tendency of the people is to seek advice from those who practise an indigenous system which is bound up with their religious faith. Coupled with this there is the inherent antagonism to scientific medicine because of its Western origin, so that the lot of some of the graduates in the larger cities is not to be envied.

It is not for us laymen to dogmatise on what system of medicine is scientific and what not, nor is it for us to say whether any of the systems mentioned by the writer is entirely scientific or wholly unscientific. Perhaps all old systems of medicine were partly empiric in their origin. What we feel is that the writer might have avoided offensive remarks like " so-called homœopaths, who buy their degrees for a few rupees." There may be some who have done so—we do not know. But we know there are a good many who have devoted years of study to homœopathy in homœopathic colleges, in India, or abroad, and there are hundreds of such students at present. There are some who practise homœopathy after obtaining an allopathic degree.

That the population generally is illiterate and ignorant is due not a little to the rule of the race to which the writer belongs.

It is not in India alone that the natural tendency of the people is to favour that which is bound up with their religious faith. Apart from the question of the comparative efficaciousness of different systems of medicine, on which we are not in a position to pronounce any opinion, comparative expensiveness or inexpensiveness has something to do with people's choice of a system. Indigenous systems and homœopathy are preferred by some because of their comparative inexpensiveness.

As for antagonism to what is of Western origin, the remark is not wholly untrue. But homœopathy is also of Western origin. If some people are opposed to it, it is not because of its Western origin.

Medical Problem of Rural India

The Secretary of the British Medical Association writes in his report :

> 63. The greatest difficulty is being experienced in inducing medical men to practise in rural areas. These areas, which constitute the real India, are practically without any suitable or adequate medical attention, whilst the profession is markedly overcrowded in the cities, in some instances to the point of starvation. Provincial Governments, Municipalities, and District Boards provide rural hospitals and dispensaries so far as their finances will permit, but the greatest difficulty is to get any grade of qualified practitioner to live in the rural areas. The pay offered is of course very small indeed, about Rs. 70-100 per month, whilst in some areas it is even lower still. In a few of the more wealthy provinces the system of granting a subsidy to a medical practitioner (graduate or licentiate) is being tried on the doctor being posted to a certain district and given opportunities for private practice in the surrounding villages. But here again the subsidy is insufficient to induce practitioners to forsake the town, even although in the latter they are almost starving. It must not be forgotten that there are no social amenities in the rural areas, that sanitation is a thing unknown, and that adequate housing accommodation is not available. The question is not solely one of finance, and it is difficult to suggest a solution of the problem.

The question may not be solely one of finance but it is largely, if not mainly so. What the Secretary has written is a commentary on British rule, though an indirect one.

" Schools for Study of Indigenous Systems " of Medicine

The same gentleman writes :

> 77. There are also schools supported by the various Provincial Governments where various systems of indigenous medicine are taught. Perhaps the largest school of this description is at Benares. I regret, however, that I did not obtain particulars of the curriculum adopted in this and similar institutions, nor had I an opportunity to visit any particular school.
>
> 78. These systems have all the weight and authority of established religion. In some Provinces funds which might be usefully expended on scientific medicine are being diverted for the establishment of dispensaries following the indigenous systems and for the establishment of schools for the teaching of indigenous systems.

Paragraph 77 gives the impression that all or almost all provincial governments support schools for teaching various systems of indigenous medicine. This is not true.

The writer admits that he did not obtain particulars of the curriculum adopted in the indigenous medical schools, nor had he "any opportunity to visit any particular school." Yet he passes judgment on them! In his opinion money spent on these schools and on dispensaries following the indigenous systems represents so much waste. Yet even some non-Indians think otherwise. Major D. Graham Pole, to whom we are indebted and grateful for a copy of the British Medical Association secretary's report, has written to us that his wife and he can bear witness to some excellent work being done by some of these institutions in Delhi.

Anniversary Number of Calcutta Municipal Gazette

The thirteenth anniversary number of *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette* is a sumptuous and useful publication. The special Sir J. C. Bose supplement adds to its value and attraction.

The Mission to Lepers

We have received a copy of the 63rd year's report of the Mission to Lepers. Without describing the treatment followed in the Mission's Homes, it mentions the results obtained in the 7,000 cases treated there. No instance is recorded of a complete cure. The number of much improved cases was 2,670, and of those slightly improved 2,361. The disease got worse in 438 cases. Those who left or died numbered 1,356.

Emphasis is laid in the report on the psychological factor as an essential element in the treatment of the disease.

> "Perhaps in no other disease do the material and non-material elements so interact and have their repercussion upon one another. The lepra bacillus has its best friend in that social attitude which makes the victim feel himself an outcast. And the range of the doctors' drugs has its most potent ally in the building up of a faith in an over-ruling God who, in spite of every appearance to the contrary, can yet be counted on as good and allwise."

The Mission has cleared 6,000 acres of virgin forest in the Central Provinces to open a settlement for the after-care of arrested cases. The importance of this new development will be understood from the following passage of the report:

> "Leprosy can no longer maintain the unenviable reputation of being an altogether relentless, untreatable disease. On the other hand, though treatment (widely conceived and well executed) can in many cases arrest and drive back the onslaught of the disease, and can render the infective case non-infective, there is unhappily evidence that patients who have known the joy of seeing their symptoms disappear, watch with distress their reappearance, nearly always after they have had to return to conditions of poverty, stress, and under-nourishment. Sociological problems are knit into the very fibre of the medical problems attaching to the treatment and prevention of leprosy. This new scheme is calculated to give ex-patients a stake in the land, a healthy occupation carried on under sympathetic oversight, and such necessary support as may be required until the settler has won for himself resources for times of difficulty. Effective social rehabilitation for the ex-patient is almost as important in the leprosy worker's task as in direct medical treatment."

Sir J. C. Bose's Donation of One Lakh for Bihar Temperance Work

Lady Abala Bose has announced various donations made by her husband Sir J. C. Bose, aggregating three lakhs and seventy-one thousand rupees, of which one lakh is to be devoted to temperance work in Bihar. For the present it is to be made over to Babu Rajendra Prasad. It has been given to promote inter-provincial amity. There is perhaps no other previous donation like this for such an object.

Lady Abala Bose has been hastening to give effect to her husband's desires.

President Vithalbhai Patel's Will and "Vithalnagar"

How happy would it have been if the heirs or trustees or executors of President Vithalbhai Patel's will had shown similar zeal to give effect to his wishes with the money left by him. But people are going unintentionally to mock him by calling the temporary town at Haripura for the coming Congress session Vithalnagar while his wishes remain unfulfilled—we will not guess for what reasons.

Lord Brabourne Announces Government Policy

In the course of a speech addressed to British men of business but meant for a wider public Lord Brabourne, the Governor of Bengal, has announced that political prisoners are not to be released before the expiration of their terms of imprisonment, except as a matter of clemency in some cases, and that all the repressive laws will remain unrepealed in order to tackle terrorism in case there is any recrudescence of it. He has not said that these decisions have been reached by his ministers or in consultation with them. In the provinces governed by Congress ministries, the governors neither determine nor announce policies—they are "constitutional governors." As the Government of India Act is meant for the whole country, it cannot be that the governor of Bengal's position and powers are different from those of them who are "constitutional governors." Would the Congress ministries have tolerated announcements like those made by Lord Brabourne, if made by the governors of their provinces?

Bengal political prisoners, whether in the country or in the Andamans, have been hoping for release, as an ordinary consequence of the grant of self-government in the form of provincial autonomy, if it be the real thing. They are to be disappointed. The effect on their minds and the public mind can be easily guessed.

Do political discontent and law-abidingness go together?

Lord Brabourne's announcement is unfortunate in the present state of Mahatma Gandhi's health. We do not know if Sir John Anderson gave Mahatmaji any assurance regarding the release of political prisoners. In any case Lord Brabourne is not bound by the views or assurances of his predecessors.

Communal Division of Calcutta Corporation Jobs

The Calcutta Corporation at a recent meeting, after a full dress debate, adopted a resolution directing the Services Committee and the Chief Executive Officer that for the next three years they should make appointments in such a way as to ensure that not less than 25 per cent of the vacancies are given to Bengalee Mahomedans, 5 per cent to Backward classes and 2½ per cent to other minority communities.

We are wholly opposed to any communal division of jobs. Appointments should be given to the fittest candidates irrespective of creed or caste. This would make for the progress and efficiency of minority communities also. But Government having, for gaining political objects, made special provisions for Musalmans and others, they demand similar favouritism on the part of local bodies also.

In the course of the debate the Chief Executive Officer made a statement of appointments made in the several departments of the Corporation from 1-4-33 to 30-11-37.

Year	Permanent total	Permanent no. of Mdns.	Temporary total	Temporary no. of Mdns.	Total total	Total no. of Mdns.
1933-34	112	20	210	62	322	82
1934-35	145	22	268	75	413	97
1935-36	155	30	315	77	470	107
1936-37	137	33	203	51	340	84
1-4-37 to 30-11-37	215	49	221	54	436	103
Total	764	154	1,217	319	1,981	473
		20.2 p. c.		26.2 p. c.		24.2 p. c.

These figures show that Muhammadans had no real grievance. But perhaps they wanted to make assurance doubly sure b securing a definite concession and to make the starting-point for fresh demands. So Muhammadans wanted to have the concessi not for Bengali Muhammadans only but for Muhammadans!

It should be borne in mind that Muha madans are not 25 per cent of the populati of Calcutta and that they do not pay 25 p cent of the total municipal rates paid Calcutta rate-payers.

Opening of the Federal Court

The Federal Court, which was opened l month in Delhi, will play an important part the constitutional evolution of the country. is a central judicature whose jurisdiction w extend over all the provinces. Its functio will be different from those of the High Cour It will adjudicate between provinces, sta and governments, not between individuals a corporations. Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advoca General, pointed out in his speech at the i augural session that "for the first time t rule of law has been extended over inter-pr vincial disputes, which hitherto had be subject to executive determination."

Labour Should Live and Let Live

In the course of a recent speech made Cawnpore by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, t U. P. Prime Minister, he made the wise obs vation that while the lives of the labour should be made happy, "the mills had to kept going. And this they could only do their expenses were within their incomes."

The Indian Women's University

In 1936-37 the offices of the Indian Wom University were transferred from Poona Bombay. The University and its Bomb college are now housed in their own buildi The Bombay Government has done the ri thing by granting to this very deserving in tution Rs. 50,000 for building purposes.

Our homage to Prof. D. K. Karve, founder and Vice-Chancellor of the Univers who, more than anybody else, has strug through various turns of fortune and brough to its present condition.

America Calculating in its Isolation?

News Review is responsible for the st ment that the U. S. A. War Office has prep a memorandum for President Roosevelt which it has been estimated that a war Japan would cost that republic at

50,000,000,000 dollars or ten thousand million pounds sterling in direct expense. According to that paper, it has been computed by statisticians that it would take more than 5,000 years of profitable trade with China to recover the cost.

And so how can America help China by fighting Japan ?

But could not all the big powers combined, could not at least three of the big powers—Britain, France and U. S. A.—combined, have prevented the invasion of China without fighting, by taking up a strong attitude ?

The American calculation takes it for granted that Japan is financially in a position to continue a very costly war for a sufficiently long time to be able to compel America to spend the astronomical sum mentioned. It is thought to be common knowledge that Japan is not in such a position.

Why Japan Has Called a Halt

The Japanese military leader in command of the army of invasion in China has assigned some reasons for giving Chiang Kai-shek some time to consider whether he will surrender peacefully. Japan does not want to shed blood unnecessarily !

But the Japanese leader also says that it has become very cold and the end of the year is approaching. But we suppose Japanese officers and men have got warm coats and blankets and tents and substantial nourishing food. Why should cold stand in their way ? As for the approaching end of the year, it was the Christian year that was coming to an end, an end said to proclaim for Christians peace on earth and goodwill among men. Do the Buddhist, Confucian or Shinto years also end now and do they also profess to produce a pacific mood of mind at their close ?

Perhaps the real reason for crying halt lies in the other words uttered by the Japanese general, *viz.*, that his men are fatigued and his army requires to be reorganized.

It is possible Japan is already feeling the pinch. America's and Britain's belated strong notes and attitude may also have made Japan somewhat sober. Soviet Russia, too, has proposed to help China on certain conditions.

All-India Industries Department

In opening the All-India Industries Conference last month in Lahore the Hon'ble Sir Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, commerce member of the Government of India, referred in his speech to middle-class unemployment, industrial surveys, the oil seed industry, the glass manufacturing industry and the industrial research bureau. The speech was of a colourless description—neither optimistic and encouraging, nor pessimistic and depressing.

Did Buddhism Cause India's Downfall ?

KOHLAPUR, DEC. 18.

The doctrine of "ahimsa", while it raised Hindusthan to spiritual glory contributed largely to its political death, observed Dr. B. S. Moonje, the Hindu Sabha leader, presiding over the Mahrashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad Conference which commenced here today. He added that the cult of non-violence spread by Buddhism was the chief cause for India's political downfall.

He said : "We must now accept the Vedic cult of militarism and realism."

He referred at length to the caste, system which, he said, had justified itself by resisting the proselytising pressure of Islam and preventing the destruction of Vedic culture.

Concluding he appealed for unity between castes and urged the re-establishment of Vedic Dharma.

It cannot be said off-hand what mainly caused the political downfall of India. Some may attribute it to Buddhism, some to the caste system, some to other causes. Perhaps all these lay at the root of the degeneration which brought about the political downfall of India.

We shall not say anything on the Vedic cult and culture and Vedic dharma, because we do not know what exactly is meant by those expressions.

The relations in which caste stands to proselytization is a large question. While the caste system has to a great extent prevented the conversion of higher caste people to non-Hindu faiths, it has made it somewhat easy for those faiths to convert persons belonging to the lower castes. Most Muhammadan and Christian converts or their ancestors were persons belonging to the depressed classes and untouchables among Hindus.

Unity between castes is possible, if equality of social status between castes is established. But is it not an essential feature of caste that some castes are lower and some higher ? And there is some kind or degree of untouchability which affects all castes and sub-castes. Even some sections and sub-sections of Brahmans do not interdine and intermarry.

Indigenous Resources of Drugs and Medicines

Last month an exhibition of drugs and medical appliances was organized in connection with the sixth annual re-union of the past and present students of the Carmichael Medical

College. Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Chowdhury, the Mayor of Calcutta, opened the exhibition.

> The Mayor expressed the hope that public-spirited and enterprising young men in the medical line would take up the work of investigating into the indigenous resources so far as drugs and medicines were concerned and make the results of their investigations widely known in a book form in the interests of the advancement of the cause of medical science in this country.

On some previous occasions also the Mayor of Calcutta expressed the same hope. Some other leading men of India have expressed a similar hope. It is a laudable hope. But it seems that they are not sufficiently up-to-date as regards the bibliography of the subject. We hope they have not heard of the existence of a monumental work in four volumes named *Indian Medicinal Plants*, with four boxes of more than a thousand plates. For, if they have heard of it, it would betray lamentable lack of appreciation of an excellent work not to mention it. It was prepared after years of labour and at the expenditure of thousands of rupees. The authors of the first edition were the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., the late Lt.-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar, I.M.S., and an Indian I. C. S., who also is dead. For the second edition the work has been thoroughly revised and in great part re-written and brought up-to-date by Father Blatter, S.J., Father Caius, S.J., and Dr. Mhaskar.

That which the Mayor hoped some young doctors would do, has been done to a very large extent already. Let those of our young medical graduates who have a taste and capacity for such work take advantage of *Indian Medicinal Plants*, Major B. D. Basu's *magnum opus*, put its statements to the test, and add to it. For it is not final and exhaustive—no such work can be.

Protest Meetings Against Secondary Education Bill

Protest meetings against the Secondary Education Board Bill have been already held in Calcutta and the mofussil. Eminent educationists like Sir Nilratan Sircar and Sir P. C. Ray and distinguished professors like Dr. P. Banerjea, M.L.A., Mr. J. R. Banerji, Sj. Nripendra Chandra Banerji and others have taken part in them. They have all condemned the Bill, not finding a single redeeming feature in it. Similar protest meetings should be held all over the country.

If the Bill be not withdrawn in the meantime, a resolution should be passed in the next session of the Bengal Provincial Conference to be held this month at Bishnupur.

Menace to Local Bodies' Finances

In a Circular letter addressed to the lo bodies in the Province through the Divisio Commissioners, the Government of Bengal sta that any tax, fine, penalty or other sum whatever nature realized by a local bo through a Magistrate, Court, or Governme Officer, will, with the introduction of Part I of the Government of India Act, 1935, for part of the revenues of the Provincial Gover ment. As this will be the case in all provinc perhaps other provincial governments also a moving in the matter.

> "Part III of the Government of India Act has be brought into operation with effect from the 1st of Ap 1937, and the adaptations made in the various Cent and Provincial Acts have also taken effect from that da It has, however, been provided in paragraph 4 of India and Burma (Temporary Provisions) Order, 19 that any tax, fine, penalty, etc., hitherto realized by a credited to, any local fund or other fund shall, dur the two financial years next following the commencem of the said part III, continue to be so credited and sh not, during those years, be deemed to be a part of revenues of the Province."
>
> "After the expiry of the period of two year continues the Government, "referred to in the India a Burma (Temporary Provisions) Order, 1937, the finan of the local bodies in this Province will be serio affected as a result of the adaptations made in the vari Acts.

If the Congress ministries and the A. I. C. are doing anything in the matter, perhaps th will take the public into their confidence.

The Viceroy on Federation Problems

On the 20th December last H. E. Lo Linlithgow delivered an address to the As ciated Chambers of Commerce, reviewing the in the working of the scheme of provinc autonomy and referring to the question of t introduction of the federal part of the Gover ment of India Act of 1935. As regards feder tion the Viceroy said :

> "When I spoke to you a year ago I said that in judgment Federation was not remote. I have spared effort in the period which has since elapsed for solution of the problems inherent in the establishm of a Federation. These problems can never, in th nature, be simple. However great our anxiety (and n can be greater than mine and that of the Secretar State) to achieve at the earliest possible moment culmination of the scheme embodied in the Act, by placing on the Indian constitutional edifice of wh provincial autonomy is the first and essential stage. the coping-stone of Federation, it would be foolish to r ahead without taking all possible pains for the prelimi elucidation of the various problems which present th selves. You can rely on me to urge forward with the energy and all the personal interest which I have me the completion of the scheme."

Indians do not want that the Governme should "rush ahead." They want the postpo ment of the Government scheme of federation *sine die.*

Journalistic Condescension

The Amrita Bazar Patrika printed on the leader page of its issue for December 5 last, town edition, an article on "The Hero as Scientist" by Ramananda Chatterjee. The writer did not contribute it to that paper. It was lifted by our contemporary from *The Modern Review* without acknowledgment, as an act of great condescension.

The Oriental Conference At Trivandrum

TRIVANDRUM, DEC. 20.

"May our scholarship be illustrious and may there be no rivalry or hatred amongst us"—with this historic invocation in Sanskrit, the Maharaja of Travancore concluded today his speech opening the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, in his presidential address, said that the conference had to conceive of the historical evolution of India as a whole. They might contemplate the civilization of India as a huge moving mass of thought and usage, intensely concentrated on a great number of differentiated nuclei, but enmeshed with threads linking them in a manifold and partly capricious complexity with one another.

The Indian, partly by reason of the complexity of his social conditions as well as through deliberate cultivation of reflection, had been more of a thinker than other men. This vast complex culture of India could not be duly expounded without amplification of the principles of Oriental science.

Dr. Thomas paid a tribute to the great work done by Travancore for Oriental learning and also the progressive administration of the State, which was now equipped with practically every modern organ of civil welfare.—*A. P.*

The Primate of England's Christmas Message

The daily press contains a host of Christmas news, messages and comments. The message broadcast by the Archbishop of Canterbury calls upon the Christian individual at home to bear witness to Christianity "openly and courageously." He further asked "who could think without a sickening of the heart of the appalling slaughter and the suffering and manifold misery brought by war to Spain and China." He urged on the individual the importance of *an impartial examination of the underlying causes of discontent in order that justice might be done.* Public opinion, which ultimately swayed policy, was created only by the feelings and judgments of individual men and women.

That Dr. Lang was sincere at heart when he broadcast the above call to the British public cannot be doubted. But whether he himself believes that his appeal will be listened to in all sincerity by the members of his fold is open to question. If he does believe in the strength of the Christian leaven in the British race, then the following news items appearing in the post-Christmas issues of the Indian papers should provide much food for thought for him and other sincere Christians.

The first news item is the following:

Lucknow, Dec. 25.

The Charbagh Railway station was the centre of great sensation last night when a party of students from Lahore, it is alleged, were forcibly ejected from the compartment they occupied by several British soldiers to make room for a few troops who were travelling by the same train.

It transpires a Hockey team of the Lahore Medical College which is on tour was leaving last night for Benares by Parcels Express. Members of the team occupied a compartment when some troops came and asked them to vacate it. The students refused to do so, whereupon a British soldier who appeared to be in charge, gave the students the option of leaving the compartment or being "thrown away." Having already settled themselves comfortably in the compartment the students refused to leave, whereupon the troops, it is alleged, threw the luggage of the students from the compartment, and some students who still refused to budge from their seats, were also forcibly ejected.

The soldiers referred to were presumably Christians and the occurrence took place on the Christmas Eve. That they created this breach of "peace" with great "goodwill" there can be no doubt. One wonders what the British press reports would have been if they had been Nazi or Fascist legionnaires behaving in this manner in the season of peace and goodwill.

The second bit of news is part of a High Court judgment, involving censure on the keepers of law and order in this benighted country.

Lahore, Dec. 22.

Kiroo was charged in the court of the learned Sessions Judge of Rawalpindi with the murder of a constable named Mohammad Ismail and with causing grievous hurt to one Bhagat Singh. The learned Sessions Judge finding Kiroo guilty of murder and of causing grievous hurt, sentenced him to transportation for life under section 302, and to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment under section 326 of the Indian Penal Code.

STORY OF THE CASE

In the Military lines at Rawalpindi there is a coffee shop. Kiroo was the Chowkidar. On the night of the 9th April, 1937, a burglary took place at the shop and certain articles and cash were alleged to have been stolen. At about 9 o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the police arrived to investigate the burglary. Kiroo was suspected and examined. It is alleged that he confessed to Bhagat Singh, the manager of the shop, and offering to produce the stolen property, he took Bhagat Singh and another, with the police following, to a 'kothri': but no stolen property was concealed there; he then took the party to a platform next to a tailor's shop. There was a suitcase upon that platform. Kiroo and the constable Mohammad Ismail, who has been killed, went on the platform; Kiroo then opened the box with a key, took a knife out of the box, and stabbed the constable in the stomach. He also struck Bhagat Singh under the arm, and then plunged the knife into his own body inflicting upon himself a serious injury in the region of the stomach. The constable died as a result of the wound, Bhagat Singh and Kiroo recovered.

The learned Sessions Judge in his judgment makes grave comments on the conduct of the police in this case. He says that they suppressed material evidence, and that the witnesses for the crown lied as to the conduct of the police towards the accused.

In this case Kiroo has been extremely fortunate; he was able to call Pipe Major Stewart of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders as a defence witness.

It appears therefore that Pipe Major Stewart at 9 o'clock saw Kiroo being beaten by the police. He protested and left disgusted. Later on he returned between 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The "interrogation" of the unfortunate Kiroo was still going on, and, as Pipe Major Stewart said, he was being beaten very mercilessly. It is a fair inference that for most of the time between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m. this "interrogation" had continued.

There cannot be any criticism of Pipe Major Stewart's evidence. The learned Sessions Judge says that "it would seem that the accused had been so bullied and ill-treated by the police that he was willing to conduct any party anywhere in the hope of being able to escape even temporarily from the ill-treatment."

We are satisfied that the knife which, under the circumstances, we consider Kiroo to have been fortunate to have found, was used by him in the extremity of his despair, and in the belief that the only way to free himself from the intolerable persecution to which he was being subjected was to kill his persecutors. His state of mind may well be gauged by the fact that he attempted to kill himself rather than continue to be left to the tender mercies of these officers of justice.

In our opinion the facts disclosed in his judgment and by the evidence give to Kiroo the most perfect reason for relying upon self-defence that we have ever seen.

He was justified—if ever a man was justified—in using any weapon he could obtain to defend himself. Cases are not unknown, and are within our own knowledge, where persons have died under this type of "investigation." In this case, as we have already pointed out, Kiroo had been so brutally treated that he preferred death to life.

We disagree with the learned Sessions Judge when he finds that a right of self-defence has not been established. Such a right has been overwhelmingly proved in this case. It is unfortunate that such a right, under circumstances such as these, cannot be exercised more frequently; it might have a more salutary effect than the protests of this Court in making *those responsible for the discipline and conduct of the police in the investigation of crime* take more rigorous steps to stop such cruel and cowardly practices [italics ours].

It is often contended in this Court that the "interrogation" of suspects in this Province in the manner proved in this case is frequently employed. The fact that torture was used openly in this case appears to us to give some foundation for this grave charge, and *is a most serious criticism of those whose duty it is to see that the police carry out investigations in accordance with law.* Though we have in this court had to comment on this practice where it has been proved, the difficulty of proving such offences is extreme. Few believe the statement of an accused person that he has been tourtured or in general, his witnesses, if he can obtain any, and it is notorious that there are several methods of torture which do not leave any trace. . . . It is a disgrace to the police fo and a dangerous obstacle to the administration of ju which it brings into open contempt [italics ours].

It cannot be contended that the perpet tors of this inhuman piece of torture be Indians they are the only ones to blame. T High Court judgment throws the onus of blame on the officials whose duty it is to that the police carry out their investigatio in accordance with law.

We have a Calcutta High Court judgme to the effect that "The Police is the Gover ment" and, as such, above all criticis Further, if this were not sufficient, we have yearly spectacle in every province of the p vincial Governor going into ecstasies over wonderful and spotless record of work of police force.

If His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbu did read the Indian-owned English papers this country, we have no doubt he would so be convinced that Christianity—like the lo wave section of the B. B. C.—stops short of Suez. On the other hand if the Christia of Britain really acted in the spirit of message of Dr. Lang, instead of taking much easier course of swallowing whatever ladled out to them by those of their own count men who have been put in charge there wo be much less discontent, consequent on justice, in this world.

K. N.

An Appeal from China

The following letter was written by Gene Chu Teh of the Chinese Eighth Route Army Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :

General Headquar
Eighth Route Ar
Shansi, China.
Nov. 26.

Dear Mr. Nehru,

We here in China have read in news dispatches you called mass meetings in a number of Indian in support of our war of liberation. Allow me to you in the name of the Chinese people and in the of the Eighth Route Army (the Chinese Red Army particular.

You know that the Japanese have occupied cities and our main railways in China. Our Eighth Army, the revolutionary army of the Chinese masse organizing and arming the people for prolonged that will end in ultimate victory and liberation This work of ours is difficult because we are a poor We are able to help the peasant partisans wherever operate throughout the north, and they are becoming an organic part of our army. But there is problem that we cannot solve, and of this that I you now.

In those regions under actual Japanese occup such as along the railways in the northern part of in Suiyuan and Chahar provinces, and in western thousands of workers, peasants and students spontaneously arisen, have captured arms, and are fighting in Volunteer bands against the imperialist army of invasion. These volunteers have arms, but they have no winter clothing, no blankets, no shoes, and little and often no food. Recently one group of 2,000 of them met and united with a unit of our army in the north-eastern part of this province. We were able to give them but one thousand Chinese dollars—which is only fifty cents per man. This money will suffice for one meal a day for about a week for them. Our problem is so gigantic that we are unable to help the Volunteers as they require. It is a problem always before us and we are trying to raise money here in China and in foreign countries for them. Miss Smedley has said that we could approach you, and that she feels certain the Indian National Congress, of which you are President, would donate a sum which our Army could give to the Volunteers. You may know that every anna which you could give would be deeply welcomed and would reach the Volunteers and enable them to continue their struggle.

Perhaps you could form a committee to collect money in the name of the Chinese Volunteers. If so, do so at once. We know there are millions of people in your country who sympathise with us in our struggle and would be willing to give something to help.

As Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army of the Chinese people, I wish to tell you and the Indian National Congress, and the whole Indian people, that China is not subjected, not defeated, and that we cannot and will never be subjected. Our Army will never retreat from North China. We will remain with the people, organizing and arming them and waging a ceaseless warfare upon the Japanese imperialist armies of invasion until the last of them are driven from our country, including from Manchuria. Do not be deceived by any lies or propaganda put out by the Japanese. Our struggle has only begun. The regular Chinese Government armies are fighting. Ours will never be defeated, because we are the army of the people and increasing tens of thousands of our people are rallying around us, fighting along with us.

We are a well-disciplined well-trained iron army, and all our soldiers, from the new volunteers to the commanders, have a high political training. We are fully and deeply conscious of the role that we play in Asia today and in the future. We know that we are fighting not only the battle of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, but we are fighting the battle of the people of all Asia, and that we are a part of the world army for the liberation of oppressed nations and oppressed classes. It is with this consciousness that we feel justified in asking you, one of the great leaders of the great Indian people, to help us in our struggle by any and all means. We would welcome financial help in the name of the Chinese Volunteers, we would welcome medical supplies and surgical instruments, we would welcome trained war surgeons and nurses and we would welcome volunteers who might wish to express their solidarity with us in our fight by fighting in volunteer units with our army. We ask you to consider this question in all seriousness, to intensify your campaign to help us, to broaden and deepen your movement for the boycott of Japanese goods, and to educate your people about the facts of our war of liberation.

If the Japanese were successful in subjecting China, none of the peoples of Asia could gain their liberation for many years and perhaps decades. Our struggle is your struggle.

Once more our Army thanks you from the depths of our heart for all you have so far done on behalf of our country.

In Comradeship,
Chu Teh,
Commander-in-Chief of the
Eighth Route Army of China

The 9th of January, 1938, has been appointed the "China day" by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and we hope that, helpless and poor as we are, the response will be substantial. The passing of China would indeed be the end of peace and security in the old world, which would then be a field traversed solely and entirely by predatory nations—young and old.

K. N. C.

Sir Ian Hamilton's Remarks

General Sir Ian Hamilton is a soldier equally distinguished in the field of letters as well as that of arms. That his remarks regarding the growing insecurity of the British Empire would attract wide attention is nothing strange. But we would like to point out that similar observations were made in the pages of this journal over a year ago but no importance was attached to it by our confreres. Even the gallant knight's utterances do not seem to have made more than a fleeting impression in this part of the world.

Unpreparedness is a cardinal sin in a nation. Our own experiences in this respect is a matter of (forgotten) history. But the examples of Abyssinia and China loom large before our eyes. It may be argued that we are helpless and powerless in every way—and so we are really and truly—and therefore it is useless for us to think about it. What we would like to say in reply is that if it were brought home to those who can help and possess the power, that our funeral would very much and emphatically be theirs also, and that, unless the persons in charge of this part of the empire suffered a drastic change in their viewpoint very soon, the funeral will take place at an early date, then perhaps we may be allowed to help in the fabrication of our own defence. It is about time the people in Britain realized how rusty, ramshackle and badly pieced together is the much-vaunted "steel-frame" of the Empire, when viewed in the light of modernity. What the totalitarian States think of it is only too well-expressed by their actions.

We have no doubt that the problem of Imperial defence is exercising the minds of those in charge at the Empire-centre. What we would like to know if the problems consequent on the interruption or total breakage of the long inter-empire life-line are being properly considered. Or do they consider the

Mediterranean-Suez route to be invulnerable! What happens when the supply of men, munitions and service material is held up midway between source and destination. Even granting that the sea-route would remain in operation, do they think that in the next war a nation of 40 odd millions would be able to provide all the multifarious requisites of modern warfare to the fullest extent as needed by the outermost reaches of the Empire?

K. N. C.

Civil Aviation

The question of Civil Aviation in India reveals this curious lack of forethought in official circles. With the bringing in of the new "Empire" Mail Service programme, the various Indian concerns are going to be merged into the central organization. Of these the Indian Trans-Continental Airways are virtually going to lose their Karachi-Singapore Service, this being taken over by the main service between England and Calcutta. They will have to increase their capital, and purchase four Armstrong-Whitworth Ensign machines, and in return will have the doubtful benefit of being allowed to participate in the service. We say "doubtful benefit" without reserve because

> "The agreement provides for the employment of Indian personnel to the extent that qualified and experienced men are available. In view of her special participation in the land planes services, India will take no direct part in the operations of the sea-planes services. The route is being organized by the Government of India on behalf of the British Government. Arrangements have also been made for the training and employment of Indians *in the ground services on the sea-route*."

So in one effort the organizers have managed to arrange that (*a*) the more lucrative jobs shall be the sole property of the descendants of Messrs. Smith Brown and Robinson, (*b*) that Indian money be used for the development of British schemes without those shareholders ever having a say in anything that really matters, (*c*) that the perpetrators of this lovely scheme will always be able to silence any busybody asking questions on behalf of the Indians by saying that the Indians are responsible partners inasmuch as their own Government is developing the route on behalf of the British Government!

No doubt the scheme is a laudable and worthy one, so far as the interests of the sons and grandsons of the tribe of Smith, Brown and Robinson are concerned. But it is a wicked world, and one wonders what will happen when the self-same descendants of the aforesaid worthies are unable to get past the barriers that are being erected in the Near East. Or even if they can, what will they do when air-traffic has to be magnified seven ti sevenfold for reasons of war. We are extrem sceptical of any scheme for the training Indians for highly paid services, if it be left the tender mercies of the "Government India." And as matters stand we feel reas ably certain that civil aviation in India have a future remarkably free of any prosp so far as Indians are concerned. And if officials put in charge of aviation developm by the Government of India conform to type—as shown by the Indian State Railw —then the working of this part of the Em Mail Service will provide without doubt m material for the gaiety of nations.

K. N.

The Bihta Railway Disaster Enquiry

As this enquiry is still *sub judice* so say, we are unable to comment on it to extent it deserves. But we must confess have not been able to find much evidence "efficiency" or "highly organized system control" in the picture that is being gradu unfolded before the Enquiry Committee.

K. N.

The Burning of the Christmas Mails Last Year

This Christmas the Mails have safely through. Last year they were burnt to a in the Postal Express Wagons. There was enquiry as a result of which we were aske believe that the conflagration was due to igniting of crackers or such highly inflamm material which were sent through the po contravention of regulations. Needless to we had to accept this explanation as no was forthcoming, although we were amaze the subtlety of the mind of the official She Holmes who arrived at this deduction in total absence of any tangible evidence. were not told why the question of "hot-a consequent on excessive over-loading was out, and therefore it was evidently not business to "question why."

K. N

Anti-tuberculosis Fund

Tuberculous diseases have become a scourge. Sufficient hospital accommodation a sufficient number of sanitariums do not It is to be hoped the Anti-tuberculosis which has been inaugurated under high auspices will be largely contributed to.

Mr. Andrews' Statement on the Zanzibar Question

Mr. C. F. Andrews has made the following statement to the press on the situation in Zanzibar :

"The news which has come recently by cable from Zanzibar is very important, and it is, therefore, necessary to keep it prominently before the public. First of all, came the information that the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Dufferin, was going out to the East Coast of Africa and was staying from January 9 to 17 in Zanzibar. This obviously means that the Colonial Office is realising the mistake it made in supporting the late resident, Sir R. Rankine, in his attempt to monopolise and confiscate the clove industry, which the Indian merchants had built up during the last fifty years. Evidently the Under-Secretary is now prepared to negotiate on much more favourable terms than the meagre concessions already granted.

Along with this came the favourable news that the new resident, Mr. Hall, had adopted an entirely new and friendly attitude towards the Indian community. Then, last of all, we have heard that the revenue of Zanzibar has fallen, since the clove boycott in India, by £30,000. It is added that reductions in the pay of the Civil Service will be necessary, if this decrease in revenue continues any further.

From this information it can be seen as clearly as possible that the Zanzibar revenue depends upon its Indian trade. Nothing, therefore, could have been more unwise and ill-considered than for the late resident, Sir R. Rankine, and the Secretary Manager, Mr. Bartlett, deliberately to destroy Indian interests in order to obtain thereby a Government monopoly in cloves. They had not realised the strength of the Indian boycott.

The future, then, is hopeful, and a reasonable and just settlement is now to be hoped for on the full terms that India, Zanzibar's best customer, is ready to offer. It has been made abundantly evident that Zanzibar is not in a financial position to dictate terms to India; for India can forgo the use of cloves for a considerable time and can also build up, in the long run, a clove market of her own.

This question does not stop at Zanzibar. It includes the whole East African Coast. If India, in one matter of great commercial interest, can show her strength, she will be respected all through Africa.

Two things remain : (1) the Government of India should now realise the strength of the Indian boycott, and itself make clear to Colonial Office that the meagre concessions which had been previously offered are unacceptable. (2) the vote in the Assembly, supporting the Government of India in its earlier policy, ought as soon as possible to be cancelled. Both Government and Assembly ought to stand out only for such a settlement as the Indian merchant community in Zanzibar would regard as reasonable and just.

Municipal Franchise for Women in Assam

SHILLONG, DEC. 16.

The Assam Legislative Assembly passed today the first reading of the Assam Municipal (Removal of Women's Ineligibility) Amendment Bill, 1937, introduced by Miss Mavis Dunn. The Bill seeks to qualify women to become eligible for membership of municipal bodies in the province.—*A. P.*

Salaries and Allowances of Ministers

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* understands that the Government of Bengal have lately made some changes in the rules guiding the travelling allowances of the highest Government officials, *viz.*, the ministers and the judges of the High Court. The changed rules, it is understood, provide for each of the ministers, while on tour, rupees twenty-five per day as daily allowance in addition to four first class and ten third class servants' tickets. The rules further provide that the travelling ministers may draw mileage as well as daily allowances for the same day.

The rules regarding the tour allowance of the judges of the High Court have not undergone any serious change at present and the judges of the High Court, it is understood, will get their allowances at the same scale they used to get before the change was brought about in the rules.

It may be noted here that formerly the highest officials of the state, including the ministers, executive councillors and the judges of the High Court used to get only rupees fifteen per day as daily allowance while on tour in addition to actual first class and third class tickets, the number not exceeding four in the case of the former.

If our contemporary has been correctly informed, there is going to be legalized misappropriation of the tax-payers' money in Bengal.

In an interview with the Rawalpindi correspondent of *Hindusthan Standard*, Dr. Khan Saheb, the Premier of the N.-W. Frontier Province, said that the main concern of the Government was to effect economies in the administration. The Frontier Ministers have given a lead in the matter by accepting low salaries and a very low travelling allowance.

"We have decided to charge the actual travelling expenses while on tour. It will, however, never exceed annas two per mile as travelling allowance and Rs. 4|- per day as halting allowance. When we stay with friends at a place, naturally, we will not charge any halting allowance.

"Likewise the first class officers will receive 4½ annas per mile instead of 8 annas and the second class officers will receive 3 annas only. Officers entitled to 3 annas will not be touched."

Owing to trans-frontier raids, many Pathans have got a bad name. We hope the action of the Frontier Province Ministers will give Pathans a good name. For it shows that these Pathan-land ministers are not thieves or robbers but honest reasonable men whose praiseworthy example will inspire others to follow in their footsteps.

Independence for Syria in 1940

PARIS, DEC. 15.

Agreement has been reached on all questions to implement the recent Franco-Syrian treaty giving Syria complete independence in 1940. The treaty is now expected to be ratified by both the parties soon.

The administration agreed upon resembles that adopted by Egypt following the abolition of the Capitulations.—*Reuter.*

Britain will grant independence to India in 0491 B.C.

Mr. Fazlul Huq Condemns Communalism!

DACCA, DEC. 16.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq presiding the prize distribution ceremony of the Dacca Intermediate College was held here this afternoon.

In course of his speech Mr. Fazlul Huq condemned communalism and advocated intercommunal amity and mutual co-operation between the communities. He said that he would not show favour to any particular community.

Proceeding he said that each community should work out its own destiny. With the inauguration of the new reforms, the Chief Minister continued, the people were having greater rights and privileges.

One thing needed for the students he said, was self-effacement and formation of character. Students should work out their destiny not with selfish motives but as instruments of the will of the Almighty God.—*U. P.*

If Bengal ministers take to delivering sermons unsupported by practice, ministers of religion of a certain type will lose their occupation.

Calcutta Corporation and Released Detenus

The Calcutta Municipality has set a good example by giving employment to some released detenus who are fully qualified for their respective appointments. There are some ladies among them, *e. g.*, Miss Kalyani Das, M.A., Miss Renuka Sen, M.A., etc. Other local bodies and business houses should follow the example of the Calcutta Corporation. Miss Lilavati Nag, M.A., of Dacca will, it is said, devote herself to the work of the girls' school and some other institutions founded by her. It is not yet known whether she will revive her Bengali monthly *Jayasree*.

Assam Demands Duty on Mineral Oil

The Bengal Government receives from the Government of India the major portion of the proceeds of the duty on jute. Following that precedent the Assam Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution unanimously recommending that the Assam Government should ask the Government of India to give to Assam the whole of the amount received from the duty on Assam's kerosene oil and petrol. This is a just request and should be complied with. Assam is a comparatively sparsely inhabited and insufficiently developed province. Its forest, mineral and other resources and its extensive tracts of virgin soil require ample investment of capital to be rendered useful to man.

Rousing Communal Hatred By Lies

On the occasion of the last Muhammadan Id festival ten thousand leaflets, bearing the signatures of many Muhammadan pleaders, traders, members of the legislature, ret judicial officers and similar 'respectable' 'responsible' men were distributed in Chittag among the assembled Muhammadan multit These leaflets informed them that in co quence of the partial grant of self-governm of the people by the British Government, in provinces in which the Hindus form a majo of the population the prime ministers Hindus and Hindu Raj has been establis and that in these provinces the Hindu gov ments are passing laws against the religion the Muhammadans, prohibiting the sacrific cows and similar Islamic observances. T lies are sure to inflame the fanaticism ignorant Muhammadans. The Governmen Bengal should order the executive officers of district to put a stop to the circulation of leaflets and trace their authors with a view their prosecution.

It is greatly to be regretted that som the speeches of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister of Bengal, have been such a embitter communal relations.

Fall in Price of Jute

Jute is the principal commercial cro Bengal. The economic condition of a l section of its population depends on the p of jute. This year the stock of jute in the in the country is less than in the last year, demand on the part of mills abroad is gre and the jute produced is also less than in last year. The cultivators had naturally pected that prices would rise at this tim the year. But they have fallen instead, b ing the hopes of thousands upon thousand raiyats. An impartial inquiry into the ca of this fall should be instituted and all ma lation of prices in the interest of exploiter a stop to.

The Wardha Scheme of Education

The report of the Dr. Zakir Husain W Education Committee was published in H on December 11, 1937. It has been car and somewhat elaborately drawn up. members of the Committee and in particul chairman, Dr. Zakir Husain, deserve the t of the public for the thought, labour and they have bestowed on the report. The mittee have specially thanked their coll Sj. Aryanayakam and Srimati Asha Devi.

Detailed criticism of the report can attempted in a brief note. So we shall comment on a few points.

The success of the whole scheme depend on the availability of a sufficient of trained teachers who are experts in some crafts and are also qualified by their intellect and educational attainments to teach boys and girls the various subjects which will be attempted to be taught. For we notice that the pupils will have to be taught, preferably through the crafts chosen, or independently, history, geography (including map-making and map-study), civics, meteorology, means of transport and communication (aeroplanes and radio included ?), economics, botany, zoology, physiology, hygiene, first-aid, dietetics, chemistry, astronomy, drawing, designing, pictorial graphs, music, the mother-tongue, Hindusthani, etc.

It seems to us that competent teachers would be hard to get, and that on the estimated average salary of Rs. 25 per month. But, of course, anything may be considered possible, if the scheme satisfies youthful idealists of both sexes and rouses their enthusiasm. But we are afraid the scheme is too ambitious. The report gives the following estimate of the time required to complete the different sections of the curriculum :

The basic craft	3 hours and 20 minutes
Music, drawing and arithmetic	40 „
The mother-tongue	40 „
Social studies and general science	30 „
Physical training	10 „
Recess	10 „
	5 hours and 30 minutes

The Committee have observed :

> " . . . we must sound a necessary note of warning. There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, whilst neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity."

We are afraid, in their time-table, the Committee themselves have not heeded their own "note of warning." It seems to us that they have given too little time for the teaching of subjects which are to increase the pupils' knowledge, develop their intellect, broaden their outlook, and, briefly, give them a liberal education fit to make them cultured citizens and members of society. To remedy this defect, the pupils cannot and should not be made to work for more than five and a half hours a day. That itself is perhaps more than a day's work for them.

Physical culture is one item of the curriculum, like Zoology, Chemistry, etc. It is said under it : "Games, athletics, drill (Deshi games to be encouraged)." Will the ten minutes assigned for "physical training" suffice for all this ? Can the young ones' play instinct be satisfied in ten minutes ? Can it be satisfied even if the 10 minutes assigned for "recess" be encroached upon for physical training ?

If the training given in some craft is to be pecuniarily profitable, the pupils must go on making things mechanically. That would involve repetition of processes as if automatically. Has that much educative and intellectual value ? That reminds us of some observations of an American educationist with considerable experience of manual training in schools, quoted by the *Indian Social Reformer* :

> "The manual training exercises for the several years have been arranged with such variety as to insure sustained interest and to prevent irksome repetition of automatic unthinking reproduction. It seems to be intended that any process shall be discontinued as soon as it ceases to compel the student to think, that is, as soon as it becomes merely mechanical; and this is justified by the consideration that a mechanical process ceases to be of educational value to a student at the very point where it begins to be of industrial value to an apprentice, since the valuable product of manual training is a disciplined mind, while the valuable product of apprentice work is some article of commerce." (Bhabha's *Report on Manual Training*, p. 46).

According to the scheme the pupils' education is to begin when they are seven years of age. Should not they be taught something, told to do something, trained to make some things—by way of play, if you like—when they are 4 or 5 or 6 ? Our indigenous practice is to begin the child's education (Vidyarambha) when he is five. In the West Kindergarten or pre-school education begins even earlier.

We approve of the idea of teaching some craft to all boys and girls and of obliterating the distinction between the intellectual and labouring classes. But we are unwilling to assume that it is not the bounden duty of the State to educate its children and youth, at its own expense, if need be. Still less willing are we to assume that it is children between 7 and 14 who must pay for their own education by their own labour and skill, that is, by their own earning capacity, whilst young men and women need not pay for their education in that way.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the Practice of Truth

The following very valuable passage formed part of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's convocation address at the Annamalai University :

> I advise you to be faithful to party, but always to put the nation above it. I advise you not to look upon members of other parties as enemies to be avoided,

denounced and injured, but as fellow-travellers choosing different routes to reach the same goal, *viz.*, the common good. I advise you, above all, to cherish your personal freedom as a birthright and guard it zealously except in a limited sphere, so that in your public activities you may be true to yourselves. The ideal to be aimed at is the one enunciated in our ancient saying: "One and the same in thought, word and act." To propagate others' opinions as your own, to make speeches against your convictions and to vote habitually at the bidding of a whip, is to do violence to truth. In this land men have been bidden from ancient days to speak the truth and to perform the 'dharma'. Truth has been declared to be the foundation and the support of all things.

Happily we are not left without some shining examples for our guidance. One that will be universally admitted is Mahatma Gandhi. It is not for nothing that he observes silence on one day of each week, for all speech involves a certain impairment of the truth. He employs the fewest words and the simplest to express his thoughts, for does not the poet say that those must be frugal in their words who wish to be truthful? I know of none who is so preter-naturally careful to avoid situations that might compromise or weaken his adherence to the truth. With a will that no bribe can buy and no threat can bend, he upholds the supremacy of his conscience. Dedicated body and soul to the service of mankind, he will seek no good, however great or glittering, except by methods wholly consonant with his own conception of right or truth. . . . four annas is not beyond his means; if still he stands outside the Congress organization, it is, because its atmosphere irks his extremely sensitive and truthful soul. He protests against people following him blindly and accepting his decisions without endeavouring to make them their own. Yet, so weak is human nature that in the wide circle of his influence people too readily surrender their individual freedom and so palter with truth. If one of the phases of truth be non-violence, another is the integrity of the human soul. The Mahatma's supreme merit is his unflinching devotion to the goddess of Truth in her various phases. Let us be his co-worshippers, not his worshippers.

Zamindars and the Bengal Governor

The Bengal zamindars recently asked the Bengal Governor in effect to protect them from attacks or encroachments on the rights of private property. But the latter has practically told them that as a "constitutional Governor" (there is much virtue in that blessed expression) he can and will do nothing to help them. He has gone further. He has reminded them of the duties and responsibilities of property and of what is taking place in Britain itself to make the State and its legislation more and more socialistic.

If our capitalists and zamindars had taken the lead in political and social movements, if they had fraternized with the masses and worked for their uplift, many internal problems could have been solved peacefully and all classes of our people could have combined to win freedom for the country. Instead, one finds a propertied class appealing for protection to a representative of the imperial race which keeps India in subjection.

It is never too late to learn and mend. Le the zamindars now begin in earnest to do tha which they ought to have begun to do ver much earlier.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Convocation Address

Addressing the new graduates at the Convoca tion of the Allahabad University Pandit Madan Moha Malaviya, who delivered his speech (extempore) in Hind drew a colourful contrast between the condition of th powerful Japan of today and the backward state India as at present. He said that Japan had attained th height of strength and power on a par with any natio of the West. He pointed out that considering the cond tion of Japan in 1853 which was astonishingly backwar in every respect in comparison to India under the Britis Rule of that day, its present growth was phenomenal.

Tracing the causes of this rapid growth Japan Pandit Malaviya stated that

the secret of Japan's success lay in its mass educa tion, which it introduced as a national measure throug the medium of its own language, and education was ma available to every child of that country. The secon factor was that in Japan everybody was taught to lo and to serve his country, whereas in India such procedur was prohibited in schools. The best soldier and schol in Japan was one who was the greatest patriot, but India any one who was so was considered a dangero element.

Proceeding Panditji said:

"Japan has compulsory primary education as we as compulsory military education. That is not Japan has planned a systematic method for developme of national wealth which is never the case in India. Th result is that M.Sc.'s and D. Sc.'s who spend 25 yea of their life in education, will face the problem of u employment at the end of their academic career and fi themselves unable to feed their family. India being rich in raw material and wealth, need not have been that deplorable condition in the matter of occupation a vocation for her educated children. For the solution this state of affairs there should be proper exploitati of the resources of the country through industr developed by mass education and opening of polytech schools at several centres of each province."

Breathe Spirit of Times

Though Panditji did not like everything of Jap especially what was going on at present against Chi yet he could not but appreciate Japan's good qualiti which had made it one of the most powerful nations the world. He advised the new graduates to breathe th spirit of times and practise the adages handed do from the ancient great teachers of India, namely to spe the truth, to follow 'Dharma', to be courageous soldi and to apply themselves to work in earnestness whate may be their vocation.

Continuing Pandit Malaviya said:

As money was not forthcoming for universal prim and elementary education owing to the high cost administration and the incapacity of the poor people pay tax, there was one solution for this problem, wh was that, every educated man, be he a judge, a mini or a Governor, must devote at last three months to tea ing some illiterate persons. That would, Panditji belie easily work out to solve the present state of illitera

Panditji has mentioned some of the secrets of Japan's success. One more may be added. The Samurai, the warrior caste of Japan, were socially and politically the highest and a privileged class. They gave up their privileged position of their own accord, without other classes having to struggle against it. The *Eta*, the "untouchable" caste in Japan, was socially uplifted and untouchability was abolished. In these ways, the caste system as it existed in Japan was practically done away with.

The advice that every educated person should be a voluntary and honorary teacher for some time is not new. Even ordinary persons like the present writer have given it repeatedly in speech and writing. But it has not yet been generally followed. But it may be followed in the months and years to come.

Italy's Withdrawal from the League

Italy had in reality ceased to be a member of the League of Nations more than a year ago. She ceased to be a member in name also last month. She would now feel more free to take part in the Spanish civil war openly, as she had been really doing all along, the farcical talk of non-intervention notwithstanding. She has also ceased to have anything to do with the International Labour Organization at Geneva, which is a part of the League.

Three powerful fascist states—Japan, Germany and Italy—are out of the League, and have entered into the Anti-Comintern Pact.

Is It Japan's Reply to Boycott?

For some months past there has been much talk in India of boycotting Japanese goods. But there is not any available information as to how much of this talk has materialized. Japan, however, has taken some steps which will injure India's export trade.

> Information has been received from the Indian Trade Commissioner in Japan that the Department of Commerce and Industry of the Japanese Government have promulgated for immediate enforcement three Ordinances in accordance with the emergency export-import adjustment law.
>
> According to these Ordinances the following articles which are of interest to Indian exporters cannot be imported to Japan without the permission of the Minister of Commerce and Industry:—
>
> Category (1): Cotton in seed or ginned; sheep's wool; wood.
>
> Category (2): Tea, hides and skin; ground-nut oil; oils, fats and waxes, perfumes, and preparations of oil fat or wax, perfumed; natural indigo; jute yarns; hemp twines and jute twines, made by twisting together single yarn; tissues of wool or mixed tissues of wool and cotton, of wool and silk or of wool, cotton and silk; mats and mattings made of vegetable materials, including textile fabrics; brushes and booms.
>
> Category (3): Rabbit fur, naphthalin, nitric acid, waste cotton fibre, cotton rag, waste paper and antimony and sulphite of antimony.

Congress Government Action re Kisan Movement in U. P. and Bihar

> LUCKNOW, DEC. 20.
>
> "The Congress Government would either be forced to adopt coercive measures or get out of office if the peasants did not abide by the laws in force today", declared Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Revenue Minister of U. P., addressing a mass meeting of Kisans at the Partabgarh District Conference.
>
> He is reported to have said that it would be too difficult for the Congress to adopt coercive measures. Therefore the only alternative left was resignation. If the Government were forced to resign the kisans would not be able to reap the fruits of the labour of the Congress Ministry. He added that the kisans would surely be ejected if they did not pay rents and were misguided by the advice of those who did not mean to do any good to the people. Thus the kisans would not be able to avail themselves of the law of hereditary rights if it was passed after they had been ejected. The Congress would then be a mute spectator to their sufferings.—*A. P.*

This gives in brief an idea of the situation in U. P. relating to the Kisan movement. As regards Bihar, a Patna message runs thus in part:

> PATNA, DEC. 18.
>
> Explaining the position regarding the resolution passed by the Bihar Congress Working Committee recently supporting the action of three district Congress committees in dissociating themselves from "kisan" activities carried on by Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, President of the Bihar "Kisan Sabha" and a member of the A. I. C. C. and the Bihar Congress Committee, Babu Rajendra Prasad has issued the following statement:
>
> "The resolution of the Congress Working Committee of Bihar has come in for comment and criticism which are based on misconception of the fundamental position taken up by the Committee. As is pointed out in the resolution itself, many Congressmen, who have been working in the "Kisan Sabha", have been carrying on propaganda in a way which is considered by the Committee to be highly detrimental to the best interest of the country. Their speeches have been openly encouraging violence in one form or another and have been responsible for the development of a situation fraught with dangerous potentialities."

Babu Rajendra Prasad proceeds to add that the Kisan Sabha has not been banned, it is only the Congressmen who have been asked not to have anything to do with it.

From the action taken by the Congress Governments in U. P. and Bihar, it appears that the leaders of the peasant movement in both the provinces have been doing things which in the opinion of the foremost Congress leaders there are of a subversive character and are not calculated to be beneficial to the Kisans.

Calcutta University Studies in Aviation

Introduction of Aeronautics as a subject for Post-Graduate studies which the University of Calcutta has decided upon, will, it is expected, provide a considerable impetus to aviation in this province.

At a joint meeting of the Board of Studies in Mathematics and Physics and the Board of Higher Studies in those subjects a Committee of nine consisting among others Prof. Friedrich Levi, Dr. D. M. Bose, Director of the Bose Institute, Rev. Father A. Verstraeten and Mr. Satish Chandra Ghosh was appointed to consider the matter. It has been recommended that a Post-Graduate Diploma Course in Aeronautics should be instituted and the Course would be open only to students who have passed either the B.Sc. or the B. E. Examination.

It was originally intended that Aeronautics should be included as an alternative subject in the B. E. Course of Study. But the scheme was ultimately given up.

This is good news so far as academic studies are concerned. But the question is, will the post-graduate diploma in aeronautics facilitate the diploma-holder's obtaining a commercial pilot's licence? Nowhere in the world does the obtaining of this licence involve a higher expense than Rs. 2,000, in some countries it is even less. But in India, according to the Aircraft Rules at present in force, the expense is Rs. 8,000, *exclusive of the cost of living!*

Mr. Justice Jayakar's Convocation Address

In this issue we have had to mention several convocation addresses, but we have not been able to do justice to any of them. We have given only brief extracts. That is what we shall do with Mr. Justice Jayakar's convocation address also at Lucknow.

The following paragraphs form part of the indirect exhortation to the Congress ministries:

> It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State. Their ideals of education are as the poles apart. The one aims at ungrudging subserviance, the other at freedom. Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be the watchword at a democratic government. Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth.
>
> SPIRIT OF FREEDOM
>
> It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all cost within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen. Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life. Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation-wide schoolmaster.—*A. P.*

It is rather stimulating, if not also entertaining, to find an erstwhile very "Moderate" leader making a vigorous plea for intellectual rebellion and even rebellious enterprise in action. Like many others who have devoted some thought to the subject of University education, Mr. Jayakar thinks that the object of University education is not to qualify for job. Says he:

> "This education may equip the youth with a means of livelihood, but that is only an incidental advantage. A test of effective citizenship is that the citizen, as a result of his wide and liberal training, looks upon public affairs as a part of his business and is able to devote to them the same skill, integrity, care and attention as if they were his own."

"Place the National Interest First"

Presiding over the C. P. and Berar Local Self-government Conference last month, Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Chowdhury, Mayor of Calcutta, concluded his address with the following words:

> "With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy and the expansion of the Legislatures, it may be that the more talented among us will prefer opportunities of service in the wider sphere of Government. But nevertheless I do venture to express the hope that as Municipal work touches the daily lives of the people at so many points and offers innumerable opportunities of doing good, although in a small way, it will continue to attract the best and widest amongst us and will enlist their energies and talents in furtherance of the health and happiness of their fellow beings.
>
> "I have one last appeal to make to you. Whether you are in a Legislature, Municipality, District Council or in the Village Panchayet, remember and place the national interest first. By so doing, you will be helping your country and the cause of freedom."

Many of our Congress leaders and legislators were distinguished municipal workers. For instance, C. R. Das, J. M. Sen Gupta, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, Purushottamdas Tandon.

Services Rendered to India by Her Universities

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha devoted his convocation address at Nagpur to many important topics. As higher education has come in for a good deal of criticism, he had something apposite to say in defence of our Universities:

> Our universities have rendered, in my opinion, very great services to India. Assuming the correctness of the premises of our critics—that our educational system was originally designed to produce merely clerks and subordinate officials—it has certainly long since belied the intention, or expectation, of its organizers by producing not only almost all our great national leaders, but also all those who have been successful workers in various spheres of public activities, with advantage to themselves and with credit to the country. It is to their 'alumni' that India owes, to a very large extent, the progress that she has made in so many fields of national activity, which has ushered in what is popularly known as the great Indian Renaissance. It is the products of the universities who have made India what she is today—an India throbbing with the pulsations of a new life. All University graduates might not have contributed equally to the upheaval, but I have no doubt that without them the national awakening could not have come into existence.

It is because I firmly believe in this casual relationship that I also believe, as a logical corollary, that the destinies of India will continue to be moulded and wielded by the University products of today, and of the future. To discourage our University education, by condemning it outright and discrediting its achievements is, therefore, to do disservice to the country.

The Money-lenders Bill of Bihar

The Servant of India writes :

> The Bihar Ministry has sponsored a Moneylenders Bill, which is fairly comprehensive. The Bill provides for the registration of moneylenders. This registration is compulsory inasmuch as it provides that no suit for the recovery of a loan will be maintainable except by a registered moneylender. It is made obligatory on every registered moneylender to keep proper accounts, to give the debtor a copy of the recorded account within seven days of advancing the loan, to give a receipt for every sum paid by the debtor, and also to furnish a statement of account to the debtor at least once in every year. Registration will distinguish genuine from spurious moneylenders, maintain a proper check over the former and drive out the latter.
>
> The Bill also places an upper limit on the rate of interest which a moneylender can charge, the limit being 9 per cent on secured loans and 12 per cent on unsecured loans. The court will not pass a decree for interest at a higher rate than this.

The Bill contains many other important and admirable provisions.

The Coming Silver Jubilee Session of the Science Congress

In the coming session of the Science Congress, India will have the pleasure of welcoming a number of foreign scientists and savants. We take this opportunity to bid them welcome and we hope this visit will prove to be a source of inspiration for those that are engaged in the furtherance of human knowledge in this country. There are a number of highly interesting discussions on the programme besides the usual sectional meetings where papers will be read. Among these the following may be mentioned :—

1. River Physics in India. 2. Nutritional diseases in India. 3. Chemistry and Industrial Development in India. 4. Colloids in Biology, Medicine and Agriculture. 5. Diet and Adaptation to Crime.

The following popular lectures will be delivered : (*a*) Prof. H. J. Fleure—Idea of the nation in Europe, (*b*) F. W. Aston—Isotopes, (*c*) Sir James Jeans—On Nebulae, (*d*) Sir Arthur Eddington—The Milky Way and Beyond, (*e*) Prof. F. A. E. Crew—Biology of Death.

Amongst the foreign visitors the names of the following may be mentioned to show how distinguished the gathering will be :—

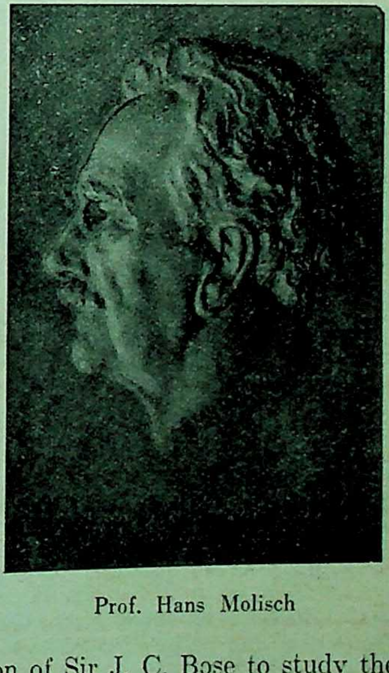
F. W. Aston, Sc.D., F.R.S. (Cambridge), Prof. F. G. Baily, (Edin.), Prof. E. C. C. Baly, F.R.S. (Liverpool), Prof. E. Barker, Litt.D. (Cambridge), Prof. L. F. de Beaufort. Prof. V. H. Blackman, Sc.D., F.R.S. (London), Prof. P. G. H. Boswell, D.Sc., F.R.S. (London), Prof. G. D. Hale Carpenter, (Oxon.), Prof. F. A. E. Crew, M.D., D.Sc., (Edin.), Sir A. S. Eddington, D.Sc., F.R.S., Sir Lewis Fermor, D.Sc., F.R.S., Prof. R. A. Fisher, D.Sc., F.R.S., Prof. H. J. Fleure, (Manchester), Prof. R. Ruggles Gates, D.Sc., F.R.S., (London), Sir Frederick Hobday, (London), Sir James Jeans, F.I.C., F.R.S., Prof. C. G. Jung, Zurich, Prof. J. E. Lennard Jones, F.R.S. (Cambridge), C. S. Myres, Sc.D., F.R.S., Prof. H. R. Robinson, D.Sc., F.R.S., Viscount Samuel, Sir Henry Tizard, F.R.S. (London), J. A. Venn (Cambridge).

These visitors are specially welcome because their coming shows that even in these unfortunate times the lamp of science continues to light the path of humanity through the selfless and ceaseless endeavours of noble seekers of knowledge and truth.

K. N. C.

Professor Hans Molisch

Reuter has telegraphed the news of the death at the age of 83 of Professor Hans Molisch, the famous botanist and chemist of Vienna. His special line of research was phosphorescence in animal and plant life. He was rector of the Vienna University for some time. When he came out to India in 1928 at the invitation of Sir J. C. Bose to study the special line of researches being conducted at the Bose Institute, he was director of the Physiological Laboratory of the Vienna University. He spent some six months in India—mostly in Calcutta at the Bose Institute, at the Mayapuri Research Station of that Institution in Darjeeling and also at its Falta Research Station. He had a very high opinion of Pro-



Prof. Hans Molisch

fessor Bose's researches and of the instruments invented by him. He was a man of childlike simplicity and was greatly interested in and fond of things Indian. He is the author of numerous books and other publications, the result of his own valuable researches and observations. In one of them he has recorded his impressions of his six months' stay in India.

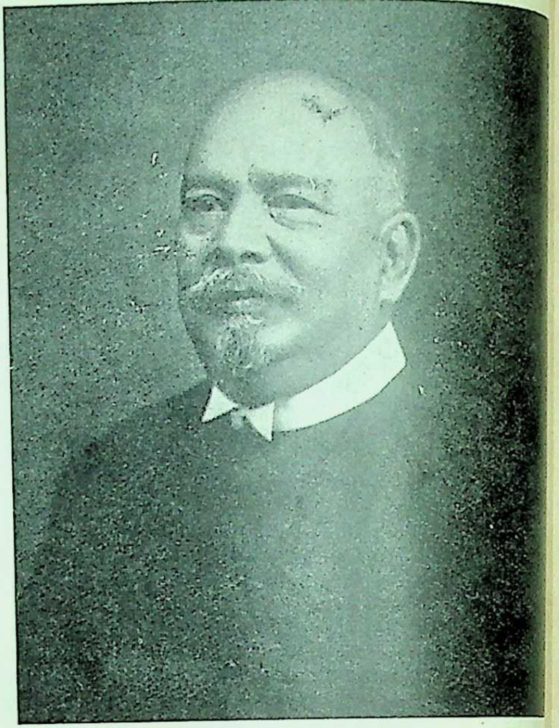
Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan at Patna

The Patna session of the Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan opened on December 27 last with a speech delivered by Babu Rajendra Prasad, who welcomed the idea of his Bengali brothers and sisters meeting in Bihar in a literary conference.

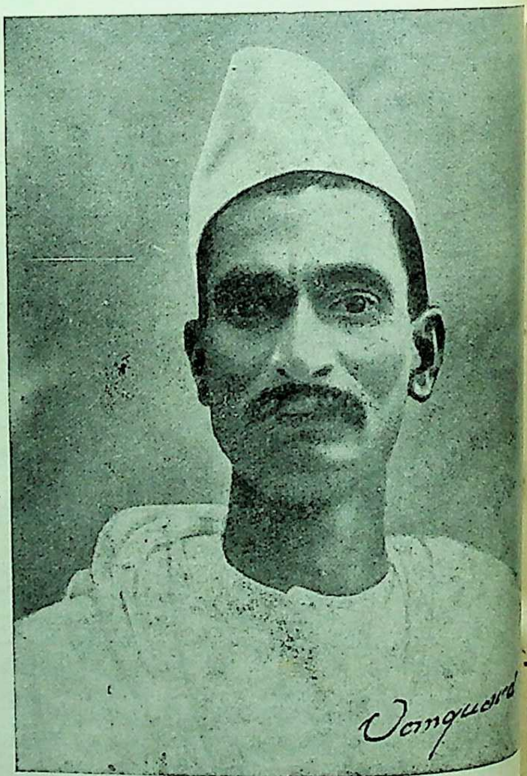
Acharya P. C. Ray
Chief President, Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan

> He held that all the inhabitants of Bihar, speaking any language, could be united and should unite in literary efforts and worship of the Goddess of Learning. All vernaculars, and especially Hindi and Urdu are like 'Ganga' and 'Jamuna' coming out of the Himalayas and he forecast the unity of all the languages just as all the rivers united in Bengal.
>
> Congressmen want the establishment of a national language, he said. But it did not mean the extinction of the provincial languages. It meant only the substitution of a national language for inter-provincial communication in place of English. All languages needed encouragement and especially Bengali Literature.

Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee, Chairman, Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee.

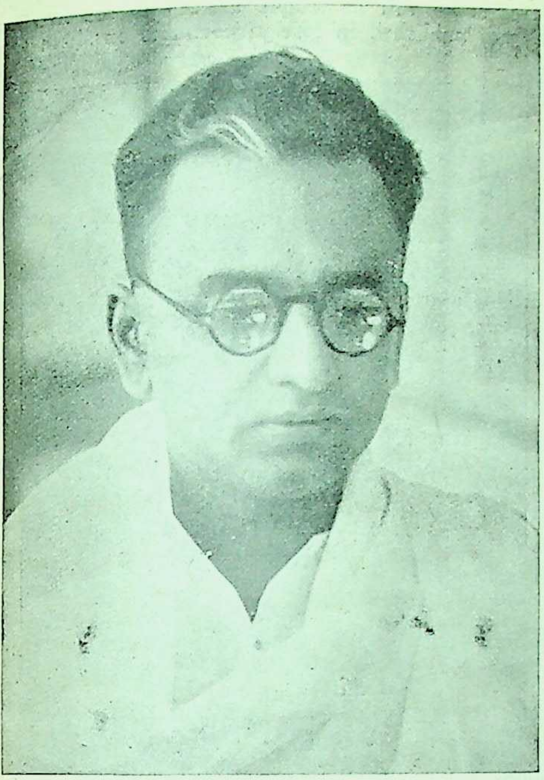


Sir Manmathanath Mukerjee
Chairman, Reception Committee

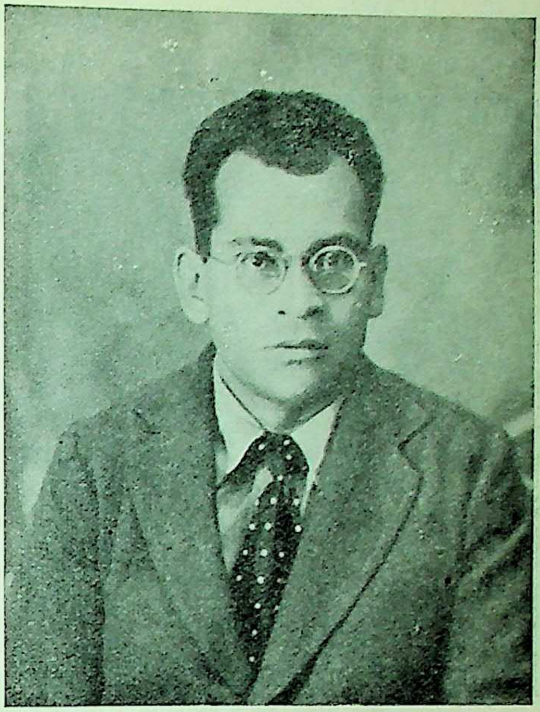


Babu Rajendra Prasad

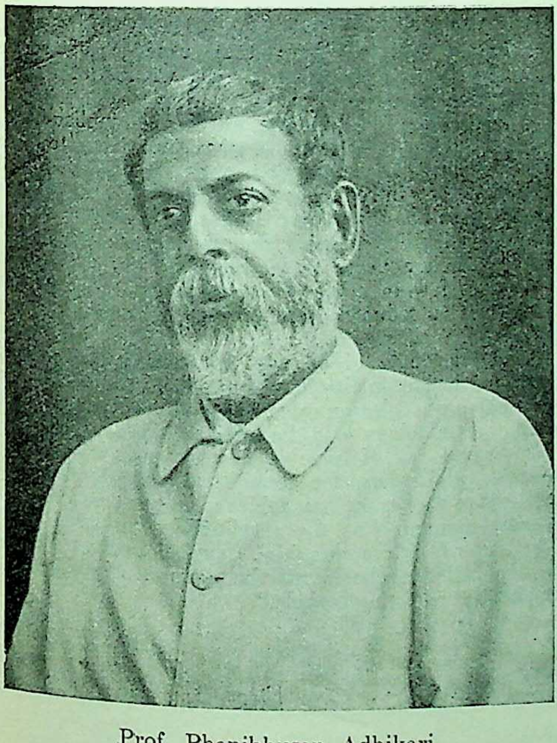
Acharya P. C. Ray, Chief President, i course of his address regretted the la



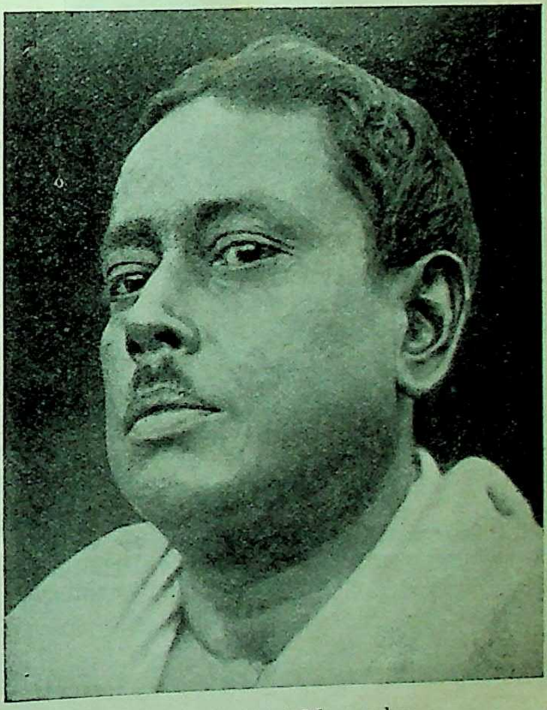
Prof. Dwarkanath Ghosh
President, Economics Section



Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji
President, Art Section

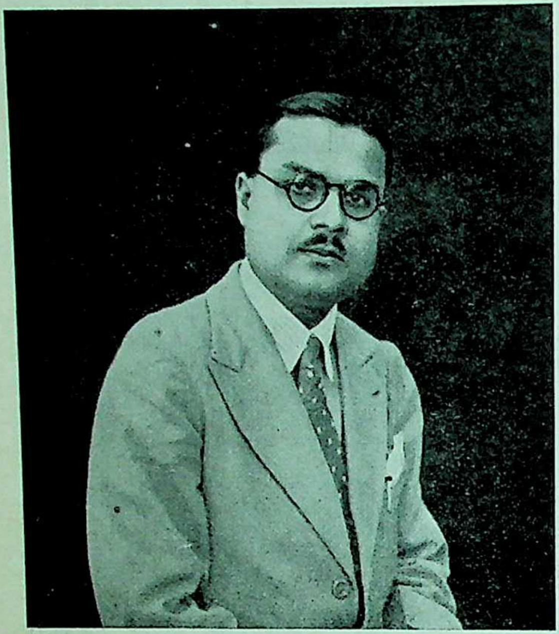


Prof. Phanibhusan Adhikari
President, Philosophy Section

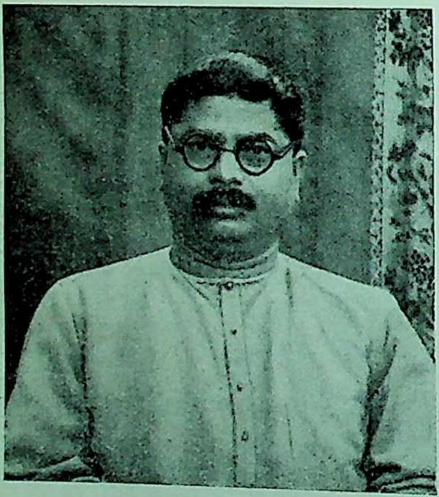


Prof. Mohitlal Mazumdar
President, Literature Section

scientific literature and of any suitable terminology in Bengali which could be made use of in scientific books.

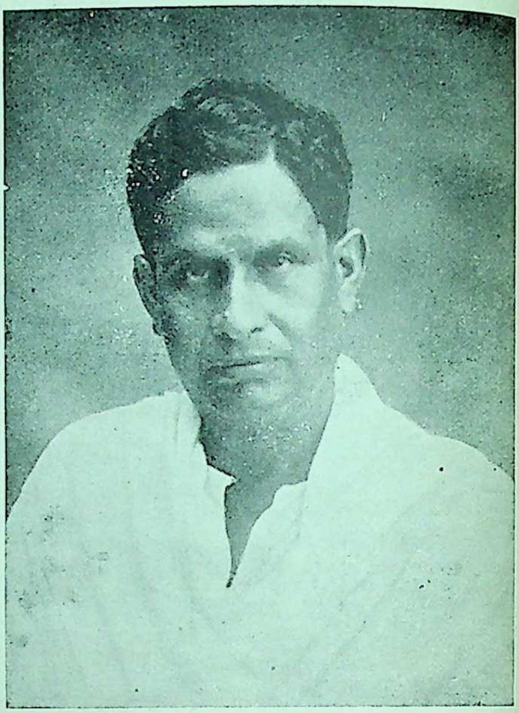


Dr. Rudrendra Kumar Pal
President, Science Section



Mr. Nanigopal Mazumdar
President, History Section

"It is regrettable books worth the name, on scientific researches are now seldom published in Bengali language but if one cares to go through the advertisement columns of the "Nature"—a magazine dealing with scien researches, he will be simply amazed to see how ma books are published in foreign countries on these top



Pandit Kshitimohan Sen
President, Greater Bengal Section

"I must mention here that absence of suita *paribhasa* is a great handicap to the writing of scient books in Bengali. . . .

"I must frankly admit that in the accomplishment this great object, there are serious problems to tac with. We have no institution that can afford us opportunity of introducing the same terminology different provinces or give different authors in province the facility of using the same terminology. H in Bengal each appears to be independent of the oth But there is few to realise that unless one and the sa *paribhasa* is introduced in different provinces, its eq can never be observed. . . .

"I am strongly of opinion that unless the auth of one particular institution is regarded in this res as supreme, no solution of this problem of a unive scientific terminology can be arrived at. . . .

"A small ray of hope is however now visible. University which has, for some time past, applied i vigorously to this task, has achieved a great success. may rest assured that the terminology prepared jo by well-known litterateurs, the Bangiya Sahitya Pari and other science-schools will be unanimously adopte permanently end the trouble."

Printed and Published by Lakshminarayan Nath, Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE
MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

VOL. LXII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JULY TO DECEMBER
1937

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8 ; Foreign Rs. 11-8.

INDEX OF ARTICLES

Page
"Above all Nations is Humanity"
Kalidas Nag 286
Ahmedabad Mill Worker, The
S. G. Warty 43
All India Radio, The
Mohan Lal Saxena 446
All India Radio—What are its Defects and how to Remedy Them, The
Dr. M. N. Saha 683
Animal Sacrifice given up
S. Sathananthan 261
Art and Archæology of Cambodge (*illust.*)
Henri Marchal 361
Athens—A place of Pilgrimage of the Western World (*illust.*) 272
Back Home
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru 1
Baden-Powell Incident and its Lessons to Englishmen, The
S. G. Warty 636
Banking Needs of Agriculture in Assam
Karunamay Mazumdar 64
Bavaria, The Cloisters of (*illust.*)
Guido K. Brand 642
Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill
B. K. Roy Chowdhury 619
Book Reviews 65, 194, 308, 424, 557, 668
Brahmendraswami—A Political Maratha Saint
M. M. Patkar 45
British Vested Interests in India and the New Constitution
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji 393
Bruno Liljefors—The Swedish Artist (*illust.*)
Lakshmiswar Sinha 489
Cambodge, Art and Archæology of
Henri Marchal 361
Cambodia (*illust.*) 56
Can War be Averted
D. Graham Pole 254
Cinema in Education
Miss Usha Biswas 407
Colonel Young to Bentham, On
Rammohun Roy 300
Come with me through Burmese Song-land (*illust.*)
Devendra Satyarthi 142
Coming Slump, The
D. Graham Pole 156
Comments and Criticism 63, 193, 306, 440, 548, 689

Pag
Congress and the Constitution
Nagendra Nath Gupta 14
Congress and Office-acceptance
Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani 16
Congress Enters upon a New Phase
Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya 20
Congress Ministries
M. K. Gandhi 13
Congress Ministries and the Harijans
A. V. Thakkar 43
Congress Policy and Programme in the Provinces
S. Satyamurti 13
Cattle Economy in India
T. C. Sankar-Menon 64
Charlotte Brontë
C. L. R. Sastri 66
Child Education in England (*illust.*)
Dharam Yash Dev 2
Chinese Red Army Goes to Town
Agnes Smedley 45
Differential Fertility in India
Rajani Kanta Das 24
Disciples of Babayya—A Fraternity of quasi-Muslim Fakirs
K. A. Solomon 29
Diwali Fireworks and Swadeshism
J. M. Ganguli 65
Economic Background of War, The
D. Graham Pole 53
Europe—Today and Tomorrow
Subhas Chandra Bose 31
Evidence of the Irda Copper-plate (*illust.*)
N. G. Majumdar 32
Floods
Rajendra Prasad 43
Foreign News-food for Indian Thought
Dr. Taraknath Das 5
Foreign Periodicals 86, 210, 331, 449, 572, 69
Forests in India (*illust.*)
L. R. Sabhorwal 56
Ghee Production as a Cottage Industry for Bengal (*illust.*)
Satish Chandra Das-Gupta 17
Glimpses of Modern Sculpture (*illust.*)
Monindra Mohan Moulik 61
Hero as Scientist, The
Ramananda Chatterjee 70
How our Ancestors Tackled Famine
Atindra Nath Bose 29

Page
Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes (*illust.*)
O. C. Gangoly 57
Images on Muslim Coins (*illust.*)
Bahadur Singh Singhi 442
Implication of the Ethical Conception of Citizenship
C. L. Gheevala 73
Indian Freedom Front
Rammanohar Lohia 436
Indian Journalist Receives Signal Honour in America (*illust.*)
Dr. Taraknath Das 49
Indian Periodicals 79, 213, 333, 452, 576, 694
Indian Students and Foreign Scholarships
Scientificus 241
Indian Surveys
R. L. Banerjee 656
Indian Womanhood (*illust.*) 91, 190, 360, 456, 726
Indians and Yoke of Inferiority
Dr. B. C. Roy 545
Industrial Development of Ceylon (*illust.*)
K. D. Guha 628
Inoculation Against War
D. Graham Pole 420
Insult to Man's Humanity and Penal Excess
Rabindranath Tagore 315
Intercaste Marriage—Sociological and Biological
Sasadhar Roy 262
Is Karnatak Unification Feasible ?
V. B. Kulkarni 551
Ishwaranad Mahila Sevashram, Mangalore (*illust.*) 172
Irda Copper-plate, Evidence of the (*illust.*)
N. G. Majumdar 323
Jagadis Chandra Bose
Rabindra Nath Tagore 706
Jagadis Chunder Bose, Sir (*illust.*)
Nagendra C. Nag 698
Japan's Role in the Far East (*illust.*)
Subhas Chandra Bose 368
Japanese Girl and Women Students, Of (*illust.*)
Sm. Santa Devi 17
Japanese Aggression in China
V. K. Wellington Koo 481
Jute Crisis, The
P. B. Sarkar 505
Jyotir Math (Joshi Math) (*illust.*)
Govind Prasad Nautiyal 410
Kisan Sabhas and Government
N. G. Ranga 386

Page
Lack of Education for National Defence in India (*illust.*)
Taraknath Das 682
Lesson from Switzerland, A
J. N. Sinha 61
L' Institut Bouddhique au Cambodge et au Laos and its Work (*illust.*) 336
Madras Premier and the Separation of Powers
Naresh Chandra Roy 638
Make Petrol from Sugar-Cane
Chaman Lal 418
Making India Self-supporting in Cotton Goods
Narayandas Bajoria 536
Meaning of Culture, The
S. N. Das-Gupta 126
Message to the People of India, A
V. K. Wellington Koo 484
Ministers' Usefulness Dependent on Governors' Good Graces
Ramananda Chatterjee 138
Modern Trend of Psychology
Anathnath Datta 303
Modern Urdu Poetry
Muhammad Is-Haque 47
More Musings from London
D. Graham Pole 13
Mother's Day, A
Manindralal Bose 514
My First Visit to England
Bepin Chandra Pal 396, 491, 614
Narayana-Swami : 'The Brahmin of Long Life'
O. C. Gangoly 192
New Corona for the Sun, A (*illust.*)
Gobind Behari Lal 565
New Zealand, A Year of Labour Government in
Walter Nash 622
North-West Frontier, The Latest Phase on the
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji 644
Notes (*illust.*) 97, 217, 337, 457, 579, 707
Notes on Jail Psychology, More
P. Spratt 31
Notes on Jail Psychology, Concluding
P. Spratt 151
Onam Season in Malabar (*illust.*)
M. V. Menon 175
Opening of the British Parliament —Government's Foreign Policy
D. Graham Pole 603
Pallava Sculpture of Kiratarjunamurti, A (*illust.*)
C. Minakshi 413

Page
Paris Through Exhibition Lights (*illust.*)
Monindramohan Moulik 415
Parker, Theodore : The Great American Reformer
J. T. Sunderland 2
Patterns of Social Relations, Eastern and Western
Radhakamal Mukerjee 496
Place of Poland in Commerce and Industry, The (*illust.*)
A. G. Chagla 273
Polish Folk Dances (*illust.*)
E. Banasinski 169
Population of Bengal—A Sociological Enquiry
Bhupendra Nath Dutta 201
Population of Bengal—An Anthropoligical Enquiry
Bhupendra Nath Datta 26
Population of Bengal, The—Present-day Condition and the Future
Bhupendra Nath Datta 258
Portrait Sculpture in Madura Temple (*illust.*)
K. S. Srikantan 185
Prison Life in Japan (*illust.*)
Chaman Lal 377
Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance, The
Subhas Chandra Bose 121
Provincial Autonomy Suits British Imperialism
Ramananda Chatterjee 337
Public Services under the New Constitution, The
Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee 166
Pupils' Own School of Bombay, The (*illust.*)
P. B. S. 697
Rammohun Roy and English Intellectuals
S. N. Ray 160
Rammohun Roy, On :
Colonel Young to Bentham 300
Rashtra-pati, The
'Chanakya' 546
Red-coloured Lakes and Mountain Echoes (*illust.*)
Hans Zippel 59
Reflections on the Indian Situation by an American on American Independence Day
H. Wierum Boulter 267
Re-orientation and Re-organization of Higher Education in Bengal
Nripendra Chandra Banerji 39
Report on Indian Museums and Museum Ideals (*illust.*)
Siva Narayan Sen 51
Roerich's Art in India (*illust.*)
Vincent White
Royal Veto in the New Constitution, The
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji
Salaries of Public Servants
Manindra Narayan Ray
Search the Heart (*a poem*)
Eva Willes Wangsgard
Secondary Education under the National Government of China
Robindra Mohan Datta
Separation of Executive from Judicial Functions
Naresh Chandra Roy
Sivaneri : The Birth-place of Sivaji
Adris Banerji
Some Aspects of Child Education in Russia
Sm. Sucheta Devi
Some Practical and Important Aspects of Mass Education and Vocational Training (*illust.*)
Lakshmiswar Sinha
Spiritual Ideology in the Congress
S. D.
Sugar-cane in the United Provinces and Bihar
Rajendra Prasad
Teachers and Disciples
Kalipada Mitra
Teaching of Science—Should it be made Compulsory ?
S. N. Shivapuri
Theodore Parker, The Great American Reformer
J. T. Sunderland
Theory of Sovereignty—A Critical Survey
C. L. Gheevala 524,
This Freedom
E. Forsyth
Tragedy of Bengal's Fisheries, The
Dinesh Chandra Majumdar
Training of Teachers in India —Defects and Disparity, The
Dr. G. S. Krishnayya
Travancore University, The
R. Madhavan Nair
Two Cases of the Punjab High Court Considered
Bool Chand
Two Singers (*illust.*)
Dilip Kumar Roy
Under the Nordic Skies (*illust.*)
Monindra Mohan Moulik
War in Spain, The
M. Negrin
Wars of the Future
Taraknath Das

Page
We Start for the Front
Agnes Smedley 606
Wedgwood Committee Report on Indian Railways
Nalinaksha Sanyal 187
Will America help China ?
Chaman Lal 325
Woman in Hindu Society
Aline Masters 647

FOREIGN PERIODICALS
Barrie, Shaw and Galsworthy 693
Buddhist Painting in Tibet 572
Call to Youth for Social Service, A 450
Cinema in India, The 449
Crime and Morality in the U. S. A. 89
Domestic Gardening 451
Economic and Social Trends in the Third Reich 87
Effective Lying 90
Elasticity of the Japanese Nation 212
Europeanization of the Orient 210
Europe's Power Politics 692
Finances of Japan 691
Future of Democracy, The 89
Germans Read, What 332
Germany's Shackled Press 86
How Dictators Thrive 573
How the German Child Learns Arithmetic 691
Impressions of Spain 212
Indian Art 574
Indian Music 692
In Praise of Laughter 90
Is there a Moral Order in the Universe? 692
Italy Gain by the War ?, Did 88
Laws of Manu and the Modern Warfare, The 449
Little Entente, The 574
Mahatma Gandhi 450
Modernism and Polemic in Indian Islam Today 87
New Constitution of the U. S. S. R., The 331
New Turkish Labour Code, The 449
Opening of Abyssinia to the Economic World 89
Partition of Palestine, The 332
Plant Hormones 211
Poison for Profit 450
Religion in Japan 211
Science Needs a Universal Language 90
Soviet Russia 572
Stalin and Trotsky 573
This Age of Ours 451
Untouchability Abroad 210

Page
INDIAN PERIODICALS
Alexander Routed in India ?, Was 215
Bengali Literature and its Women Readers 333
Character of a Public Worker, The 216
Congress and the Elections, The 81
Coorg and Its People 84
Cross and Eagle 694
Divine Ideal in Arts and Crafts, The 695
Emperor of Ethiopia, The 323
Foreign Missions of Asoka, The 453
Friedrich Froebel, the Founder of the 'Kindergarten' 214
Future in the hands of Youth, The 454
Galsworthy, John 695
Galton, Sir Francis : The Statistician 82
Governor's "Individual Judgment" in the New Constitution, The 80
Hindu Architecture and Art in Angkor 696
Hindi and Indian Nationalism 452
Hindi-Urdu Problem, The 452
Ideals and Achievements of Democracy in India 79
India and China 697
India, On 213
India similar to Pre-War Russia 695
Jews of Germany, The 455
Letter of Swami Vivekananda, A 453
Modern Poetic Temper, The 578
Nature of Japanese Imperialism 577
Need for Industrial Statistics 214
Nexus of Beauty, The 455
Nordic Myth, The 214
Persian Renaissance 576
Policies and Programmes 577
Portrait Painting in Literature 454
Prafulla Chandra Ray, Acharya 334
Prospects of Paper Industry in India 85
Race and Religion 576
Ramanujan, The Indian Mathematician 83
Seals of Mohenjo-Daro, The 335
Significant Memories 79
Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India 577
Spirit of Germany, The 696
Theory of Varna, The 454
Through Congress Eyes 576
Vocational Education in India 577
War in China, The 694
Women and Communal Differences 334
World Situation, The 81

Page

NOTES

Acceptance of Office by Congressmen 223
Achievements and Intentions of Congress and Other Ministries 223
Adult Education in Rural Areas 233
Adult Franchise in Madras Municipalities 350
Aga Khan and the League of Nations, The 471
Agitation for Release of Detenus Practically Prohibited? 227
All Faiths Celebration of the "Muharram" (Moslem New Year) 354
All-India Bengali Reunion 719
All-India Educational Conference 469
All-India Federation Opposed and Welcomed! 581
Amateur Chinese Aviator, An 109
Andrews on Dominion Status for India, Mr. C. F. 580
Andaman Hunger-strikers' Requests, The 345
Andamans As a Penal Settlement, The 467
Assam Divisional Commissioner To Go? 358
Assam Ministry, Defeats sustained by 347
Ban Lifted on Gandhi Films 354
"Bande Mataram" 584
"Bande Mataram," A Suggestion to Popularise 721
"Bande Mataram," Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 464
"Bande Mataram," The Working Committee on 598
Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's Birthday Centenary 465
Bankim Chandra's "Ananda-Math" 591
Bankim Chandra's Novels, Objections to Two of 590
Bankim Chandra's "Rajsinha" 592
Bengal Budget Estimates for 1937-38 238
Bengal Cabinet to Deal with Calcutta Corporation 723
Bengal Chief Minister and Students, The 358
Bengal Civil Liberties Union 593
Bengal Civil Liberties Union on the Release of Detenus 715
Bengal Governor on Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners 224
Bengal Ministry to Further Gag the Press? 723
Bengal Muslim League and Political Prisoners 237
Bengal Provincial Conference 721
Bengal Secondary Education Bill 722
Bengali Youth's Struggle for Liberty 467
Berhampore Detenus Break Fast 354
Bihar Peasantry and Bihar Ministry 342
Bihta Railway Disaster 232
Bill to Provide Greater Safety for Miners, A
Bhai Parmanand on Federation
Bhai Parmanand on Frontier Troubles
Birthday of the Maharaja of Gwalior
Bombay Ministry Scrap All Repressive Orders
"Bombing and Kidnapping on the Frontier"
Boycott of Japanese Goods
Boycott of Japanese Goods, and Japense Retaliation
Brabourne's Appeal to Congress Leaders, Lord
Bratachari Demonstrations At Hyderabad
Britain Gets Most of Indian Stores Orders
British Bureaucrats and Congress High Command
British Garrison Costs India Twelve Crores A Year
British Menace to Indian Film Industry
Campaign Against Communalism in the Panjab
Capitalism and Class Distinction in Russia
Capitalists and Cultivators in the Sugar Industry
Census of Mayurbhanj State
"Change for the Worse" in Mysore
Charge of "Idolatory" against Calcutta University
China and the League of Nations
Chinese Information Bulletins
Chinese Reactions to the War, Some
Cinemas as "Toddy Shop of the Mind"
Clemency to Some Prisoners
Cochin Labour Department
Commendable Educational Suggestion, A
"Communal Award Deprives Federal Assembly of Popular Control"
Communalism in the Appointment of Teachers
"Complete Absence of the Veil" in Iran
Compulsory Hindi in Madras Schools
Congratulations to Poet Tagore from China
Congress and Hindu Sabha
Congress and The Indian Women's Conference
Congress Demand of Assurances, One Result of
Congress Faction Fight in Bombay
Congress Ministry Possible in Frontier Province
Congress Opposition to Government Scheme of Federation
Congress President Next, Who is to Be

Page

Congress President on Sending Troops to China 351

Congress Will Rule Through Moral Force 347

Congress Working Committee and All-India Congress Committee Sessions 595

Congress Working Committee Meeting at Wardha 349

Congress Working Committee Resolutions, Some 598

"Continuous and Progressive Political Reform" 98

Co-operation as a Solution for Mass Unemployment 231

Cousins On His Debt to "Gitanjali," Dr. J. H. 468

Critical and Comprehensive History of Bengal, A 342

Cultural and Economic Co-operation of Germany and Afghanistan 587

Dacca Student Wins Continental Prize 585

Damodar Das 596

Death of Marconi 230

Deaths of Detenus and Prisoners from Tuberculosis 716

Defeats Sustained by Assam Ministry 347

Despatch of Indian Troops to China 344

Detenus' Release in Bengal, Question of 117

"Develop A Rural Bias" 723

Dictators Ancient and Modern 113

Educational Expenditure in Travancore 111

Einstein Unable to Accept Science Congress and Calcutta University Invitations 467

Encyclopædia Britannica on Sir J. C. Bose, The 708

"End Hunger-Strike" 352

Ex-President Masaryk 478

"Farming Thirty Centuries Ago" 100

Fazlul Huq's Belated Apologia, Mr. A. K. 595

Fazlul Huq's Not Surprising Confidential Letter, Mr. 229

Fazlul Huq on East Bengal Terrorists' Guardians, Mr. 230

Fazlul Huq's Threat, Mr. A. K. 588

First Critical Edition of Valmiki's Ramayana 342

Foreign Delegation of Scientists to Jubilee Session of The Indian Science Congress 218, 352, 459

Forty-Hour Week 240

Forty-Hour Week and Japan's Working Hours 109

"Fundamental Difference," The 230

"Gandhiji's Advice to Congress Ministers" 230

Page

George Joseph's Resolution Relating to Banned Books and Periodicals, Mr. 469

Gokhale and "The Modern Review," Mr. G. K. 583

Government Censured on Andamans Motion 351

Government Recognition for Professor Karve's Indian Women's University 465

Governor Disallows Congress M. L. A.'s Resolution, A 356

Governor's Powers 100

"Harijan" Mayor for Madras, A 724

"Harijans" and the Bengal Ministry 472

"He Would Be Free Or Not Be at All" 579

Heroes of Peace 113

H. K. Mitter, Kumar 343

"How Government Kills Indian Aviation" 479

Hungerstrike Given up 466

"Hyderabad, The Premier Backward State!" 473

If C. W. C. Be for Office Acceptance— 120

"Ill-equipped Medical Schools Should Go" 723

"Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes" 120

Imperialism Old and New 222

Importing British Economic Adviser to Government of India 469

India and the League Council 218

India Government's Somersault 354

Indian Army Insufficient for Defences 479

"Great Indian Aviation Scandal, The" 724

Indian Central Jute Committee 219

Indian Science Congress Jubilee 721

Indian National Congress and Federation, The 461

Indian Statistical Institute Examinations 110

Indian Women Delegates in China 236

Indian Workers' Delegate at I. L. Conference on Unemployment 114

Indians in Mauritius, Plight of 475

India's Right To Frame Her Constitution 457

India's Resolve to Boycott Japanese Goods 583

Indians Killed in Firing in Mauritius 356

Indianization, and Importation of British Experts 240

Insurance Bill Debate and "Discrimination" 472

International P. E. N. Congress at Paris 108

Italo-German Designs in Spain 240

Jacobi, Professor 596

Jagadis Chandra Bose's Gift to Bihar 717

James Ramsay MacDonald 720

Japan and European Powers in Asia 110

Japan's "Cultural Penetration" 110

Page

Jawaharlal Nehru on "Bande Mataram," Pandit 464
J. C. Bose's Donations, Sir 723
Jinnah on the Ideal of The Moslem League, Mr. 475
Jinnah's Performance, Mr. 343
Jogindranath Sircar 106
John Anderson and the Case of Ireland, Sir 225
Kakori Prisoner Infected with Leprosy, A 724
Kalidas Nag at Hawaii University, Professor 114
Kashi Prasad Jayaswal 356
K. K. Malaviya on Frontier Problem, Pandit 119
Kothari, Manilal
Krishna Prasad Basak 107
Kshitindranath Tagore 596
Lahore Abattoir Scheme Abandoned 470
Lala Lajpat Rai's Biography 590
Law and Order 601
League Members' Contributions 218
"Liberty and Order" 217
Literary Conference of Bengalis in Burma 724
Lloyd George Attacks "Non-Intervention" 582
London Conference Protest Against Suppression of Civil Liberty in India 579
Mahatma Gandhi on the Release of Bengal Detenus 714
Mahatmaji Lays Stress on Character 240
"Make Petrol from Sugar-cane" 597
Manilal, Kothari 596
Manishanker Trivedi 479
Marconi, Death of 230
Marriage Reform 240
Massaryk, Ex-President 478
Mastery Over Plants 599
Meghnad Saha on All-India Radio, Dr. 353
Meghnad Saha on Sir J. C. Bose, Dr. 725
Message Sent to Prof. J. C. Bose by Sister Nivedita from Genoa, 30th Nov., 1910 725
Minimum Age for Child Labour 116
Minimum Age of Employment of Children 593
Mirza M. Ismail on India and Java, Sir 348
Mohunt Promises to Found a College, A 721
Moslem Opposition to Federation 462
Motions for Constituent Assembly 352
Multiplicity of Laws and Happiness 473
Muslim Demand for Greater Share in Congress Governments 350
Muslims and the Congress 236

Muslim League's Ideal and Goal, The
"Must Be Free, Or Die"
Mysore Dewan's Address
Nankai Institute of Economics, Tientsin
Nariman's Case in Mysore, Mr.
National Anthem for India, The Question of a
"Nature" on Sir P. C. Ray
Nawab of Murshidabad's Exhortation to Muslims, The
Nehru's tour in the Panjab & N.-W. F., Mr.
New Education Fellowship
Non-Communal Outlook of Many Bengal Moslem Students
Notes by Dr. Taraknath Das
Notifying Change of Address of Detenus to the Police
Objections to Two of Bankim Chandra's Novels
Office Acceptance, If C. W. C. Be for
Orders of Externment Withdrawn and Ban on "Unlawful" Organizations Lifted in N.-W. F. P.
Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Co., Ltd., The
Oriental Institute of Hawaii University
"Orient Today, The"
Orissa Floods and Vested Interests Co-operate
Orissa States' People's Conference
Ovations to Kakori Prisoners
Pabna and Special Responsibility Regarding Minorities
Panjab Chief Minister's Campaign Against Communalism
Partition of Palestine, The
Patrolling the Mediterranean
P. C. Ray, "Nature" on, Sir
Plea for Asiatic Labour Conference
P. E. N. Club's Stand for Writers' Freedom
Plight of Indians in Mauritius
Pochkhanawala, S. N.
Political Plunder and "Ananda-Math"
Politics Dynamic, Not Static
Position of Indians in South Africa
Praphulla Chandra Ray, Retirement of Acharya
Present Temper of the Chinese
President Roosevelt's Attacks on Dictatorships
Primary Education Centering Round Manual Work
Principles of Co-operative Marketing
Process of De-imperialization

76396

Page

Production of Motor Cars and Motor Lorries, World Fleets, and World Shipping 217

Production of Petroleum in Principal Countries 217

Productive Irrigation Works in British India 118

Progressive Move of Some Bengal M.L.C.s. 237

Proposal to make Mr. Nehru Permanent Vice-President 586

Proposed Free Supply of Books in Calcutta Corporation Schools 229

Protection to Meet Exploitation 115

Protest Against British Colonial Anti-Indian Policy 115

Provincial Autonomy Suits British Imperialism 337

Puzzling Position Created by the Hindu Women's Right to Property. Act ? 220

Question of a National Anthem for India, The 710

Question of Detenus' Release in Bengal 117

Rabindra Nath Tagore in 1882 600

Rabindranath Tagore's Advice to Peasants and Labourers 714

Rabindranath Tagore's Recovery 464

Rabindranath Tagore's Thanks and Message to China 470

Radha Kamal Mukherjee on Economic Planning, Prof. 600

Railway Member at Railway Conference 587

Ramakrishna Mission Maternity Hospital and Child Welfare Centre 109

Ramdas Gour, Professor 479

Ratification of International Sugar Agreement 723

Recantation of Belief in Methods of Violence 466

Reluctance in Japan to Support the War 710

Removal of Adult Illiteracy 466

Resolutions of the Calcutta Branch of the All-India Women's Conference 716

Response to Call for Boycott of Japanese Goods 587

"Riddle of Russia, The" 341

Right of Ministers to Disown Responsibility 99

Rights of Minorities Safe in Congress Hands 582

Role of Museums in Education and Culture, The 588

Roosevelt's Attack on Dictatorships, President 473

Page

"Russia in the Shadows" 341

Rutherford, Lord 596

Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anandswarup 106

Scientific Gatherings in India 598

Second Indian Conference in British Guiana 234

Second International Congress of Comparative Law 221

Servants of India Society, The 111

Servants of India Society's Appeal for Funds 479

Shia Moslems Decide to Join Congress 580

Shrinkage of the World and Selfishness and Isolation of Nations 463

Sind Chief Minister Favours Joint Electorates 347

Singapore and the Kra Canal 110

Sino-Japanese War 358, 358, 471, 583, 718

Sitaramayya at Orissa States' People's Conference, Dr. 106

"Slave Education" by Japanese Imperialists 104

Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes 472

Some Bengali Litterateurs' Statement to Mahatma Gandhi on "Bande Mataram" 711

Status and Rights of Women in Different Countries, The 708

Steps to Stamp Out Panjab Communalism 120

Subhas Bose Addresses Mammoth Peasant Gathering 597

Subhas Chandra Bose on India's Spa's, Mr. 227

Subhas Chandra Bose on the Hunger-Strike Problem 353

Sudhindra Bose "Selected to Clarify Oriental Views," Professor Dr. 725

Suggestions to Nationalists in Indian States 463

Suggestion for Congress Ministries, A 225

"T" and "Th" 350

Tagore, Kshitindranath 596

Tagore Urges Moslems to Join Congress 587

Tagore's Recovery, Another Donation on 470

Tagore's Special Message To "The Comrade" 479

Terrorism and Tegart in Palestine 593

Thanksgiving Offering, A 464

"Third Party, A" 593

Three Andamans Prisoners Seriously Ill 354

"Three Months' Experience" 98

"To Shine as a Light in the Orient" 99

Tragic Protest Against Dowry System 343

Page
Travancore Administration Report 111
Turkey's Ban on Jews 720
"Unauthorized Alterations in Sir B. N. Seal's Address" 102
Uniform Labour Policy for Congress Ministry Provinces 596
University for Travancore 724
Urgently Needed A Medical Mission To China 718
Viceroy's Message and Statement, The 97
Viceroy's Panjab Tour, The 593
Viceroy's Speech to the Combined Legislature 477
Visva-bharati's Latest Educational Endeavour 233
Visvesvaraya on Economic Planning, Sir M. 600
Volte Face, A 354
V. V. Giri Friend of Journalists, Mr. 354
War in Spain, The 235, 348, 471, 583, 717
Wazir Hassan At Bengal Muslim League Meeting, Sir 347
Waziristan Peace Terms 358
Where Are the Other Detenus
Who is to be Congress President Next
Who Should Be the Next Congress President
Why Government Proscribes Some Books
"Will Soviet Russia Intervene in Sino-Japanese War?"
Woes of Home-Interned Detenus
Women Workers in Mines
World Consumption of Tin
World Educational Conference in Tokyo
World Production of Coal
World Production of Gold
World Production of Iron and Steel
"World Today, The"
Yakub Hasan on Why Muslims Should Join Congress, Mr.
Zanzibar Situation
Zetland's "Maya," and Rope and Snake, Lord

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Page
Bajoria, Narayandas
  Making India Self-supplying in Cotton Goods 536
Banasinski, E.
  Polish Folk Dances 169
Brand, Guido K.
  The Cloisters of Bavaria 642
Banerji, Adris
  Sivaneri: The Birth-place of Sivaji 269
Banerji, Nripendra Chandra
  Re-orientation and Re-organization of Higher Education in Bengal 39
Banerjee, R. L.
  Indian Surveys 656
Bentham, Jeremy
  Col. Young to Bentham on Rammohun Ray 300
Biswas, Usha
  Cinema in Education 407
Bool Chand
  Two Cases of the Punjab High Court Considered 402
Bose, Atindra Nath
  How our Ancestors Tackled Famine 292
Bose, Manindralal
  A Mother's Day 514
Bose, Subhas Chandra
  Europe—Today and Tomorrow
  Japan's Role in the Far East
  The Pros and Cons of Office Acceptance
Boulter, H. Wierum
  Reflections on the Indian Situation by an American on American Independence Day
Chagla, A. G.
  The Place of Poland in Commerce and Industry
Chaman Lal
  Make Petrol from Sugar-Cane
  Prison Life in Japan
  Will America Help China?
"Chanakya"
  The Rashtrapati
Chatterjee, Ramananda
  The Hero as Scientifist
  Ministers' Usefulness Dependent on Governors' Good Graces
  Provincial Autonomy Suits British Imperialism
Chatterji, Nandalal
  British Vested Interests in India and the New Constitution

Page

  - The Latest Phase on the North-West Frontier 644
  - The Public Services under the New Constitution 166
  - The Royal Veto in the New Constitution 246
- Chattopadhyaya, Kamala Devi
  - Congress Enters upon a New Phase 208
- Das, Rajani Kanta
  - Differential Fertility in India 248
- Das, Taraknath
  - An Indian Journalist Receives Signal Honour in America 49
  - Foreign News-food for Indian Thought 53
  - Lack of Education for National Defence in India 682
  - Wars of the Future 674
- Das-Gupta, Satish Chandra
  - Ghee Production as a Cottage Industry for Bengal 177
- Das-Gupta, S. N.
  - The Meaning of Culture 126
- Datta, Anathnath
  - Modern Trend of Psychology 303
- Datta, Bhupendra Nath
  - Population of Bengal—An Anthropological Enquiry 26
  - Population of Bengal—A Sociological Enquiry 201
  - The Population of Bengal—Present-day Condition and the Future 258
- Datta, Robindra Mohan
  - Secondary Education under the National Government of China 649
- Dev, Dharam Yash
  - Child Education in England 22
- Devi, Santa
  - Of Japanese Girl and Women Students 17
- Devi, Sucheta
  - Some Aspects of Child Education in Russia 540
- Forsyth, E.
  - This Freedom 207
- Gandhi, M. K.
  - Congress Ministries 134
- Gangoly, O. C.
  - Illustrations of Indian Musical Modes 57
  - Narayana-Swami : 'The Brahmin of Long Life' 192
- Ganguli, J. M.
  - Diwali Fireworks and Swadeshism 655
- Gheevala, C. L.
  - Implications of the Ethical Conception of Citizenship 73
  - Theory of Sovereignty 524, 632
- Gidwani, Choithram P.
  - Congress and Office Acceptance 165

Page

- Graham Pole, Major D.
  - Can War be Averted 254
  - The Coming Slump 156
  - The Economic Background of War 537
  - Inoculation against War 420
  - More Musings from London 13
  - The Opening of the British Parliament 603
- Guha, K. D.
  - Industrial Development of Ceylon 628
- Gupta, Nagendranath
  - The Congress and the Constitution 140
- Hans Zippel
  - Red-coloured Lakes and Mountain Echos 59
- Is-Haque, Muhammad
  - Modern Urdu Poetry 47
- Kulkarni, V. B.
  - Is Karnatak Unification Feasible ? 551
- Koo, V. K. Wellington
  - A Message to the People of India 484
  - Japanese Aggression in China 481
- Krishnayya, G. S.
  - The Training of Teachers in India 664
- Lal, Gobind Behari
  - A New Corona for the Sun 565
- Lohia, Rammanohar
  - Indian Freedom Front 436
- Majumdar, Dinesh Chandra
  - The Tragedy of Bengal's Fisheries 280
- Majumdar, N. G.
  - The Evidence of the Irda Copper-Plate 323
- Mazumdar, Karunamoy
  - Banking Needs of Agriculture in Assam 64
- Marchal, Henri
  - The Art and Archæology of Cambodge 361
- Masters, Aline
  - Woman in Hindu Society 647
- Menon, M. V.
  - Onam Season in Malabar 175
- Minakshi, C.
  - A Pallava Sculpture of Kiratarjunamurti 413
- Mitra, Kalipada
  - Teachers and Disciples 509
- Moulik, Monindramohan
  - Glimpses of Modern Sculpture 617
  - Paris Through Exhibition Lights 415
  - Under the Nordic Skies 497
- Mukerjee, Radhakamal
  - The Patterns of Social Relations, Eastern and Western 496
- Nag, Kalidas
  - "Above All Nations is Humanity" 286
- Nag, Nagendra, C.
  - Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose 698
- Nair, R. Madhavan
  - The Travancore University 77

Page

Nash, Walter
A Year of Labour Government in New Zealand 622
Nautiyal, Govind Prasad
Yotir Math (Joshi Math) 410
Negrin, M.
The War in Spain 553
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal
Back Home 1
Pal, Bepin Chandra
My First Visit to England 396, 491, 614
Patkar, M. M.
Brahmendraswami—A Political Maratha Saint 45
Rajendra Prasad
Floods 431
Sugar-cane in the United Provinces and Behar 327
Ranga, N. G.
Kisan Sabhas and Government 386
Rao, K. Venugopal
Ishwaranand Mahila Sevashram, Mangalore 172
Ray, Manindra Narayan
Salaries of Public Servants 528
Ray, S. N.
Rammohan Ray and English Intellectuals 160
Roy, B. C.
Indians and Yoke of Inferiority 545
Roy, Dilip Kumar
Two Singers 383
Roy, Naresh Chandra
Madras Premier and the Separation of Powers 638
Separation of Executive from Judicial Functions 389
Roy, Sasadhar
Intercaste Marriage 262
Roy Chaudhury, Birendra Kishore
Bengal Tenancy Bill 619
Sabhorwal, L. R.
Forests in India 567
Saha, M. N.
The All-India Radio—What are its Defects and How to Remedy Them 683
Sankar-Menon, T. C.
Cattle Economy in India 640
Sanyal, Nalinaksha
Wedgwood Committee Report on Indian Railways 187
Sastri, C. L. R.
Charlotte Brontë 660
Sarkar, P. B.
The Jute Crisis 505

Sathanathan, S.
Animal Sacrifice Given Up
Satyarthi, Devendra
Come with Me through Burmese Song-Land
Saxena, Mohan Lal
The All India Radio
Scientificus
Indian Students and Foreign Scholarships
S. D.
Spiritual Ideology in the Congress
Sen, Siva Narayan
Report on Indian Museums and Museum Ideals
Shivapuri, S. N.
Teaching of Science
Singhi, Bahadur Singh
Images on Muslim Coins
Sinha, J. N.
A Lesson from Switzerland
Sinha, Lakshmiswar
Some Practical and Important Aspects of Mass Education and Vocational Training
Smedley, Agnes
The Chinese Red Army Goes to Town
We Start for the Front
Solomon, K. A.
The Disciples of Babayya
Spratt, P.
More Notes on Jail Psychology
Concluding Notes on Jail Psychology
Srikantan, K. S.
Portrait Sculpture in Madura Temple
Sunderland, J. T.
Theodore Parker, The Great American Reformer
Tagore, Rabindranath
Jagadis Chandra Bose
Insult to Man's Humanity and Penal Excess
Thakkar, A. V.
Congress Ministries and the Harijans
Wangsgard, Eva Willes
Search the Heart
Warty, S. G.
The Ahmedabad Mill Worker
The Baden-Powell Incident and its Lessons to Englishmen
White, Vincent
Roerich's Art in India
Zippel, Hans
Red-coloured Lakes and Mountain Echoes

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page
Abroad in the Storm Probhat Neogy 376
All Faiths Celebration of the "Muharram" 355
American "Clipper" plane lands at Foynes, The 212
Amiya C. Chakravarty, Dr. 108
At Work (*in colours*) Nirmalchandra Mukherjee 241

Athens

—Acro-Corinth and a view of the ancient city 272
—Elevated view of Athens, An 272
—Greek Soldiers 272
—Picturesque scene in Athens, A 272
—Ruins of Olympia (Greece), The 272
—Temple de Poseidon 272

Bavaria, The Cloisters of

—Floriansplatz at Partenkirchen 642
—Garmish-Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps 642
—Partenkirchen in the Bavarian Alps 643
—Wendelstein range of the Bavarian Alps 643
B. C. Roy at Edinburgh Indian Association, Dr. 456
Bhismadev Chatterjee 383

Bruno Liljefors—The Swedish Artist

—Black-cock in its nest 488
—Bruno Liljefors 490
—Hawk and Dove 488
—Sea Eagles 489
—Sea Eagles nest 489
—Wild Geese (*in colours*) 481

Burmese Songland, Come With Me Through

—Buddhas in the Pagoda 145
—Burman finding shells, A 144
—Burman riding on his buffalo 145
—Burmese Children 144
—Burmese girl in kitchen, A 149
—Cattle-fair in Burma, A 145
—Group of Padoung people, A 144
—Mah Na Hatohn 143
—Peasants, The 145
—Peasants coming homeward 144
—Rhythm of Burmese folk-dance 142
—Shans, The 147
—Street Scene, A 148
—Village-bazar (*two illustrations*) 144
Page
—Village in Burma, A 145
—Village-Swain from the Shan country, A 145

Cambodge, Art and Archæology of

—Angkor Thom. Terrace of Elephants 364
—Angkor Vat 365
—Angkor Vat. Bas relief 368
—Angkor Vat. Eastern Entrance 369
—Angkor Vat. Panoramic View 368
—Banteay Srei 364, 365
—Banteay Srei, details of sculptural decoration 367
—Banteal Srei The temple of 365
—Bayon 362
—Bayon. Bas-relief on the outer galleries 369
—Bayon. Towers crowned with human heads 417
—Pra Khan 365
—Prah Ko. Central group 369
—Prah Ko. Decoration on passages 417
—Pre Rup. Eastern Facade 369
—Terrace of Srah Srang 363
—Elephant-hunters on the Siamese Frontier, The 336
—Entrance hall of the Royal Library 336

Cambodia

—Book-shelf for Vinaya Pitaka Volumes, A 337
—Buddhist painting 336
—Cambodian girls, who passed the French Baccalaureat 456
—Figure of the Kinnari dance, A 57
—Gardens of the Royal Library 337
—Garuda dance, The 56
—Hanuman and the Black Monkey 57
—Institute of Buddhist studies in Phnom-Penh, The 336
—King of Luang-Prabang entering the chief temple, The 336
—Kinnari Dance, The 336
—Lonely Buddha in the French Laotian jungle, A 337
—Pali High School 336
—Pali High School, Phnom-Penh, The 56
—Popular Burlesque dance 56
—Royal Library 337
—Salute of the Kinnaris, The 56

Page
Canadian Health and Beauty Girls 95
Ceylon, Industrial Development of
—Ceylon Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd. 628
—Crepe rubber factory at Ceylon 629
—De Mel Safety Matches, Co. 630
—Lanka Soap Co., Ltd. 628
—Mohommedi Oil Mills, Colombo 630
—Tea Estate in the Hills of Ceylon 631
Chaitanya Leaps into the Sea (*in colours*) Khagendra Roy 361
Chaman Lal and Vina, Mr. and Mrs. 381
Chamberlain, Mr. Neville 94
Chanda, Dr. S. K. 95
Chiang Kai-shek and his wife with foreign correspondents 610
Child Education
—Children enjoying their ration of milk 24
—Children in the Outdoor School 24
—Helping hand for the Babies, A 25
—Learning to be "hostess" 21
—Lesson in "Safety First" 25
—Little girl learning to bathe the baby, A 23
—Open air class, An 24
—School: No books and no sums 21
—School-boys' afternoon nap on a roof-top 23
—Senior girls demonstrating basket-making 23
—Students learning mathematics 23
—Tiny tots watering their gardens 21
Deoras, Srimati Tara 191
Dorothy Round with Mlle. J. Jedrzejowska, Miss 213
Europe (*Cartoon*) 96
Finance Ministers' Conference in Bombay 92
Fishing Boat, The Basudev Roy 603
Forests in India
—Afforestation of Ravine Land 569
—Erosion on Southern slope of Kator Dhar 568
—Experimental paper machine 568
—Floating in the river Pohanin Lalale 569
—Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun 567
—Tectona grandis plantation 568
Friends Prabhat Niyogi 556
Gandhi leaving Wardha, Mahatma 213
Gandhi, Mr. M. P. 412
Gandhi, Srimati Rambhagauri 456

Page
Germany
—Gutenfels Castle on the Rhine 6
—Inzell, a typical Bavarian village 6
—Konigsee, in the Bavarian Alps, The 6
—Typical Black forest scenery 6
Ghee Production as a Cottage Industry for Bengal
—Acharya P. C. Ray 18
—Cows of the Khadi Pratishthan dairy (*6 illustrations*) 177–
Girl-cyclists in Windsor 9
Glimpses of Modern Sculpture
—Bernini: Apollo and Daphne 61
—Chapu: Joan of Arc 61
—Kai Nielsen: Watermother 61
—Rodin: Kiss 61
—Sinding: Night 61
—Vibert, J.: Human Labour 61
Goktchen, Miss Sabiha 6
Govind Behari Lal, Mr.
Group of delegates and workers, Barisal Women's Conference, A 9
Habib Ullah, Begum 9
Illustrations of Indian Ragas and Raginis (*6 illustrations*) 57–
Images on Muslim Coins (*6 illustrations*) 442–
In Quest of Love (*in colours*) Nandalal Bose
In the Rains Prabhat Neogy 37
Ina Mitter, Mrs. 9
International agglomeration at Shanghai 61
Irda Copper-Plate 3
Ishwaranand Mahila Sevashram, Mangalore
—Ashram Orchestra 17
—Inmates in stage-dress 17
—Lazeem drill and dance 17
—Tableaux by children 17
Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sir 7
—Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose 6
—Bose Institute
—Speaking on Electric Waves at the Royal Institution 6
Japanese Girl and Women Students, Of
—Art of Flower Arrangement, The
—Artificial sun ray generators for under-developed children
—Cha-no-yu (tea ceremony)
—Danish Gymnastics
—During intervals of school hours
—Girl students with Sewing Machines
—Girls' dormitories of the Jiyu Gakuen, The

Page
—Instructions in correct manners and deportments 21
—Japanese-style rooms 19
—Japanese women practice Archery 20
—Kindergarten classes 20
—Lunch-time in a Kindergarten school 21
—Modern primary school building, A 20
—Motoko Hani, Mrs. 18
—Primary school children 17
—Student-cooks at work in the kitchen 21
Japanese Mounted Troops in the Lotien area 610
Japan's Role in the Far East (*6 Maps*) 372—73
Jawaharlal Nehru's tour in Burma, Pandit
—Indira Nehru at Bassein 80
—Reception at Bassein 80
—Volunteers awaiting Panditji's arrival 81
—Women Volunteers 81
Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad 356
Jogindranath Sircar 107
Jyotir Math (*Joshi Math*)
—Joshimath, A view of 411
—Mythological Mulberry tree at Joteswar 411
—Joshimath, Temple of 410
—Joteswar, The half-finished temple of 412
—Vishnuprayag 410
Krishna Prasad Basak 107
Lila Chatterjee, Miss 726
Little Balinese not afraid of the temple-watchers, The 690
Maharao of Kutch and Mr. Alfred Ezra, H. H. The 93
Malati Chaudhuri, Srimati 190
Manisha Sen, Srimati 191
Mass Education and Vocational Training
—A room for wood-work 628
—Bell-metal Work 680
—Box -for household objects 681
—Card-board works 680
—Community practical school 678
—Corner shelves 677
—Different kinds of candle-stands 679
—Domes for hanging lamps 680
—Exhibition of Sloyd Work 679
—Exhibition of useful objects 678
—Girls in the weaving room 678
—Lamp-stands 676
—Pen tray 681
—Pot-stands of various types 629
—Pen-tray 681
—Portfolio 681
—Requirements of Card-board work 677

Page
—Sexagonal Box 681
—Simple way of doing beautiful things at home 676
—Sliding Box 681
—Specimens of Wood Work 677, 679
—Tea-pot stands 680
—Wooden spoons 676
—Wooden tray 678
Mother Europe (*Cartoon*) 96
Mulziani, Miss Shera R. 192
Musical Soiree, A (*in colours*) P. Karmakar 121
Nagamma Patil, Mrs. 92
New Corona of the Sun
—Photograph of the Corona 566
—Major A. W. Stevens, F. Trubee Davison and Dr. Clyde Fisher 565
New Deadly Instruments of War (*2 illustrations*) 337
Onam Season in Malabar
—Malabar girl worshipping the god Vamana 175
Pallava Sculpture
—Kiratarjunamurti, A drawing of 413
—Kiratarjunamurti in the Kailasanath temple 413
Paris through Exhibition Lights
—Exhibition from the river 417
—French House of Labour, The 417
—German Pavilion, The 416
—Italian Pavilion, The 416
—Norwegian Pavilion, The 416
—New Trocadero, The 416
—Place de l'Opera 416
—Russian Pavilion, The 416, 417
—Statue of Liberated Italy, The 415
Patil, Srimati Nagamma 191
Poland
—Chopin's monument 168
—General view of Porombka Barrage, A 273
—Lazienki Palace 169
—Marshal Pilsudski and Prof. Dr. Ignacy Mosciki, The late 272
—Monument of Prince Yoseph Poniatowski 169
—Room in the Royal Castle, A 169
—Royal Castle—Zamek 169
—Statue of the Polish King Sobieski 168
—Summer-residence of Marshal Pilsudski at Warsaw 273
Poland in Commerce and Industry, The Place of
—High powered locomotive built in Polish factories 275

Page
Police dispersing the crowd at Trafalgar Square 212

Polish Folk Dances

—Open air dancing of the mountain folk (*2 illustrations*) 168
—Polish bag-pipe 170

Portrait Sculpture in Madura Temple

—Aryanatha Mudali 184
—Mathuram Aiyar and his wife 185
—Strong soldier, A 184
—Thirumala Nayaka and his wives 185
—Viswanatha Nayaka 185
"Protector of the China Shop, The (*Cartoon*) 667
Pupils' Own School, Bombay, A scene from the dance-drama 697
Rambhagauri Gandhi, Srimati 456
Rammohun Roy, Tomb of 273
Rockefeller, John D. 94

Roerich's Art in India

—Mahakala 276
—Nicholas Roerich 279
—Nicholas de Roerich, Portrait of Prof. 277
—Padma Sambhava 277
—Tsong-Khapa 276
Sabiha Goktchen, Miss 682
Sachindra Dev Burman, Kumar 384
Scindia of Gwalior, H. H. the Maharaja (*2 illustrations*) 674
Seeta Jahan Ara, Srimati 91
Seshadri, Prof. P. 95
Shah, Miss R. 91
Siva Narayan Sen, Mr. 51
"Slave Education" by Japanese Imperialists (*cartoon*) 105
Smythe, Mr. F. S.
Sobha Das Gupta, Srimati 92

Sweden

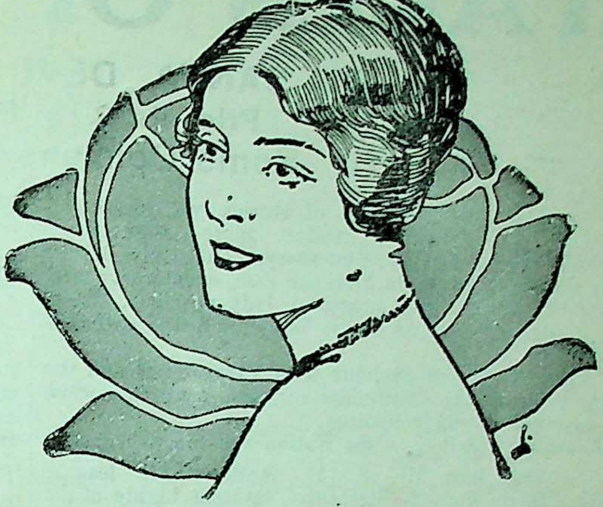
—"Children's Island"
—Gripsholms Castle
—Hill-side view of Ulvjk
—Kalmar Castle
—Legendary Trolle, The
—Nord Fiord, Norway
—Regatta at Stockholm
—Ridderholm quarters, Stockholm
—Summer Evening, North Cape
—Sweden's Monument of Liberty
—Town Hall—Stockholm
—Typical Swedish Architecture
—Ulvjk on the Hardanger Fiord
—Uppsala Castle, The historic
Taraknath Das, Dr.
Tarulata Sen, Srimati
Temple in Bangkok, A
Toilet
Prabhat Niyogi
Traffic scene in Chinese Eastern Area

Under the Nordic Skies

—"Children's Island"
—Costume of Hardanger
—Gripsholms Castle
—Hardanger Fiord
—Kalmar Castle
—Norheimsund
—On board the "Kong Dag"
—Ski Museum, The
—Stave Church in the Folk Museum, The
—Town Hall, Stockholm
—Typical Swedish Architecture
Wasim, Begum
Windsor and Mrs. Wallis Warfield, Duke of
Worshippers of the Far East

Insist on ***Calso products.***

Nature's Beauty in
Blooming Rose
Your Beauty in **CALSO'S**
PEEYA—a lovely trim
of Soap, Snow & Cream.



CALCUTTA SOAP WORKS

PROGRESS!
FINER WORK IN ······
PROGRESSIVE METHOD

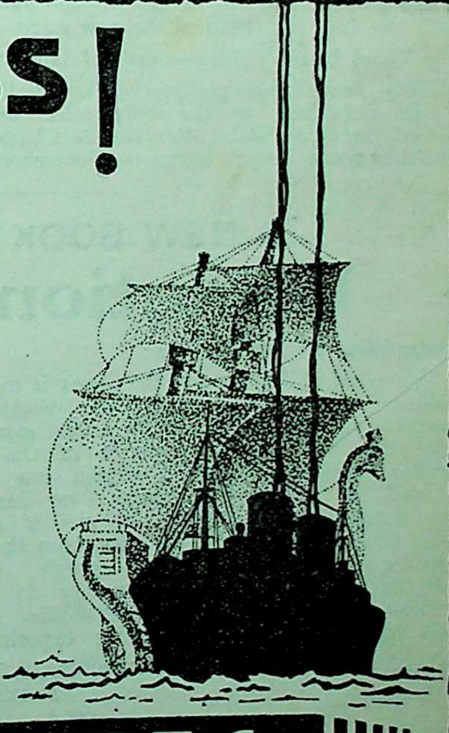
Having always fostered the Spirit of Progress we are able to combine high class work with speed of out put.

Particularly is this seen our production of Process Engraving Works.

Up-to-date plant and progressive ideas combine to produce finished results, the quality of which is unchallengeable.

Ring up 3793 B.B.

Specialist in Tri-colour reproduction and makers of line, Half-tone Blocks & Fine Art Printers.



BENGAL AUTOTYPE Co
213, CORNWALLIS STREET = CALCUTTA

Just Published *Just Published*

TALES OF BENGAL

By SANTA DEVI & SITA DEVI

Price Rs. 2. :: Postage extra.

Some Opinions of the Press:

......This slim volume of stories will please and interest the Western reader more than Sarat Babu's work. In the first story, "The Ugly Bride," one discovers in Santa Devi the ease, spontaneity, and humour of our own practised lady novelists. There is a delicate bite of irony in it, and the pathos is unforced......

That quarter of an hour with Tarasundari and the ugly bride in the third-class carriage is worth a score of heavy-doctored romances.

Edmund Candler, in the **Nation and the Athenaeum.**

......The late Mr. J. D. Anderson, a leading authority on Bengali literature, thought highly of the work of these gifted sisters......."Loyalty" is a touching and pathetic tale, and "The Wedding Dress" is full of quaint interest.

F. R. Scatcherd in the **Asiatic Review.**

"Yorkshire Observer" says:

......The works have substantial literary merits.... ..."The Ugly Bride" and "The Letter" are perhaps the gems of the collection.

"Manchester Guardian" says:

......Most lively in manner, modern in tone, ...the humour and the energy of the narrators, in which one feels the rush of the new spirit...

"The Times Literary Supplement" of London says:

These remarkable pictures of Bengali life, written by the daughters of the independent and critical political journalist, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, were noticed at some length by us on November 13, 1919, and the half-dozen tales here given, three by each the sisters, represent the best kind of Bengali literatur

Mrs. Margaret E. Cousins, B. Mus., writes in "S Dharma":

They are born story-tellers who have the gift making us identify ourselves with a character in story and by the accurate description of details environment or character drawing cause us to live in tale. The writing and style is strikingly good, gi the pleasure of refinement and of mastery of craft.

The Guardian writes:

......These half a dozen stories are delicate pi which should fascinate Indian readers also, while they have enraptured foreign readers. ......They ar valuable addition to our literature.

The Tribune writes:

Inasmuch as all great Art is suggestive, can safely saw that "Tales of Bengal," is a vital extraordinary book. It glows and glitters on ev page. ......In Bengal, it seems, Chatterjee sis are playing the same role at present which played by W. M. Thackeray during the last cen in England.

Bombay Chronicle says:

Humour, irony and pathos have all been effectively utilized to good purpose and the des tions of life in Bengal are wonderfully life-like colourful.

A NEW BOOK by Dr. J. T. SUNDERLAND

Evolution and Religion

Prabuddha Bharata writes:

The central theme of the book is to show that evolution is really an ally of religion that it proclaims the glory of God in a far more effective way than the genesis stories of the orthodox Semitic religions. Every religion has mythology as well as philosophy; there is no harm in that. But danger comes when the one is confounded with the other. And this has been the case with some queer religious-minded people who have compelled some states of America to pass laws prohibiting the teaching of Evolution in schools. This very clear and convincing exposition of both Evolution and true Religion by Dr. Sunde ought to be an eye-opener to these people.

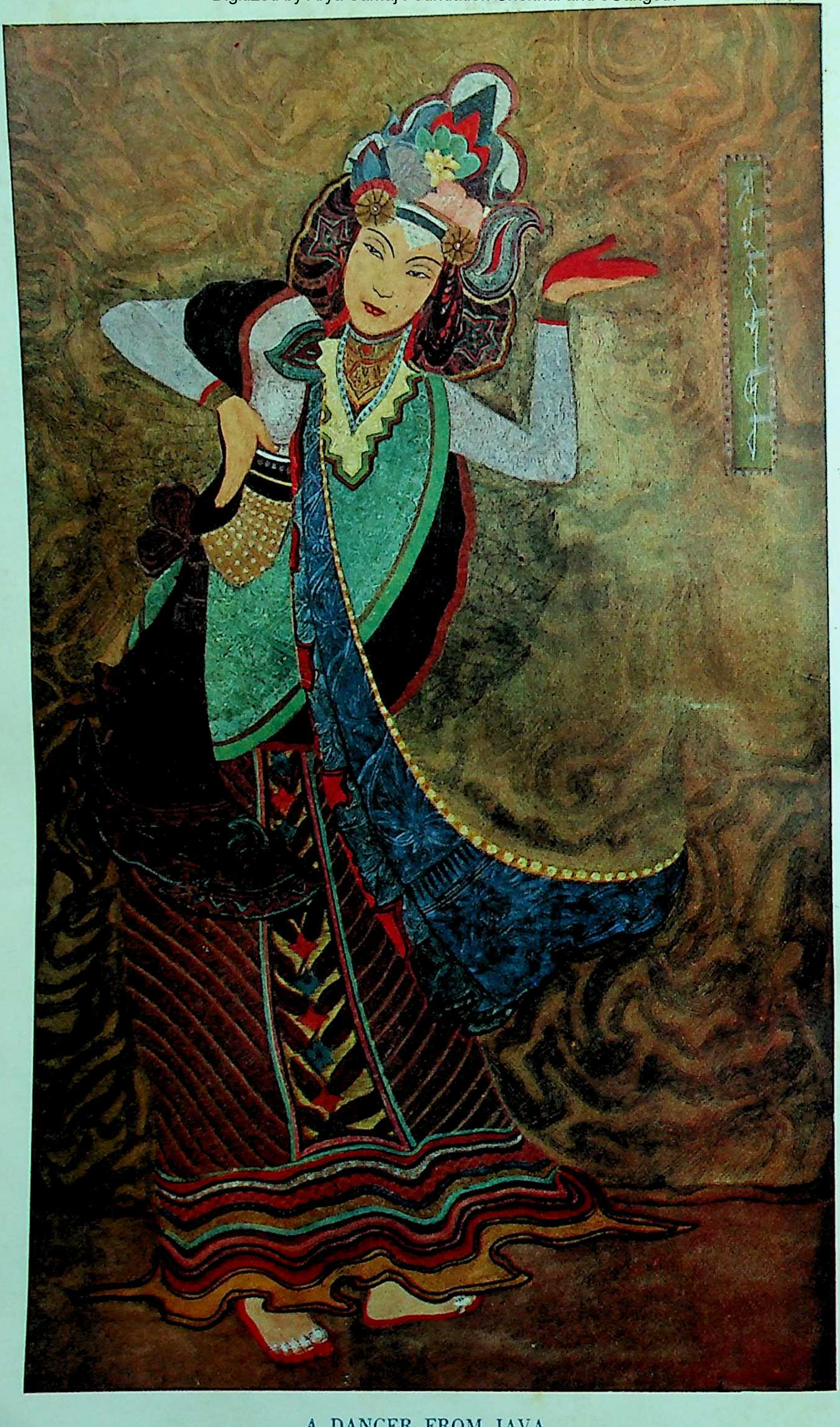
The book has a general interest too. Her readers will find a fine collection of easily standable data presented beautifully and logi which are sufficient to convince unbiased minds the great truth of Evolution—evolution of the of man, and of religion, evolution from simp to complexity, from homogeneity to heterog The book has given Evolution the dign Religion, has supplied Religion with a sci basis, and has assured man, the very end of tion, of his perfection and immortality.

Also highly praised by THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES, THE TRIBUNE, THE HINDU, THE GUARDIAN, THE SUB PATRIKA, THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE,

Price Rs. 2. Postage extra.

To be had of—

The *Modern* Review Office, *120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta*



A DANCER FROM JAVA
Mukundadev Ghose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1938

Vol. LXIII, No. 2

Whole No. 374

MASARYK—THE PRESIDENT LIBERATOR

> **Servitude is the soul blinded. Can you picture to yourself a man voluntarily blind ? This terrible thing exists. There are willing slaves. A smile in irons ! Can anything be more hideous ? He who is not free is not a man ; he who is not free has no sight, no knowledge, no discernment, no growth, no comprehension, no will, no faith, no love.—Victor Hugo.**

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE,
State University of Iowa, U. S. A.

The passing of Thomas G. Masaryk, founder and first President of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, is being mourned not only by Americans of Czech descent but by America as a whole. Masaryk was the George Washington of Czecho-Slovakia (Bohemia). The American metaphor is not incongruous. His life, his success after the passage of centuries in effecting the rebirth as a nation of the Bohemian people are linked in many intimate details with the United States.

Dr. Masaryk wrote the Czech Declaration of Independence in this country. He modelled the government of his native land in large part after the American. His wife was an American girl and his son, now Czecho-Slovakia Ambassador to London, also married an American. Dr. Masaryk was for a time a professorial lecturer at the University of Chicago and his daughter, Alice, was a Resident of Hull House, the famous settlement-house in Chicago.

It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that there might have been no Czecho-Slovakia—for all Masaryk's life-time of devotion—had there been no American Woodrow Wilson. There were many affinities between the two men. Both began as university professors. Both were consecrated with an evangelical fervor to what they conceived to be their mission. Both had at the very core of them faith in democracy, in the common people, and in the power of reason. Of all the new states President Wilson helped into being at Versailles and of all the new statesmen created by the peace settlement, Masaryk and Czecho-Slovakia alone conformed to the Wilson ideal. No wonder that on the tenth anniversary of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic, President Masaryk presided at the unveiling of a great statue of President Woodrow Wilson in Prague and publicly acknowledged the share of Wilson in the launching of the new Republic.

Inspiring Life

Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was the father of his country. Rising from humble origins—son of a coachman and apprenticed to a blacksmith—he won both academic and political distinction in fairly early life.

In 1872 he entered the University of Vienna as a student of philosophy and later attended the University of Leipzig. It was there he made the acquaintance of an American girl, Miss Charlotte Garrigue, whom he married. Masaryk took the wife's name of "Garrigue" for his own middle name.

After his Leipzig days, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk was appointed a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Vienna, and two years later, when the University of Prague was divided into a Czech and a German university, he became professor of philosophy in the Czech University. For ten years his career was that of the scholar, but not isolated from life. He wrote several controversial books, in which he urged emancipation from the Germanic philosophy of Kant and his followers, and adhesion to the French and English positivist and evolutionary teachings of Hume, Mill, Comte, and Spencer.

He then became interested in politics. As a statesman and a philosopher, Masaryk ranked equally high. On numerous occasions he displayed admirable courage. As a member of the Austrian parliament, he incurred the displeasure of the Austro-Hungarian government, and quickly became known as one of the ablest political leaders of Bohemia. Indeed, he attained a dangerous fame as an advocate of the nationality and independence of the Bohemian people, then submerged in the so-called Dual Empire. From then on he was a "conspirator", an "agitator", a notorious *badmash*. A wrecker of empires? That he surely was. Progress ever demolishes with the left hand and builds with the right.

CHAMPION OF FREEDOM

When the Great War broke out, Masaryk became the champion of Czech independence definitely. In his now famous work, *The New Europe,* he made a strong attack on the Austro-Hungarian government, characterizing it as imperialistic, militaristic, pretentious and a senseless relic of the Middle Ages.

While he was a political fugitive, Dr. Masaryk founded propagandist papers in France advocating the complete liberty of his people from the Austrian yoke.

His knowledge of history was of great value to him in putting out his publications. He was a pronounced realist, rebelling against the typical Teutonic idealism and also against the Tolstoyan philosophy of non-resistance to evil. He stood for a unified conception of life, in which the spiritual and religious take their place with the intellectual and the political as aspects of an integral whole. Although his political success overshadowed his literary activities, Masaryk wrote important works on sociology and philosophy.

The Great War gave him opportunity to apply his personal philosophy to the affairs of his people. Even England aided the "rebel" from Bohemia. Lord Robert Cecil had declared that England was fighting for the freedom of small nations. Masaryk met two London Journalists then in position of power: Wickham Steed and Dr. Seton-Watson. These men preached self-determination for all peoples not including Indians, of course. That w self-evident!

The "conspirator" Masaryk roved bus through France, England, Russia, Siberia, Jap and America—everywhere that Czechs could rallied to fight against the Central empires. H and his aides formed Czech legions fro prisoners of war the Allies had captured. So these legions were fighting for the Allies on t western front. Masaryk exploited the feats the Czech legions ably.

In 1918 the American Foreign Minist Robert Lansing, issued the proclamation whi expressed American sympathy with Czech Slovakia aspirations for independence. Th Austria sued for peace, expressing willingne to federalize its ill-assorted, ramshackle emp —a prison-house of nations. Masaryk promp checkmated this mischievous move, which wo have held his country within the cursed emp He was not like one of those weak-kne "moderates" of the Indian type, ready sell his birthright for a mess of "domin status." As between federation with t Austrian empire and Bohemian independen Masaryk did not hesitate a split-second. H immediately issued a Declaration of Ind pendence, which met with an enthusias public reception in America. That docum was written in Washington.

Shortly afterward President Wilson's rep to the Austrian Foreign Minister adopted fu Masaryk's point of view on the future Czecho-Slovakia. With allied victory, ind pendence had been won by sponsorship America.

As Masaryk's had been the most pote influence in the winning of independence, so became the determining factor in the organi tion of the new republic. His election to t Presidency was as uncontested as Geor Washington's, and his motive in the acceptan of it as free from any suspicion of perso ambition.

He was a patriot above patriots. He co tinued in the Presidential chair for sevent years because his people needed him, and wo not let him go. Two years ago when he resig the Presidential office in his 85th year, the t "President Liberator" was conferred upon h by the Cabinet.

Masaryk was often called "The Maker o a Nation". He seemed a wise philosopher-kin beside the noisy swashbuckling posturers wh dominate the European scene. Not only Czech Slovakia and America, but the world of democ cy and liberty has lost one of its greatest so

THE HINDI BHAVAN AT SANTINIKETAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

My first words must lay stress on the great importance of this morning's function.* It will mark, I trust, one of those turning points, where we abandon once and for all that invidious word 'vernacular', and treat the living languages of India as one of the treasures of mankind.

Our Gurudeva, Rabindranath Tagore, has always kept before us the high ideal of encouraging research, not only into the languages of the past, such as Pali and Sanskrit, but also into the living languages which will mould the future. Our Vidyabhavan, which is his own creation, should combine all such language studies together.

Already we have a Chair of Islamic Culture, which includes Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and we have been very happy in our teachers. Our Maulana Sahib, Ziauddin, and our Arabic scholar Ajmal Khan are universally respected in our Asram. We have also a Chair of Zoroastrian Culture held by Dr. Manilal Patel from Gujerat. In the same manner, we have carried on research in Pali and Sanskrit and medieval Hindi literature. Here, the Head of Vidyabhavan, Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, has done eminent work, which has won for him disitinction among scholars all over the world. Last of all, quite recently, we have established (owing to the generosity of the people of China), a 'Cheena Bhavan' where Chinese and Tibetan literature are studied and ancient manuscripts are preserved. In Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan, Dr. Gokhale and Pandit Sujit Mukerji, we have a happy combination which has already proved its worth.

Up to the present, among the living Indian languages, we have only been able to obtain the necessary background for the study of Bengali as a modern subject, and that is chiefly due to the fact that we have its greatest living exponent, our Gurudeva, with us. But today we are going one step further and are founding a permanent home in our midst for the study of Hindi. If we succeed in our aim, the research in medieval religious literature, with its Hindi basis, which has been so remarkably developed by Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, will be extended right up to the modern age. For this Bhavan is intended to be a home, where Hindi literature will be studied in all its branches. Since the word 'Visva-Bharati' implies a world standpoint, we shall seek to do something in this direction, not merely because Hindi is spoken today by many crores of people, but much more because its religious and philosophic literature is unique.

As I have just said, we have already proved in our Asram the value of the study of Bengali literature and language. Santiniketan has been a true Academy for Bengal. The very fact that we have had such success in the study of Bengali, as a modern language, makes us all the more confident that we shall succeed with Hindi. It may not be known yet, in India, that one of the results of Prof. Winternitz and Lesny's visits to Santiniketan has been the formation of a School of Indian languages in Central Europe. I have also a hope that as one of the results of a visit which I paid to Australia a year ago the School of Oriental Studies in Sydney, New South Wales, may include Indian modern languages in its curriculum as well as Chinese and Japanese.

If we succeed in establishing the study of Hindi in our Asram, we may hope that, later on, other Indian languages may also find a place. All the while, we shall seek to develop the closest relationship between Urdu, with its Persian background, and Hindi, with its Sanskrit foundation, and thus carry forward the working knowledge of a simple *lingua franca*, called 'Hindustani', which shall combine both.

Perhaps, at this point, I may be pardoned for making a reference to my own experiences. The fact that I am talking in English at this function will show my trepidation even at the thought of speaking in Hindi and I would not venture to do so before a distinguished audience like this, since I know my own weakness. But Munshi Zaka Ullah of Delhi, about whom I have written very often, revealed to me the beautiful courtesy of the Moghul period in Delhi, and taught me to appreciate the fact that some of the best Urdu literature was written by Hindus. He had his friends among them and used to send them presents on each great festival occasion. His own Urdu speech was never elaborately ornate; and it was easy to pass from it to Hindi, and so to blend both in a common Hindustani. Thus through daily conversation with him in Urdu I was never far away from what Jawaharlal Nehru has aptly called 'basic Hindustani'; and when I went out into the villages I could easily follow what the villagers said to me. Furthermore in Fiji, Trinidad, British Guiana, and elsewhere, this same mixture of Hindi and Urdu has carried me through. I could never pass any examination, and yet it has been easy to make myself understood in Hindustani in every part of the world where Indians have settled. Thus it has become clear to me, that this blending of the two languages has great possibilities in it; and it will be one of the most useful tasks of this Hindi Bhavan to explore how far this intermingling of the two language currents may be carried.

---

* Speech delivered at the laying of the foundation stone of the Hindi Bhavan at Santiniketan.

Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray has recently pointed out another pathway of research. He has shown the immediate necessity of framing a common vocabulary of the new words of modern science which are pouring into every language today. Benares University has already done something in one direction and the Osmania University in another. But what we need are words that all can use : and in the quiet atmosphere of Santiniketan we may be able to perform very useful laboratory work which may help to produce a new coinage of words for the whole of India. Urdu words must have a place in such a process side by side with Hindi and there must be no more pedantry about it.

In the same way a common philosophic and religious vocabulary is needed which will cover the ground of modern psychology, sociology and ethics.

One further pathway of research into the future is needed. For if Hindi literature is to meet the tastes and requirements, not of a coterie only, but of millions of people, it must become simple and terse and lucid, laying aside its archaic and ornate forms. Here, in this Asram, where Bengali has been brought into closest touch with modern life, this process whereby a living language can be made simple is already well known. It is just what Rabindranath has done with literary Bengali. It may thus be possible with such a Hindi scholar as Pandit Hazari Prasad Dwivedi in our midst, to cultivate a pure literary style, which shall bring it near to the common people in the villages, as well as to the cultured circles in the towns.

But if we are to carry out this programme we shall clearly need, not only a building of bricks and mortar, but also some generous donor or donors who shall come forward a endow a Chair of Hindi Literature, so that t work begun here may be adequately continu in the future.

More than three centuries ago in Cambrid University one such noble giver endowed Chair of Arabic at a time when that langua was little known in Great Britain. This Ch was filled, during the time that I was Cambridge, by one of the most brillia Oriental scholars,—a true lover of the East, Edward Granville Browne. Another donor, a later period, founded the Boden Sansk Professorship at Oxford. Only a short ti ago, a new Chair, called the Spalding Chair Eastern Philosophy and Ethics, was establishe which Prof. Radhakrishnan is holding tod with much distinction. May there not be so generous-hearted giver, in this country, who c realise the necessity for a Chair of Hi Literature at Santiniketan? It would indeed worthy of a great occasion, such as this, if t donation of a Chair of Hindi could be added the gift of the Hindi Bhavan itself.

Let us for a moment visualise the futu when our building is complete. We shall ha a Library and a Hall, where MSS and boo will be kept, which go back to earliest tim Pictures by worthy artists will adorn the wa showing the traditional portraits of the Bhak saints and others who in days gone by set t standard of Hindi literature. There will a lodging for the Acharya and his staff, and set of rooms where a guest may be receiv On special occasions there will be a festival honour of Mirabai, or Kabir, or Tulsi Das, wh friends from different parts of India will atte All this would help to carry forward the Vis Bharati ideal. Next door will be the "Chee Bhavan" with its research into Buddh culture; and not far away will be those who s studying Arabic, Persian and Urdu literatu The inter-relation of these and other studies bound to be fruitful.

Now let us classify some of the uses which the Hindi Bhavan will be put:—

(1) There will be research into the p history of Hindi language and literature.

(2) There will be the publication of Hindi journal, summing up from time to ti the fruits of our studies.

(3) There will be a close contact w other workers in the wide field of Hi literature which ranges from Rajputana Bihar.

(4) There will be writings which seek place before the Hindi-speaking public,

modern speach, the spiritual wealth of ancient India.

(5) There will be a serious attempt to remove all barriers between the Urdu and Hindi languages, and to emphasise the common element in each.

(6) There will be made available in Hindi the chief works of Rabindranath Tagore, and Hindi comments will be written upon them.

These are only some of the uses to which the Hindi Bhavan may be rightly put. Other speakers, who follow me, will enlarge upon them.

There are those who have helped us, most of all, as we have struggled on to reach our present position; and I would wish to mention their names before I come to others who have done much to obtain the building fund. Foremost among our earliest supporters are our own Gurudeva and Mahatmaji, who have inspired us by their sympathy and encouraged us to go forward. Next to them are our good friends in different provinces, who have found support for our Hindi teaching work. Rajendra Prasad at Patna, Shiv Prasad Gupta at Benares, Purushottamdas Tandon at Allahabad, and Jamnalal Bajaj at Wardha, have all helped us in various ways. Along with them I would mention our own Hindi teachers themselves—Bhudeo Sharma Vidyalankar, Jagannath Prasad (whose literary name is 'Milind') and Durga Prasad Pande. Last of all, we have been most fortunate in having with us our dear friends, Dwivediji and Bhagwati Prasad Chandola. Words cannot express what we owe to them for all their labours.

My last pleasant duty is to record the names of those who have been instrumental in getting for us the sum which this building required. Bhagirath Kanodia is one of those silent workers whose help in this matter has been always at our disposal whenever we required it. He is one of those whose left hand never knows what his right hand does, so unobtrusive is he in his charity in a good cause like our own. Then I would mention Sitaram Sakseria, whose daughter Panna visited our Asram and by her enthusiasm enlisted her father's aid in this service. Prabhudayal Himmatsingka deserves our thanks also for obtaining, along with other friends, the grant from the Halvasia Trust. Ramdev Chokhany, who has helped our Asram in many matters, has been of great service to us in this matter. Pundit Rup Narayan Pande and Dhanya Kumar Jain should also be mentioned, who have translated the works of our Poet and thus popularised him in Hindi. Srijut Sripat Roy, the son of the late Prem Chand, the great Hindi novelist, has presented us with a copy of all his future works.

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, who has been unfortunately prevented by illness from being present with us, has been one of our strongest supporters throughout. Though I am disobeying his strict injunction, that I should not mention his name, it would have been quite impossible to omit it, because his persistent and devoted energy has been the driving force which has carried things through to this happy conclusion. While I was lying ill at Simla, a letter from him which told me the good news about the Hindi Bhavan cheered me more than I can possibly say. His friend and colleague, the late Brij Mohan Varma, helped us right up to the time of his death by his self-sacrificing service.

To all those connected with the Halvasia Trust we would tender our most grateful thanks and it is our sincere wish that the fund which has thus been so liberally placed at our disposal may lead to fruitful results.

While I feel entirely unworthy to be called upon to lay this foundation stone, I realise that your wish that I should do so is a mark of your affection and I would offer my affection in return. If our Gurudeva's health had been such as to enable him to perform such a duty, the place I now occupy would then have been filled by him. But it is a joy to me to be able to relieve him even of the slightest burden. We have already received his blessing in what we are undertaking, and we would offer him our reverence and affection in return.

With these words I would ask you to join with me by your presence while I lay this foundation stone.

Santiniketan,
January 16, 1938.

DEFINITION OF BENGAL*

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D.,
Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University

In connection with the projected History of Bengal to be published by the University of Dacca, the first problem that necessarily arises is the demarcation of the territory which should form its subject-matter. The problem does not admit of an easy solution, but has to be faced and solved, if necessary, even arbitrarily, before we can proceed with our task. For the different writers collaborating in this work must have a very definite idea of the country whose history they are going to relate.

Popular notions on the subject are sometimes wildly extravagant. An extreme instance is furnished by the famous song of the late Mr. D. L. Roy in which even the birthplace of Buddha has been claimed to be a part of Bengal. Views like this need not be seriously considered.

Unfortunately, previous writers who dealt with the history of Bengal, do not appear to have made any serious attempt to tackle the problem. The author of Gauḍarâjamâlâ, the first critical history of Bengal, did not discuss the question in all its bearings, but simply referred to Râḍha, Puṇḍra (Varendra) and Vaṅga as the constituent parts of Bengal (*p.1*). His treatment of the subject shows that he regarded Gauḍa or Vaṅgadesa as roughly equivalent to the modern political province of Bengal.

Mr. R. D. Banerji in his *Bânglâr Itihâs* did not discuss the connotation of Bengal, but attached almost equal importance to Magadha and Bengal in his detailed treatment.

Rai Bahadur Dines Chandra Sen, the author of the latest book on the history of Bengal, has, after referring to the varying boundaries of the Kingdom of Bengal in different historical periods, accepted the physical features as the chief guide in settling the question. He regards as Bengal the country bounded by the Himalayas on the North, the sea on the South, the hills of Arakan on t East and the plateau of Chota Nagpur on t West. He omits to specify the eastern, t north-eastern, north-western, and south-wester limits of the country, but evidently includ Assam Valley and Midnapore in Bengal.

If we look upon the question from abstract point of view, the boundaries of Beng like those of any other province, can only determined on the basis of historical, linguis or geographical considerations. Let us discu them one by one.

1. To an ordinary man the simplest defi tion of Bengal would be the modern politic province of the name. But the difficulty of su a course is obvious. Within the prese century three separate territorial units we denoted by Bengal, one up to 1905, a secon between 1905 and 1912, and a third since 191 During previous centuries, both in British a Muhammadan periods, political boundaries Bengal varied at different times.

Such a course is open to objection fro another point of view. If modern politic boundaries are regarded as the basis, how a we to write the history of such importa countries as Andhra, Karnataka and Mah rashtra?

If we go to ancient history, the difficul remains equally great. A small part of Beng was called in ancient times Vaṅga. There no doubt that this name was afterwards appli to a much bigger country. Similarly Gau originally the name of a part of Bengal, at o time signified a larger part of the Province a is now used as a synonym of Bengal. To ma matters worse it now appears that there we two small territorial units in Bengal call Vaṅga and Vâṅgâlâ and the present name Vâṅglâ (Bengal) might have been derived fro either of them. We are thus equally ignora about the origin as well as the gradual extensi of the name which was ultimately applied t the whole province. It is certain, however, th the name Vaṅga was not applied to the Provin as a whole even down to the last days of Hin rule. It may also be asserted with some degr of confidence that no general name for Bengal was in use during the Hindu period. Even Gauḍa, which probably stood at one time for the largest part of Bengal, was distinguished from Vaṅga, and certainly never included Sylhet, Chittagong, Comilla and other neighbouring tracts which few would be disposed to exclude from our Province. On the other hand the Sarnath Inscription of Kumâradevî implies that Aṅga or Bhagalpur was regarded as part of Gauḍa in the eleventh century A.D. It would thus appear that no definition of Bengal that would be regarded at all satisfactory is possible on historical grounds.

---

* As the Editor of the First Volume of the projected History of Bengal, I raise here an important question in the hope that others would take it up and a general discussion would lead to an agreed solution.

—R. C. M.

It is needless to add that the history of Bengal cannot mean the history of Vaṅga (assuming that this was the origin of the modern name) any more than the history of Râḍha or Suhma, and Gauḍa or Puṇḍra. To trace the rise of Vaṅga and the gradual extension of the name to the whole Province would automatically leave out of account a considerable part of our Province, at least during the Hindu period.

2. Failing historical basis, we may turn to geography for the definition of Bengal. So far as the northern and southern boundaries are concerned, there is no difficulty. But what about the Western? The Ganges would form a natural boundary but it would exclude the whole of Burdwan Division. Any other boundary further west will be somewhat arbitrary. There is nothing to choose between the Dâmodar, the Rupnârâyan, the Suvarṇarekhâ and the Vaitaranî, and, north of the Ganges, between the Mahânandâ and the Kosi. On what definite grounds should we include Midnapore and Maldah in Bengal, but not Balasore and Purnea?

3. The only possible answer is linguistic. We do not include Balasore and Purnea in Bengal as the people of these provinces have Oriya and Hindusthani as their vernacular, whereas the people of Maldah and Midnapore speak Bengali.

It would thus appear that consciously or unconsciously we are more or less guided by linguistic considerations in fixing the boundary of Bengal. Of course the idea has not been rigidly followed in fixing the boundaries of the modern province of Bengal. For, even leaving controversial issues, it is obvious, that on linguistic considerations, a large part of Darjeeling district should have been excluded from Bengal while Sylhet and a part of Bihar should have been included in it. It is, however, noteworthy that Bengal has never been reconciled to the separation of these Bengali-speaking tracts and there is a persistent agitation for reconsideration of the boundaries of Bengal.

There seems to be no doubt whatever that linguistic consideration appeals to us, Bengalis, as the most reasonable basis for the demarcation of Bengal as a territorial unit.

Of the three bases stated above, *viz.*, historical, geographical and linguistic, the first lacks in stability and the second in precision, and both are unworkable in the case of Bengal. So, by the process of exclusion also, we have to fall back upon the linguistic basis for defining the boundaries of Bengal. It gives us a definite basis, easily intelligible and possessing both precision and stability. But if the linguistic basis has certain advantages, it has also its disadvantages, specially when we have to deal with the history of ancient times. For we have no definite knowledge of the area which had a common vernacular (the Bengali, Proto-Bengali, or the Prakrit or Apabhramsa from which the Proto-Bengali was derived) during the successive periods of history. There is also a great possibility that such areas varied in different ages. It is very doubtful, for example, if the whole of the tract where Bengali is spoken today, possessed a common vernacular throughout the Hindu period. So, although we start with community of language as our basis, we may in fact include in our historical review of the Hindu period territories where there was no such common language. On the contrary we may exclude certain areas which did possess a common language in old times but no longer does so.

But even while admitting this anomaly, it is difficult to formulate any satisfactory principle for defining the boundaries of Bengal except on the basis of language as it prevails today. It is somewhat arbitrary no doubt, but more satisfactory than any other scheme or principle that can be thought of.

By a practical application of this principle Bengal for the purposes of our history should include not only the whole of the modern province of that name, minus some hill tracts at the foot of the Himalayas in the north, but also a few additional territories both on the east as well as on the west. In the east, the majority of the people in the Goalpara and Cachar districts and more than 92 per cent of the people in Sylhet speak Bengali. As regards Bihar, "81 per cent of the inhabitants of the Sadar subdivision of Manbhum speak Bengali".

In the subdivisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara and Pakaur, the proportions are 36, 30 and 25 per cent respectively. So, the whole of Manbhum, and the eastern fringe of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas in the west, and Goalpara, Sylhet and Cachar in the east should be included in Bengal.

There is some element of doubt about the two feudatory states, Saraikela and Kharsawan in the Chota Nagpur plateau. The following table gives the number of people per 10,000 speaking the different principal languages :

Bengali	2,431
Ho	1,844
Oriya	2,744
Santali	1,649
Hindustani	548

Here no language is spoken by a majority of the people and Bengali-speaking population forms nearly one-fourth of the total. Though Oriya is the language of the largest number, Bengali comes a good second. The States border on Manbhum and Singbhum and touch a fringe of Mayurbhanj. There are, therefore, almost as good grounds for including them in Bengal as in Orissa.

In conclusion it should be remembered that according to the latest Census Report fr which the figures quoted above have been tak Bihar and Orissa contain nearly two milli of people whose mother-tongue is Bengali; a these are mainly centred in the border-distri of Purnea, the Santal Parganas, Manbhu Singbhum and Balasore, and the feudat States of Mayurbhanj, Saraikela and Kh sawan. Although they may not be included a technical sense, in the history of Bengal, th cannot be altogether ignored when the m currents of the history of Bengal touch up these fringes. Old history and tradition al associate them more closely with Ga (Bengal) rather than with Magadha (Bih or Kaliṅga, the only two neighbouring provin that have left any abiding impression on ancient history of India. While, therefore, 'History of Bengal' must necessarily restr itself to the modern province together w Manbhum, Sylhet, Tippera, and the east border of Singhbhum and Santal Parganas, cannot be reasonably objected if occasionally widens its horizon so as to include the distri in Bihar and Orissa, named above, which to upon the borders of Bengal.

The Captive : By Kiranmay Dhar

Pipe of Peace : By Kiranmay Dhar

THE CHINESE PEOPLE ARM THEMSELVES

By AGNES SMEDLEY

The Japanese imperialist army, equipped with all the mechanized forces of mass slaughter, has been proudly rolling forward over North China, mowing down the Chinese armies as a threshing machine mows down wheat. Not only have they moved steadily southward over Hopei Province, slaughtering the Chinese armies, but the masses of the Chinese people have stood helplessly, their arms hanging by their side, and watched them roll. It was the same along the whole north-western front also until the latter part of September.

The tide began to be turned, at least to some extent, when the famous Eighth Route Army—formerly the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army—reached the battle front of North Shansi Province. In the famous battle at Pinghsiangkwan, a strategic pass on the Great Wall commanding one of the routes southward to the city of Taiyuanfu, the Shansi capital, the Eighth Route Army dealt the Japanese the first staggering blow they had received from any Chinese army of the north and north-west. In a series of swift flanking movements, the Eighth Route smashed the Japanese at Pinghsiangkwan, killing from two to three thousand of them.

With this battle as a lever, and with their whole sincerity of purpose, a representative of the Eighth Route Army and an official representative of the Chinese Communist Party, talked with General Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of Shansi Province and commander-in-chief of the north-western armies. These Communist representatives, one military and one civilian, argued that the salvation of China from subjection is the business of the entire Chinese people, and if the people are not mobilized and armed, China cannot be victorious. The Chinese armies, however vast, have not the equipment to match the huge war machine of the Japanese. The entire people and the national resources of China must be mobilized, they argued.

At that time the Central Government at Nanking did not permit the mobilization and arming of the people. But General Yen agreed to some extent with the Eighth Route Army and Communist Party representative, and gave them the right to mobilize and arm all the people near the battle front. This territory was largely controlled by the Japanese, so it was not a concession of much value. But the Eighth Route Army took the offer gladly. They were already in the rear of one of the main Japanese positions (Sinkow and Yuanping), while the other main Japanese line was along the Peiping-Suiyuan railway to the north. Between these two battle lines of the enemy the Eighth Route Army had penetrated and had begun guerilla warfare on a huge scale, their forces split up into small units and operating from the western border of Shansi right to the east and over into Hopei Province to the Pinghan railway, then southward and all around the Sinkow-Yuanping positions and, a little later, right up into Chahar Province. They later knocked at the walls of Tatung, but that is a campaign to be waged at a later date.

It was in late October that I, the writer of this article, talked with the body of men known as the General Mobilization Committee for the Front, in Taiyuanfu, the capital. At that time, this Committee, was in charge of the general work of mobilizing and arming the people, in thirty *hsien,* or districts, of northern Shansi. These *hsien* extend in a zig-zag line across northern Shansi, even a little below Taiyuanfu, but not taking in Taiyuanfu *hsien* itself. The Committee had also just extended its work to Suiyuan and Chahar Provinces, and to every region in Shansi occupied or threatened by the Japanese. The Mass Mobilization Committee consists of twenty-nine men, as follows : 4 from the Eighth Route Army, 5 from Shansi Province, 5 from Suiyuan, and 5 from Chahar Provinces. Apart from this, each Army fighting in the north or north-west has one representative.

The Committee is divided into six committees at present : Organization, Propaganda, Organizing and Arming the people, the Department to Eliminate Traitors, the Department for the Distribution of Work, and the General Department. With two Chinese newspaper men, I talked with four members of the General Mobilization Committee about their work. They spoke as follows :

> "Our duty is to carry out our anti-Japanese policy, and our chief work is the mobilizing and arming of the men into partisan groups for partisan warfare. In places

under Japanese occupation, we still continue work, but the methods of work differ, of course, from those places controlled by the Chinese armies. In occupied regions the work is very difficult, and our plan cannot be fully realized. In those regions we devote ourselves entirely to training men for partisan warfare, while in other regions our work is much broader in nature. In regions still controlled by our own armies, we can quite openly carry on propaganda by a variety of methods, but we can openly train men for partisan warfare. We also train first-aid workers for the battlefield, and we ruthlessly hunt down traitors. We have a training school for partisans here in Taiyuanfu, and we have just sent two hundred men to the rear of the enemy. We shall soon send another group of two hundred, now under training. Apart from this, we have workers everywhere in the thirty hsier lecturing and organizing and arming and training the people. Our work just began twenty days ago, so we do not have so much to report just now. As soon as the Central Government in Nanking gives us the right, we shall extend our work to all Shansi and to every other place where we may legally operate.

"Here in Taiyuan, we gave but one week's training to men in partisan tactics. That is enough here, though in other places the training is generally two weeks. Political training is also given the partisans at the same time as they receive military training. Our volunteers here in Taiyuanfu were chiefly students, and soldiers from the regular armies. In other regions, the mass of our partisan volunteers are peasants. In regions controlled by the Eighth Route Army, there are more partisans than elsewhere, and the work goes with great rapidity. In the one hsien of Wutai, in the rear of the enemy our workers all come from the Eighth Route Army. In Wutai-hsien we have already trained and armed 1,500 partisans. We also have organized village Self Defence Associations, of men whose business it is to defend their villages with arms. In Wutai-hsien alone there are 800 already organized. They are nearly all peasants and many of them are older, or younger men, whereas the partisans are actual fighters against the Japanese at the front. The whole people are organized and trained to gather news about the enemy and to transmit it to our armies. The partisans do the same work, also, as well as creating disorder in the rear of the enemy, cutting their communications, and attacking their transport units. The regular armies, of course, do the heavy front fighting, whereas the partisans harass the rear of the enemy and their transport forces.

"The hunting down of traitors is an important work of our organization, and we do constant work amongst the people to this end. We find that traitors are chiefly of two kinds—the richest men and the poorest men. The richest work for money and power, and are without principles or national consciousness, the poorest, many of them the local ruffians—work for money. Sometimes the poorest men get one dollar a day from the Japanese to give reports. Many of the rich traitors have Japanese wives also. The traitors supply the Japanese with information of our armies and plans, and they give Japanese airplane signals by which they can locate positions to be bombed.

"Our propaganda committee has sent men to all the thirty hsien, in small groups, to do propaganda. They lecture, give lessons in political knowledge to the people, collect funds, organize the people to transport and help the wounded. In this department is a section to help the refugees from the war zones. Where the wounded pass, this committee sends people to help them, to give them water and food, and to change their bandages. This committee also helps the wounded and the other soldiers by writing letters for them. Most of our people are unfortunately still illiterate, and this is an important service. Many refugees themselves have entered our work, and devote their entire time to it. They are very glad to do this. They receive their food and lodging, but beyond this nothing."

Later on, the two Chinese newspaper men and I went to Wutai-hsien, a district in the mountains between the two lines of the Japanese. Here the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army was for a time located. In one town through which we passed, we were put up for the night by the Mass Mobilization Committee. They were young, cheerful and even enthusiastic men from the Eighth Route Army whose special work was the organizing and training and arming of partisans. They verified what the general committee of their organization had told us in Taiyuanfu. They had about 1,500 organized partisans under training so far. But, unfortunately, they have only about 50 per cent enough arms. In groups of 100 men, there were 50 rifles only, all of them given by General Yen Hsi-shan, though some were captured from the Japanese. From this village alone, two groups of partisans had been sent to harass the rear of the enemy. The men without rifles all carried hand-grenades, but they did not have sufficient hand-grenades. So each man carried only five or six. The main problem is arms. The men are willing enough to be armed and only too willing to fight. But the problem of guns is an urgent one.

From this town, which had been repeatedly bombed by the Japanese, we went into the Wutai mountains, to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army. There we found the partisans have their own big headquarters where they receive political military training. We watched the training of about a hundred new volunteers, and talked with the local Mobilization Committee. This local committee consisted of seven men, all of them from the local population, and all except one peasants. The oldest member was 73 years of age. He was a tall, handsome and even picturesque old peasant who proudly led us into the fields where new volunteers were being trained. He proudly introduced us to them. A man from the Eighth Route Army was patiently training a group of volunteers, helped by a local civilian. We took pictures of them, and some of them stood very straight and stern. One little fellow was only thirteen, and he was so conscious of it that he was especially severe in his bearing. Then up stepped an old man sixty-five years of age and asked that he be photographed. He was a member of the village Self-Defence Corps, and this Corps had just made their own *khaki* uniforms. Was the old man proud! Around him stood the young men in the gray uniforms of the partisans, proud of their village.

We took photographs of the partisans as they trained in the late afternoon each day. Here we saw these tall, strong, north Chinese farmers who so reminded me of American farmers at times. Some of them were long and lanky, with moustaches, and with long necks such as so many poor farmers of America are pictured. There was something about their lanky frames and their protruding Adam's apples that was typical of farmers of the poorest class everywhere. They are also very tall in North China. Some of the younger men were stocky and as strong as bulls and it was certain that all of them would give the Japanese more than one bellyful of shot and shell. Straight from their ploughing or their hoeing, they know the meaning of hard labor and almost super-human endurance. They trained with the most intense seriousness and patience. One evening we watched a unit of about a hundred under training. Half of them carried rifles and had already received considerable training. The other half were new Volunteers who had just come in that day. The new Volunteers could not keep step, even with the constant shouting. It was interesting to watch the ambling gait of the peasant, with his heavily clad feet. But before the week would pass he would be able to lift his feet rapidly, and perhaps before a year is passed he will be in the regular Eighth Route Army. For some of the partisans go over into the Army—that is, their units are transformed into regular military units. But up to now they are not. They remain farmers and fighters.

The old man, 73 years of age, who was a member of the Mobilization Committee was a remarkable old fellow. He was very eager and proud and he talked as we walked along. He was the treasurer of the local Committee. He collected and disbursed funds. He could read and write a little. He owed seven mou of land—about $1\frac{1}{6}$ acre, so he was a poor peasant. He did recruiting of volunteers, he said. He would go to the homes of the people and tell them what the Japanese have done in every place they have occupied—how they have killed the people, looted and raped. If the Japanese come, the people cannot live at all, but will be homeless slaves, he argued. No, he said, he met no opposition at all from the families with sons. The women are still backward, but they also raise no objection, but urge their sons to go. How proud the old man was. Then he added: "My own son is a partisan. He is thirty-five years of age and he is already fighting the enemy. I would like to call him back and send him to protect you, because you are a foreign friend of ours. It is a great honour!"

In the last few days of October and in early November, the general headquarters of the Eighth Route Army marched from north Shansi down to eastern Shansi to the eastern front. I went with them. We passed through villages where the Mobilization Committee had its representatives. In one town there were hundreds of Eighth Route Army wounded, all being nursed by the local population. There was but one trained nurse to care for the hundreds. The people had brought their own and often only quilted quilts to cover the wounded. They were proud and eager to help. Everywhere we saw the slogans put up by local partisan organizations on walls and trees: "Every good man into the partisans!" Or, "Every good man get ready for the front!"

One night in a village, at about nine o'clock, we heard a big tin pan being beaten in the streets. It halted at the gate of our courtyard and the voice of a man shouted twice: "All partisans come out to the grove!" Two rooms in our courtyard were thrown open a second later and two peasant men of the household, carrying rifles, went silently out of the gate.

When we crossed the Chentai railway line, and marched to the south of it, we entered a region in which the Eighth Route Army has just come. This is a region in which the Mobilization Committee has only now received the right to mobilize and arm the people. We spent the night in villages where there were no partisans at all and where the people had never heard of the Eighth Route Army. The women had all fled! If we remained for two nights even—which was often the case—the people came streaming back. The women and girls, with children, would come. I talked with some men and women who had fled from their villages when they heard an army was coming. They had fled 100 li away—over 30 miles. Then they heard that the Eighth Route Army had come, and that it was a revolutionary army of the people, who protected and organized the people. They picked up their pitiful bundles and their padded quilts and came home. They sent delegations to the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army and asked them to leave men behind to protect and tell them what to do. In all these villages south of the Chentai railway the Army headquarters left behind two armed men whose business it was to organize local Mobilization Committees, organize and arm the people. Small bands of roaming defeated troops who rob and rape are to be talked to and argued with and re-educated if possible. If not, to be imprisoned. And if they do not learn sincerely, to be shot. In some villages, the people ran to the Eighth Route headquarters to tell of such men, and to ask for their arrest. The Headquarters sent armed men and arrested the looters. One night one such arrested man, an officer from Szechuen troops, was housed in a room in a courtyard right across from mine. He had thrown away his military uniform, and robbed clothing of the common people. But, stupidly enough, he had kept his army papers.

Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army, is very enthusiastic. When he speaks of the "lao pei shin"—that is, the common people—his voice softens and his face becomes tender. "The lao pei shin—ah, what people!" he says softly, turning his head away. Then, with gleaming eyes, he said to us: "We have already organized 5,000 men into the partisans in North Shansi alone. Give us one more month, and we will have from 20,000 to 30,000 partisans in that region. Give us another month here on the eastern front, and the Japanese will be destroyed."

Arms! Arms!! Arms!!! Arms for the people! Arms for the *lao pei shin!*

The Eighth Route Army bases its strength on the strength of the people. We move for hundreds of miles, right within two or three miles of the enemy lines, and the people never betray us! They come streaming home, come to their protectors, and come saying: "Leave men to tell us what to do!" The Eighth Route Army is telling them. As Chu Teh said, calmly and smilingly, "even if the Japanese occupy Taiyuan or other big cities, it will not matter. We will destroy them. We will organize and arm the people and every man, woman and child, will destroy them."

Days of Warfare

From My Diary

November 3, 1937.—The battle of yesterday has ended with the Chinese troops retreating from their positions at Yangchuen and retreating to Chang Chin Chen further west on the Chentai railway. The chief concentration of the Japanese is now at Pintingchow, about halfway from Niangshihkwan to Tiyuanfu.

I talked with Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Eighth Route Army. He was perfectly cheerful, perfectly calm. The defeat of the Chinese troops (not the Eighth Route) yesterday did not mean much, he said. "If the Japanese want to march on toward Taiyuanfu let them," he said. "It does not matter. This should be the tactics of the Kuomintang, instead of their present positional warfare. If they do this, and adopt the tactics of the Eighth Route Army, the Japanese can be defeated. We will then cut off their rear, destroy all their communications, split them up in small groups and destroy them. The enemy advanced today, but the Kuomintang troops need not have retreated. Instead, they must change their tactics. Then it will not matter if the Japanese advance. The Chinese forces are much more than the Japanese, and we can surround them on all sides. The Chinese troops are now concentrated at Showyang."

Day before yesterday we crossed the railway tracks at Showyang. Yesterday, through out the day, six Japanese bombers simply "scraped the skies", so to speak, in search of the newly-arrived Eighth Route Army. They know we have come, but they do not know where. But already two of the units of the Eighth Route have attacked their flanks at Yanchuen, while Liu Peh-chen, commanding another force down on the Shansi-Hopei border has destroyed the Chentai railway for a long distance. It will take the Japanese a long time to repair it, and then it will be cut again either there or in a dozen other places. We have reports that the Japanese troops are very tired. That means little. They are obedient soldiers and they will march on. Now, with the Eighth Route on both sides of the Chentai railway in their rear, they will *have* to march on. They dare not retreat. The Eighth Route Army is at work with its famous flanking and rear attacks.

The Japanese are moving in Shansi province on this eastern front from three different directions now—along the railway, which is now cut and where the Eighth Route is harassing their flanks and rear; from Pintingchow they have sent out four regiments to the south-west and they have sent two full regiments—about 6,000 men—along a road, some 50 li south of the railway on the border, to Yangchuen. So they are driving into the province by the roads also.

At Tungyingtow, a strategic mountain near Yangchuen, Chen Ken, Eighth Route Army commander, commands a force of strong Communist troops, and has just built defences. He has just arrived there. An Eighth Route unit, commanded by Chen Kwen, a Hunan peasant military leader, arrived at the mountain range, Mataling, south of Pinlingchow, day before yesterday and met the four regiments of enemy troops coming from that direction. The battle continued all day yesterday, and the Communist forces killed about 1,000 of the enemy and captured supplies.

Day before yesterday the Eighth Route Army, and also the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, issued separate manifestoes to the Japanese soldiers, calling upon them to cease the robber war they are waging at the commands of their militarists who are enemies of both the Chinese and Japanese people. Chinese fliers from the Central Government, of whom there are a few in this region, eagerly took to the air and dropped the manifestoes over the Japanese lines. But we have only a few airplanes in this region.

Well, the Japanese know at last that the Eighth Route Army is in this region. They felt this army yesterday. They know that the Eighth Route is not only here on the south of the railway line, but that it is on the northern side also, and is closing in on their rear with a pincer movement. They know it by the cutting of the railway in their rear, and they know it because 1,000 of them lay dead after yesterday's battle. They know it because some of the Chinese troops have not retreated, but have met them in merciless warfare and have not retreated. They know it from the two manifestoes.

On the northern front, were the Japanese glad! They were so happy that the Eighth Route Army had left the northern front for the eastern front—so they thought—that they tried to take supplies down to their main concentration point at Sinkow, where Shansi and Central Government troops are holding their main forces, bombarding them each day. The enemy thought they could at last send shells and ammunition through to Sinkow. So they sent down 70 to 80 military trucks, heavily laden with shells and other ammunition, and also supplies. And 200 of their soldiers rode on the trucks, bowling along like gentlemen. A unit of Ho Lung's troops, helped by peasant partisans, fell upon the trucks like a few tons of brick. They stopped six of them with hand-grenades, and destroyed 10 of them in the fighting, and stopped the whole lot by destroying the roads. The 200 Japanese soldiers were all killed. Among them was a company officer and his deputy. The Chinese forces got large quantities of arms and ammunition, including two light machine guns, rifles, pistols, and many other supplies. The Japanese tried advancing along another route. An army partisan route mined the earth and destroyed two enemy trucks on November 2.

The town of Whenyuan, which has changed hands a number of times, has been taken back by the Eighth Route Army once more. That is on the northern front, outside the Great Wall. It was recaptured from the Japanese on November 1st, and a number of enemy soldiers killed.

The Chinese forces still hold the Japanese at Sinkow. There is no change in the Sinkow situation. The enemy hopes to break through the Eighth Route forces now holding the north, and get reinforcements to their troops at Sinkow so they can advance to Taiyuanfu.

We are now at a small village south of the railway, and some 65 li from the place we were yesterday. We were told to be prepared to march at midnight to this place. We prepared. But the manager of our group is so determined to get at the Japanese, it seems, that he awoke us at 10, just three hours after we had gone to bed. I argued that it was not twelve, but he argued that my watch was wrong, and so we got up and prepared. By eleven o'clock we were ready to march. Headquarters had not even arisen! One hour later the bugle call awoke them, and later their breakfast bugle call sounded, and then later still the bugle to prepare to march. It was two o'clock when the bugle call for marching sounded! And the last hour we spent standing amongst the animals and lines of men on a road beyond the village. There was a hell of a noise, as usual, with the braying of donkeys and mules, the neighing and stamping of horses, and the shouts of men, with men cheering up everyone by singing. But when we began to march, silence fell upon us all, and all we could hear was the clank of hoofs on the stony and treacherous and narrow mountain paths. The little hsiao kweys, given to all kinds of laughter and pranks, whispered lest the Japs, some three to four miles away hear them! No one talked. The order came to use no flash lights. We marched by the faint light of the stars. I watched the great dipper over my shoulder to the left, and the polar star below it. Sometimes it was directly to my left, sometimes a bit behind me. As we advanced, our eyes became used to the darkness.

The paths down which we went were so terrible that I dared not ride. So with my two guards on either side of me, I went down and up, down into stony riverbeds through which icy rivers tumbled, then up terrible stony paths again, and down again. And so through the whole night. Dark mountain sides loomed on either side. Now and then there was the quick flash of a flashlight, as suddenly turned off, as the advance searched for the right path. We began to straggle in units after a few hours. Then we watched the roadside for the bits of paper left to guide us. The bits of paper often a figure—30, 20, or 10 or such on them,—telling us how many more li we had to march. There were few or no bridges over the broad, icy rivers, and nearly everyone had wet feet. But they crossed without complaint and marched on and on. When the dawn came, many men were limping and all were weary. But they went on and on and I heard snatches of song. I was able to ride along the good stretches of road, and across the rivers. I at least kept my feet dry. Later we saw that the skin of Li Po's feet is split open down to the raw flesh, all along the soles. The long and hard marching, and the freezing water is the cause of this. But he has not complained. He has walked more slowly at times, and, with a far-away look, has replied to my questions : "It does not matter."

In the darkness I lost track of my horse a number of times. But he found me. Two or three times I heard the low rumble that is a horse's talk of satisfaction, and then his nose nudging me. I felt like throwing my arms around his neck each time. But when the dawn came, and I rode along level roads, I cursed him soundly. For he tried to tear up the earth "running after the women," so to speak. There is in our column a little bay mare, jealously chaperoned by a boy about eighteen years of age. For this lady my Yunnan has conceived an affection. Her reply to his indelicate advances was to lift her hind legs and strike out at him in a way that belied her meek appearance. But she carried a pack and it fell off. For my Yunnan responded to her attack by whirling around and trying to kick the stuffings out of her. It did not matter that I was on his back. Not in the least! And now, that chaperoning guardian of the little mare carries a club just for use against my Yunnan. I have almost fallen to sleep at times, but I was brought back to full consciousness by the glaring eyes and ferocious face of that lad coming toward my pony. Realizing that we are in for another fight, I turn around and seek a more secure position in the column.

There is an old Hindu book which, if I remember correctly, is something like the *Karma Yoga*. It is a book telling of the ways and means of what we may call the "man-woman business." One passage in that book says, it is bad luck for a couple to become amorous at a cross-road. Bad luck, indeed! It is, instead, most dangerous. I thought of this book today. But, as the Victorian poets used to say, alas and alack, my Yunnan has read the *Karma Yoga*.

It was nearing nine in the morning, wh small straggling group of us picked our across a riverbed filled with stones that s one seems to have sharpened to knife-like ed Before us lay the village which was to be headquarters for a day. Then, from the coming up the valley around a mountain, we a long column of slow-moving soldiers. T moved slowly, wearily, as if they had mar all night. We halted and watched and I some pictures. This was the Third Ar moving from a position where the Chinese tr have been defeated, to the west, where they to be reorganized and fight again. They no animals at all with them, but carried their arms and ammunition. As they pas voices amongst them cried out. Once heard : "We have no overcoats ! We have overcoats !" There were a few people in village ahead of us watching from a stone The weary soldiers seemed to be crying complaints to the morning air, and to no on particular. Then their commander gave order, and it was shouted down the line f man to man : "Order to rest ! Order rest !" They marched on. The resting p had not yet come. Then came the strange c again : "We are tired ! We are tired !"

This is one of the best armies of the Cen Government, I am told. They are good fight They carried no packs on their backs, they no overcoats. I wondered how they sleep, they keep warm. But I could not find When they saw a foreign face their cries cea and in astonishment they gazed at me, some of them smiled and halted to have th pictures taken.

We came into a village entirely deserted women and girls, and of at least half of the population. The people heard that troops coming, and ran away. We found two em rooms in the home of what appears to b middle peasant house. Since three doors of mud and stone buildings were locked with Chinese locks and chains, we went into the empty ones and occupied them. Later we fo one peasant man who lives in one of the locked rooms. He told us we could live in two rooms. His wife and daughter, who occ the poor room, have fled with the other wo to the mountains. He is a poor peasant, as the other families that live in the other roo The men returned and talked curiously with We tried to get them to bring their women ba but they are afraid of armies. It will t another day or two for the Political Departm of headquarters to convince them that the Eighth Route Army is not an ordinary army, and that it is the protector of the people. The women will be returning in another day or two, just as they have at other places. And here we will leave men to organize and arm the people into partisans, just as we have in other places. We left two armed men in the village where we spent the two nights before this. This was the request of the people, who sent a delegation to our Military Headquarters.

We leave here tomorrow morning for a new position.

I wonder at the Chinese people. Our only food is millet or rice, and one vegetable. Today we had rice and turnips. Sometimes it is squash, or potatoes. And on this we live. There is no fat, no sugar, and for days no meat at all. I have a little money left which I borrowed from a friend to prepare for this march. So I am able to buy an occasional chicken. My whole group of six eat it. This gives us a little protein and a tiny bit of fat. The guards' shoes are nearly worn out and they have no others. Nor can we buy anything. There is absolutely nothing to buy. This region seems very, very poor. They have millet, kaoliang and squash, and a few potatoes about as large as walnuts. Even the chickens are very few and very thin. We bought one today but it had no fat at all. We bought a squash from the poor peasant. But there are many armies in this region, and I wonder what the people will live on during the winter. We buy everything we take, but much of our rice is transported on donkeys and mules with us. It is many days' march over terrible roads to Taiyuanfu, and the problem of feeding and clothing an army during the winter months, in this region, is almost unbelievably difficult. There are no motor roads—and no motor trucks. It is almost impossible to find any man in these villages who has enough money to change one Chinese dollar. We could not change a dollar to buy one chicken, but had to buy another chicken this afternoon, a squash, and some corn for my horse and mule. For I am using the little money I have left to keep my horse and mule in good condition. If either dies, I do not know what I shall do. For our future marching is very hard. I shall have to walk much of the time also. Today my two companions and I stripped our luggage down to the barest essentials. We each have the one suit we wear, our winter coats, an extra pair of socks or so, and we are rich in having one extra pair of shoes which we bought in Sian. My luggage consists almost entirely of my typewriter, my typewriting paper, carbon paper, my camera, films, and typing ribbons. I even had to give up my first-aid medicines. My camp bed I give to the peasant here. The camp bed was a great thing for me. I could sleep alone, and it freed me from the almost certainty of getting lice. For the k'angs of the poor peasants often have lice in them. And now I know I shall get lice. This morning, when we arrived here, I watched some of our armed forces sitting in doorways, stripped to the waist, picking lice out of their coats. They already have them. Yet up to now they have been clean of them. Lice in north China in winter means typhus. Lice in wartime is always a typhus danger. And I fear we face this very serious danger. For northern Chinese typhus does not generally mean death. They are practically immune to it. But our army is mostly of southern men, and I fear they are in the same danger as foreigners from typhus—and that means death in 99 per cent of the cases. We cannot afford anti-typhus vaccine. It costs $9.00 for one injection series. I have not received injections either. I tried it a year ago and nearly died of heart failure. But still I cannot take my camp bed. From now on I have one donkey, and my little mule, to carry everything for my party of six. My luggage is the heaviest. It is typewriting and camera supplies. In these regions we cannot buy any kind of paper whatever. Whatever we intend to use we must carry with us.

Later: Today the two other peasants in the locked rooms returned. One was a very poor man. He came into our room and asked politely and humbly for something. We could not understand his dialect at all. Not one of us could understand. Finally he dared point at something and we saw it was an old rope hanging on an inside door. He wanted his rope but he had been afraid to come and take it, or ask for it and point. For our guards are armed men! And he has his experience with armed men! How terrible it is. We laughed and gave him his rope. On his head was a bloody cut, as if he had fallen. I disinfected it with iodine and then he said he would of course pay. He made a gesture of payment and we assured him that we did not want payment. He watched us with suspicion—this strange, strange army that gave back a man's rope or treated his injury free. Ten minutes later he came back and asked us to treat his injured foot. It was useless. His foot is worn to the flesh through a hole in his old cloth shoes. He needs a new pair of shoes. And we have none even for ourselves. One of my guards took him to our doctor who bound up his foot and told him to put a patch over his old ragged shoe.

The peasant men have returned—but not yet the women and girls! What problems China has! It seems that all the problems of thousands of years rest upon the shoulders of the people. I even think that these problems rest on the shoulders of the Communists! For what other force in all China comes from the heart of the masses, burdened with the full consciousness of the problems of the masses, and conscious of China's historic struggle and the possibilities of a new world struggling with such anguish for birth? What other army in all China really and truly protects the masses of the people? What other army in all China demands the reduction of taxes, the end of usury, the redivision of the land, and general improvement of the livelihood of the people, the democratisation of the entire country? What other force in this vast land, but the Communists and their army, truly and deeply trust the people, trust them so deeply that they would organize and give them arms? The Chinese armies are fighting for the first and most essential of all necessities—national liberation. But that is only the beginning, and even the requisites for the victory of the Chinese ar is not yet fulfilled—that is, the adoptio such democratic, social, economic and poli measures that the masses of the people re feel that they have something to fight for, so thing to die for if necessary but, above something to live for. Again and again as go through the country, I am deeply, irre ably convinced that the principles embodie the heart of the Eighth Route Army are the principles that will guide and save China, will give the greatest of impulses to the lib tion of all subjected Asiatic nations, and b to life a new human society. This convic in my own mind and heart gives me the grea peace in myself that I have ever know suffer from an injury that exhausts me. T seems little chance of it being cured until present manner of existence, with cons marching. It does not matter so very m that injury of mine. My injury is less that of the ordinary Chinese about me. is my solace. If they can fight on, so can my own way.

THE PLUNGE

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

Friends, let us sail
Beyond the vale
Of shadows, for the shoreless deep
Whence wing love's melodies that never sleep
Calling the soul
To the far goal.
Hark to their pledge : "Who breaks his gyves,
Arrives".

Refrain :
O Pilgrim heart !
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams :
Away from moorings plunge to the dream of
dreams !

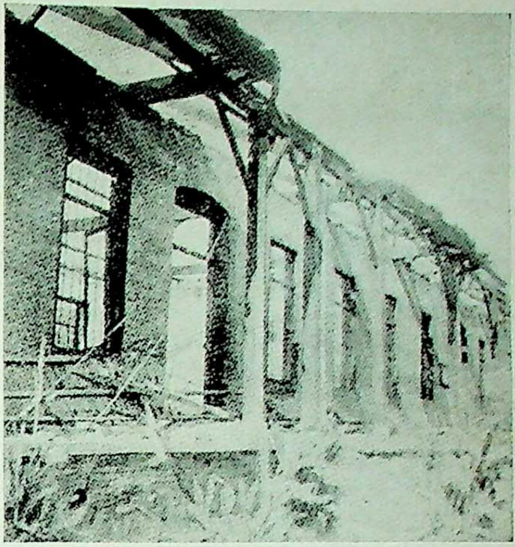
In the hurtling rapids of desire
The masque of foam and dance of fire
Dazzle : mind floats
Alas, on phantom-boats,
Hailing the songs of brittle waves as His
Starry symphonies.

Refrain :
O Pilgrim heart !
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams :
Away from moorings plunge to the dream
drea

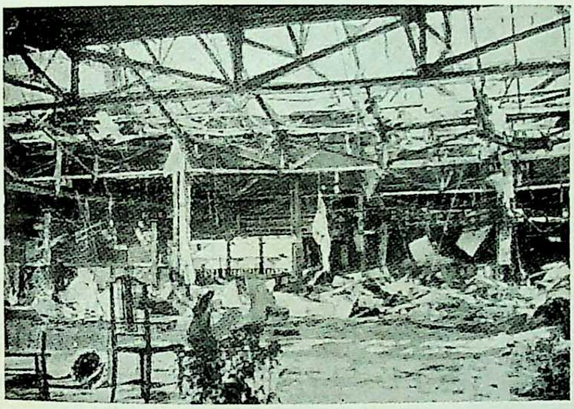
There surge the diapasons of the Far
Which earthly tumults cannot mar :
Slumbering chords of life
Thrilling respond, still rapture-rife :
Hush ! there sings
The King of kings !

Refrain :
O Pilgrim heart !
Wake up and start
For the unhorizoned Vast, to woo
Boons of the blue,
Discarding siren gleams :
Away from moorings plunge to the dream
drea

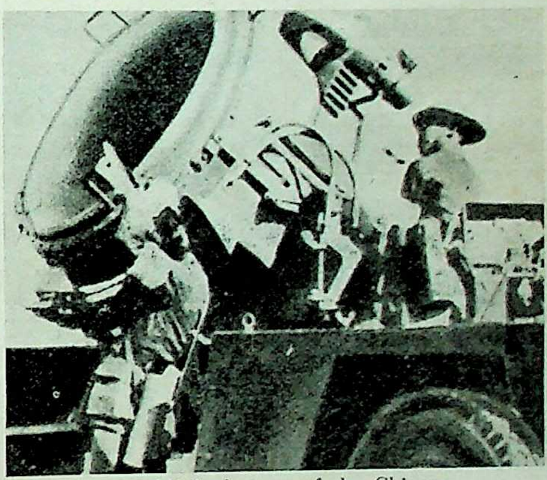
Girls' Dormitory, Nanking University, in ruins



Chemistry Building, Central University, Nanking



Shanghai North Station



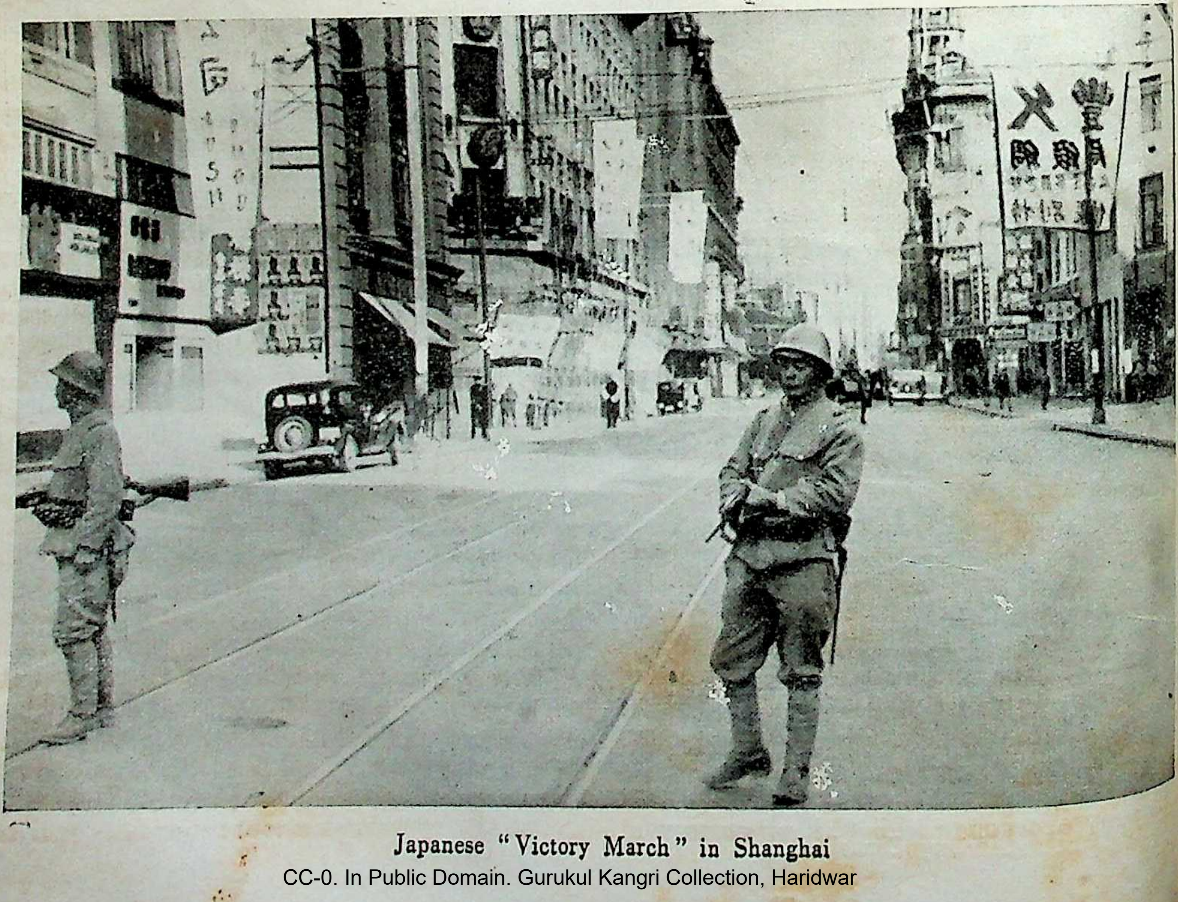
A searchlight battery of the Chinese 19th Route Army

Edgar Snow photo

Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the 8th Route Army in conversation with a member of the National Advisory Council

The Chinese 8th Route Army

The Occupation of Nanking by the Japanese



Japanese "Victory March" in Shanghai

1937 : A RETROSPECT

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

We are now at the beginning of another year and it is perhaps fitting that we should take stock of the position in which we find ourselves and see how far we can anticipate what lies before us in 1938.

During the year that has passed Japan has waged a barbarous, though undeclared, war on China. "Incidents" in which foreign powers were involved, including the shooting of the British Ambassador to China, and the burning and sinking of American and other ships, have occurred with appalling frequency. These incidents have been followed by the usual apologies and, at the time of writing, Japan has apologised no less than *twenty-seven* times.

Italy has left the League of Nations. This makes little difference, in fact as for two years she has taken practically no part in the work of the League. Indeed the manner of her leaving is almost more important than the matter. For in his speech announcing the withdrawal of Italy from Geneva, Signor Mussolini surprised outside observers by his bitterness. They had not realized that the imposition of sanctions, and the non-recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia, meant so much to him. But after all the iron has entered into his soul.

The Berlin-Rome axis has grown into the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. This looks formidable, but is really much less so than would appear. For the Berlin-Rome axis was more an agreement of Dictators than of peoples —and the Germans who have no love for the Italians have just about as little for the Japanese.

Germany clamours for the return of the colonies she lost in the Great War and Italy now backs her in this policy. Signor Mussolini even goes so far as to rope in a cousin of the King of Italy, the Duke of Pistoia, and induces him to sign an article on the subject in his newspaper the *Popolo d'Italia*. But does all this hoodwink Germany? Can she overlook the fact that after the War Italy extended her boundaries (just beyond her northern frontier) to take in some 400,000 German-speaking people whose treatment by their conquerors leaves much to be desired.

In Russia M. Stalin seems to have got rid of practically everyone of his old comrades who were responsible with him for the inauguration of the present Soviet regime. In consequence of the execution of most of the leading Generals in her Army Russia is not in the same strong position as she was to assert herself against Fascist aggression. Still there is little doubt that if it came to a war of *defence*, Russia would be able to give a very good account of herself.

Moreover signs are not lacking that all is not well in the Fascist countries. In Italy and Germany the people are far from being wholeheartedly behind their Dictators. Japan, too, has found it necessary to round up and imprison all those of a socialistic tendency and even Members of Parliament who might be expected to oppose her present policy. The cost of living in Germany, Italy and Japan is rising. Japan has not got from Manchuria the material wealth that she had hoped for. Nor has Italy from Abyssinia. All three countries seem to be heading for bankruptcy. In such circumstances the possibility of the present regime remaining in power for very long in any one country should be unlikely. But bankruptcy of course is no deterrent to war. In fact rather than face defeat at home Dictators are the more likely to risk the adventure of war.

The greatest tragedy and the greatest enigma of 1937 is perhaps Spain. The Civil War drags on and on. Germany and Italy have openly intervened there and yet they have not succeeded in winning the war for General Franco. Why? Why do they not once and for all, as they could, bomb loyalist Spain out of existence? Can it be that they are not yet ready for a show-down with England. Meanwhile they have done harm enough. It is appalling to look at a map of Spain and to see how equally it is divided amongst Government and Rebels. At its present pace, when will the war ever end?

A show-down with England . . . Many people in this country believe that sooner or later there must be a show-down between the Fascist and Democratic countries. The Fascist countries at any rate have no reticences that might hinder such a belief. Italy inflames opinion against us in the Near East and spreads abroad the idea that we are decadent and that it is better to follow the Italian star. In the Far East, Japan says plainly that the real enemy is not China but Great Briatin. (And, knowing that her great neighbour, Russia, is allied to France, throws in for their benefit the slighting opinion that "France today is still France only because of the existence of Great Britain and is making her presence known only by clinging to John Bull's coat-tails.")

And what about Germany? Germany has no need to trail her coat. She is playing a far more dangerous, far more sinister, waiting game. And the luck seems to be all on her side. The Little Entente is dissolving before her eyes. Italy is buying off Jugo-Slavia with trade concessions, thereby robbing Czecho-Slovakia of a market and weakening her economically and politically. Rumania has gone Fascist and although the extreme Fascists, the Iron Guard, are not yet in the saddle, it is plainly the *German* brand of Fascism with its persecution of the Jews and other attendant cruelties. And there is the possibility that Italy may collapse. If she does so, what will become of Austria—and the whole Danube basin? Will it not be a matter of time before it is *Deutschland uber alles?*

Germany indeed, to such English eyes as are unclouded by prejudice, is the greatest tragedy of present-day Europe. A few years ago, when Herr Stresemann was in power, and Remarque was writing his *All Quiet on the Western Front*, we could, if we had had the courage, have met Germany half-way and sought in amity a solution of the problems which are now grown so great that they threaten to engulf us all in war. But France was still frightened, and stifling Europe with her alliances, and screeching her everlasting parrot cry of "*Securite, Securite, Securite!*" And we listened to France. But it was our own fault that France was so cautious. If at the end of the Great War we had agreed, as we nearly did, to join with America in guaranteeing French security, France would never have cast her net over Europe—and Herr Hitler's evil genius would never have triumphed. Our fault, our's and America's.

There are people in England now who would yield to Nazi Germany what they would not even consider when Germany was still living under the Weimar Constitution. How explain this mentality? The only explanation seems to be that the only god they worship is the god of force. How can we possibly, knowing that a terror exists in Germany, look on while Czecho-Slovakia, and possibly Austria, is exposed to that terror? How can we give up colonies to a Nazi Germany, know that

> "it is undeniable that the Nazi doctrines make it i possible for the natives in any future German col to be admitted to full German citizenship. No black yellow man can be a Nordic."

As regards the terror in Germany, a wri in this week's *Time and Tide* deserves to studied. She says :

> "Apologists of the Nazi revolution, pretend that 'few excesses' committed in 1933 were quite 'natural' a time of political upheaval, and that they ceased w the new regime had settled down. The fact is that neither were few, nor did they cease when the reg had settled down. The terror in Germany today is bad as it has ever been (readers of *Mein Kampf* c hardly be surprised, for in that book Hitler preaches most sanguinary terrorism in the most open and truc manner). The abominations that went on in the Ger concentration camps are still going on. Political susp are habitually put to the torture, and political offen are executed now as before. The persecution of the J is as bad as ever, and the persecution of the Churc threatens to grow worse."

She adds that although almost all Eur east of the Vosges is under a terror—there is terror in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Italy, Bulgar Rumania, Lithuania and so on—

> "there is something peculiarly shocking in the Ger terror. Russia, after all, has never been withou terror, but Germany has. The German is not inferi the Frenchman or the Englishman in civilization. W happens to Germany happens to *civilization as such*."

Civilization in Germany is in fact, in t words of Ophelia, quite, quite down! H could anyone, outside a madhouse, solem affirm the following :

> "The National Socialist revolution has corrected false view that men are individual beings. There is liberty of the individual. There exists only the lib of peoples, nations, races."

And this is Dr. Dietrich, Reich Press Ch speaking to *university students*. To take aw the taste of this I opened Robert Brid collection, *The Spirit of Man*, and came on t near the end :

> ". . . . . well hast thou fought
> *The better fight, who single hast maintained*
> *Against revolted multitudes the cause*
> *Of truth,* in word mightier than they in arms
> . . . . for this was all they ca
> To stand approv'd in sight of God, though wo
> Judg'd thee perverse."

Who single hast maintained the cause truth . . . though worlds judged thee p verse. Milton's words have come down th centuries. But Dr. Dietrich prefers M *Kampf* to *The Better Fight*.

The people in this country who believe the argument of force rather than in the fo of argument, the great mass of Conservati opinion that is, are reversing their policy now towards Japan just as they would reverse it towards Germany (if France wasn't their conscience). In 1931, when Japan began her adventure in Manchuria, and when it would have been a far easier proposition to check her, Britain held aloof. She washed her hands while Japan burnt Chapei and forcibly annexed the territory of a fellow member of the League. Sir John Simon, our then Foreign Secretary, flatly declined the offer of Mr. Stimson, America's Foreign Secretary, to co-operate with Great Britain in counteracting Japan's aggression in China.

But the worst of it all was that the Conservative Press presented our part in the Sino-Japanese dispute as a matter of self interest and not a matter of principle. The *Times* was most insistent that there was no reason to assume that British interests would suffer by Japanese victories in China, that British trade would face exclusions or a closed door. The *Observer*, and with it all the popular press with the largest circulations, exhibited the worst feature of power psychology—the desire to fraternise with a bully and join in in discrediting his victim ("He must be wicked to deserve such pain"). The Chinese, declared Mr. Garvin, "have harassed and hindered Japan" and Japan, said he,

> "does not really seek extension of sovereignty on the mainland. Nor does she dream of keeping her troops in Manchuria indefinitely 'out of bounds' in defiance of civilized opinion." (*Observer*. 15th November, 1931).

And now, only seven years after, Mr. Garvin himself is looking on the ruins he and his kind have made! And he actually has the nerve to write:

> "Far bigger in every way than the Italian annexation of Abyssinia was Japan's original conquest of Manchuria although so much less noise was made about it."

Although so much less noise was made about it! Whose fault was that—the fault of the Conservative Press who thought they could flatter and cajole Japan by admitting her to the titles of civilized opinion . . . The fault of the Conservative Press which denounced those who did make a noise about the business in Manchuria as "curious pacifists" and "inflamed enthusiasts for League coercion." Well, they have their answer now. And Mr. Garvin has discovered, what was never in doubt from the moment that we flatly refused the American offer to go out with them and grasp the nettle, that we are in danger in the Far East.

> "In China, where we have built up vast interests and a famous repute by the continuous work of generations, we are in a position more humiliating and damaging than we have ever endured since we won the name of a great people."

And in Tokio, we might add, they speak of *powerless England*—and in Shanghai nearly four hundred children among the refugees have died every day during the past three weeks . . . That is what happens when a nation follows the line of least resistance. How many people in their heart of hearts shared the complacency of Sir John Simon when he went about congratulating himself that he had kept England on friendly terms with both China and Japan? What a difference it might have made if we had been told instead of the American proposal.

Should we not have been told? The whole question of the way in which foreign affairs are conducted is, we are coming to see, a very vital one. The present Government has changed its Foreign Secretary twice—and now it has made an entirely new departure and appointed a Chief Diplomatic Adviser. Sir John Simon is associated with debacle in the Far East, Sir Samuel Hoare with debacle in Abyssinia. Progressive opinion in this country forced Mr. Eden on his Government. Is the Government's new move an attempt to put a spoke in the wheel of its Foreign Secretary—a Foreign Secretary they have frustrated, in any event, from the very beginning (and who could not even get a mention of the League of Nations into the last King's Speech). There might be something to be said for the appointment of a Chief Diplomatic Adviser, but on the face of it the choice of the first holder of the office seems to be an unhappy one. Sir Robert Vansittart has been permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs for the past eight years. But it is precisely during the past eight years that our foreign policy has got lost in the sand—and the Dictators have put about the idea that we are decadent. Rumour associated the name of Sir Robert Vansittart with the Hoare-Laval Pact. The Pact which was a betrayal not so much of Abyssinia (which might have come out better if it had been adopted) as of the *League.* Whether that rumour was just or no one could wish that the new Diplomatic Adviser were not the man who has kept watch over so many failures.

But to return to America. If in 1931 the Hoover Administration, in accord with its commitments under the Kellogg Pact, was prepared to concert action with England against a Power which was using war as an instrument of national polity—in 1938 the Roosevelt Administration, in face of the threat which Japan is making to the very existence of China as a separate political entity, is preparing to take action and has the entire backing of American public leaders. Mr. Stimson, Foreign Secretary under President Hoover, has written a three column letter to the *New York Times* in his support. And the Republican Leader, Mr. Landon, has sent Mr. Roosevelt a telegram. Dealing with the Landon telegram the Scripps-Howard chain of papers makes a comment which Mr. Neville Chamberlain, and all those who share his view that it is dangerous even to *express* an opinion, should study. Peace, they maintain, largely depends on "whether the Japanese war lords believe they can get away with it."

But even more important to us and to everyone is the reply which the President sent to Mr. Landon. It has almost the Gettysburg touch.

> "I believe an overwhelming majority of our countrymen, regardless of politics, creed, race or colour, from the days of Washington to this hour, have desired to pursue the even tenor of their way at peace with all peoples. But throughout our long history *we Americans have rejected every suggestion that ultimate security can be assured by closing our eyes* to the fact that, whether we like it or not, we are part of a large world of other nations and peoples. *As such we owe some measure of co-operation, and even leadership,* in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace."

America speaks of leadership but our language is the language of non-intervention. No it isn't . . . It is only the language of politicians and the poor little street-bred people who are nourished on the popular press and veer with that press.

Mr. Roosevelt seems to have the leaders of all parties behind him in the matter of foreign policy. It would be gratifying if the same could be said in the sphere of domestic relations, and especially of his relations with big business. It is very difficult for outsiders to understand what is going on in New York. References are made to a phenomenon unknown in this country, "trust-busting" (though it might be a good thing here), and it is pointed out by Mr. Jackson, the Assistant Attorney-General, that in America the greater part of the nation's wealth is controlled by about 2,000 men who "before 1929 owned the Government body and soul." These 2,000, presumably, are the men behind the recent sudden slump in Wall Street. The American capitalists, comments Mr. Lloyd George in an interview, are deliberately keeping back orders because they are out to defeat Roosevelt. And then he made the astonishing assertion that capitalism in America is challenging democracy and *in some respects it is of greater moment than the challenge in Europe.* Be that as it may it is hard to understand why there should be a slump at this particular ti —and how things can deteriorate at quite su a pace. Says the *Cleveland Trust Bulletin*:

> "The hard-won economic gains of the past th years have been largely cancelled in three short mont

And in Christmas week Miss Frances Perki the Secretary of Labour, reported that the to of workless increased by 570,000 the previo month while payrolls declined by £5,180,0 the sharpest decline recorded since 1920.

And yet, to return to Mr. Roper aga trade in America has increased 31 per cent o last year—and the total of imports and expo showed an advance of 118 per cent as compar with 1932.

We in England have reason to be worri at the employment figures. Indeed in a surv of 1937 one writer says that

> "the biggest shock of the year is provided December's unemployment figures: 108,000 up. A sh because even in 1929, at the beginning of the w slump, the corresponding increase was only 73,000, because this new increase is a culmination to rises the previous two months."

France has been having strikes, Ameri has been having a slump, and we have be increasing our unemployment in spite of t vast rearmament programme to which we committed (Sir Thomas Inskip has j informed us that it will cost us £150,000,0 more than we anticipated). This simply w not do. France and America and Britain mu get on with the good work of arriving at economic understanding—and put a jerk in the recommendations of the Van Zeeland Rep (on economic appeasement) when it appears

If only there was not a Chamberlain at t head of England's Government. Only this l December he declared the establishment Imperial Preference between the Ottawa gro of countries to be "a fixed and unalterable p of our Imperial policy." Fixed and unaltera . . . But if he is enslaved to his father's fi idea, other statesmen, and especially in t Empire, are not. Canada has fought Election on Ottawa and repudiated Otta The Ottawa Agreements are the chief stumbli blocks to an Anglo-American Trade Agreeme And in Africa General Smuts has also so thing to say. "The new tariffs," he decla "have proved a greater impediment to wo peace than the ideologies."

Ponder that well Mr. Chamberlain and t quite certain in your own mind, as you bi England to fixed and unalterable policies, th these policies are the policies of peace—and n of war:

3rd January, 1938.

CIVIL SERVICE IN A FOREIGN DOMINION

By BOOL CHAND, M.A.
Hindu College, University of Delhi

I

No student of Indian history, however careless, can fail to notice one outstanding feature of the gradual change in the spirit of British administration of India. In the earlier phases of the British connection, British administrators of India were, on the whole, allowed a fair amount of freedom of thought and expression, and were usually guided by liberalistic ideals; while in the later epochs, the spirit of British administration became definitely reactionary and retrogressive.

II

This change in the tone of British administration of India is so patent that it is unnecessary to elaborate the point at any great length. It was, for instance, Sir Thomas Munro, whose passionate love for the Indian people is still commemorated in certain parts of Madras Presidency in songs and ballads, who was one of the earliest British administrators to give a definite expression to the view that the purpose of the British government in India was primarily to promote the growth of self-governing institutions in the country. In a minute, dated 31st December, 1824,[1] he wrote :

> 'It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign government there are so many causes that tend to depress it that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old saying that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does those of a freeman : it loses the privileges of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration or in the internal government of the country . . . It is not even the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but the subjection to a foreign one, that destroys national character and extinguishes national spirit . . . It would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people.'

A more forceful expression of sympathy with India's independence and a clearer enunciation of the Liberal creed in relation to India, it is difficult to find in the whole history of British connection. Underlying this was a nobility of spirit, and what is still more important, for it helps to explain the real cause of the present-day change in the attitude of the administration, a determined sense of justice, unshaken by the possession of power and unobscured by the poison of self-interest. In the later periods, there grew up the tendency to view Indian interests through different glasses from those employed in determining the British; but at this time there did exist an unmistakable inclination in a good many of the British administrators of India to apply uniform ideals and uniform standards of behaviour to the two countries, and what is distinctively significant, they were able to give expression to that inclination with perfect freedom and impunity, at times even with a little, and praiseworthy, lack of restraint.

Of this inclination to apply uniform ideals to India as to Britain, the records of the Foreign and Political consultations of the Government of India of the early 19th century afford ample and rich evidence. Regarding the proposal to navigate the river Indus in 1830, under the pretence of ferrying through it a present of dray horses from the King of England to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sir Charles Metcalffe, at that time a member of the Governor-General's Council, said in a highly condemnatory minute[2] that

> 'it seems mere wantonness to vex and alarm our neighbours by surveying their lands and rivers by deceit or force without their consent . . . The scheme of surveying the Indus under the pretence of sending a present to the Maharaja Ranjit Singh seems to me highly objectionable. It is a trick in my opinion unworthy of our government, which cannot fail when detected, as most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.'

Undoubtedly, Metcalffe's view did not prevail, the navigation of the Indus was undertaken in spite of his strongly expressed opinion; but the fact that he was able, even from his subordinate position in the administrative machine, to freely criticise a proposal emanating from such a high authority as the President of the Board of Control, does prove that, on the whole, there was less grounding and controlling of opinion and more freedom of thought and expression in the government of India at that time. Unsatisfactory, from the Indian point of view, and even perfectly reactionary, policies were pursued in this period as in any other period of British rule. These policies emanated from the heads of the government as often as from the other factors in the administration; but our point is, that in the counsels of the government, as well as in the ranks of the administration, there prevailed at this time a freer atmosphere, which permitted the retention and unrestricted expression of personal sentiments by the administrators.

---

[1] Refer A. J. Arbuthnot : *Sir Thomas Munro, Selections from his Minutes and other Official Writings*, I, 237-276.

[2] Minute of Sir Charles Metcalffe, dated 25th October, 1830.
[Bengal Secret Consultations, dated 29.10.1830]

As member of the Police Committee of 1837, Mr. (later Sir Frederick) Halliday, himself an official of the Government, condemned[3] the system of combining prosecuting and judicial powers in India in the same hands as an 'absurd and mischievous' system, proclaiming that

> 'the evil which this system produces is twofold: it affects the fair distribution of justice, and it impairs, at the same time, the efficiency of the police. The union of magistrate with collector has been stigmatised as incompatible, but the function of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, public confidence in our criminal tribunals must always be liable to injury, and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied.'

Or again, Mr. (later Sir John Peter) Grant, member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, in 1854, took up cudgels[4] in defence of the separation of the offices of collector and magistrate against the clearly expressed opinion of his own chief, the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, and refuted the latter's plea of an oriental theory of government as distinct from the occidental, as untenable and bad.

About the administrative discussions of this period there is a definite parliamentary ring, a sense of intelligent responsibility, which was born of the cool and impartial atmosphere in which the discussions took place. No administrative official seems to have suffered in his promotions or grades by reason alone of his having taken an attitude critical of the policy of government. As yet, the government of India had not hardened into one solid fra actuated by one solid opinion. As yet t policy of the government was not conceived the narrow spirit of mere self-interestedne but was guided by the broad principles justice and good of the governed, in the inte pretation of which mutual differences of opini among the administrators were quite inevitab

It is no wonder, then, that the governme reports and minutes of this period make comparatively charming reading. They do n bear about them that unbroken uniformity opinion and outlook, which is such a mark feature of government documents today. Th do not give the impression of having be incubated in one and the same mental fram they are, on the whole, living expressions living minds, each with its own ideas and sen ments and sympathies.

There was room in these governme reports, as there was possibility in the gover mental process of the time, for a certain amou of self-criticism; and this opportunity was, a rule, freely availed of. In its report of 18 the Torture Commission of Madras was able sum up without prejudice that

> 'the mental effect of the present system of British adm istration on the Indian was to make him look up complaints as useless.'

The Commission had received many com plaints from people who had never complain to the local authortiies, for they were afraid 'the banded body of the *amla*',[5] believing th 'all *amla*, under one head, whatever the names, were in reality one band', ready at times to support each other, right or wrong, that any expectation of justice from the against their compeers was useless and impossi ble. A statement, so bare in its truth, whi was then made by three European administr tors who constituted the Torture Commission has now become an exceedingly rare occurrenc except from the mouth of the advance nationalistic section of the Indian people.

III

The reason is that during the third quarte of the 19th century, there came about a sudde change in the character of the British adminis tration of India. From being a liberalis government, seeking to combine wheneve possible its own interest with the interest of its subjects, it became manifestly a foreign domina tion. This formal change in spirit brought i its train also the disappearance of the earlier freedom of thought and outlook in the service. There came into being gradually a clear definition of the government view—in its scope extremely narrow, admitting of no variation, and in its tone, partisan, selfish, and generally hostile to Indian aspirations.

---

[3] See F. J. Halliday's minute of dissent (pp. xviii-xlvi) in the *Report of the Police Committee* [Calcutta, 1838].

[4] See R. N. Gilchrist: *The Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions*, pp. 44-72 [Calc., 1923].

[5] *Report of the Torture Commission* [Madras 1855], p. 60.

[6] Messrs. E. J. Elliot, H. Stokes, and J. B. Norto

The great event that heralded this change was, of course, the Mutiny of 1857. Let meticulous historians go on analysing whether the Indian Mutiny was primarily a military revolt or a fight for national independence, whether as a military revolt it was an organized effort or merely disorganized local risings, synchronising only by accident. One thing, indeed, is true and beyond all dispute, that the Mutiny did produce upon the minds of the British rulers of India a very deep impression, which could not be easily washed away. After all, it was a rising against constituted authority, and if it was an unorganized effort, all the more ominous for the government, for it might well be the precursor of a regular organized mass rising in the future.

Even to the ordinary Englishman the Mutiny became a veritable reminder of bloodshed and murder. It inspired in him a feeling of horror, and perverted his whole outlook in relation to the Indian people. How the Englishman's vision was generally warped by this incident may be judged from an unexpectedly bigoted estimate that was made of the Indian character by a man of John Ruskin's culture, in the year 1858 :

> 'Since the race of man began its course of sin on this earth, nothing has ever been done by so significative of all bestial, and lower than bestial, degradations as the acts of the Indian race in the year just passed by.'[7]

Horror-striking stories of the Mutiny, some true and many false, were circulated and carefully cultivated amongst the English people by professional gossip-mongers, so that the slender chain of understanding that existed between the British administration and the Indian population was completely snapped. The slight sympathy that some of the British administrators of old had felt for Indian aspirations was now more or less entirely gone, either naturally killed by reason of the occurrence of the Mutiny, or unnaturally suppressed by the action of the government, which now started to enforce uniformity of opinion in the administration, as a necessary part of its policy of repression and fear.

This policy found its acme in the work of Sir James FitzJames Stephen. 'An eminent lawyer and jurist, he left his individual mark in many places'.[8] He certainly did leave it in the realms of Indian administration, although it was wholly in a reactionary direction. Immediately on taking charge as the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council in the year 1872, he prepared a masterly minute[9] on the administration of justice in India. The decisive importance of this minute, however, was far wider than the sphere of justice alone. Sir James Stephen's achievement in this minute was to give a clear-cut expression to the sentiment that had already been prevailing in the atmosphere for quite a decade. He formally created the technique of the 'maintenance of British rule in India'; and as a natural corollary to it, he started the fashion of 'wishing to investigate the true circumstances and needs of British India'. Whenever, after this, there was any question of formulating a new policy for India, it was done on the basis of 'India's true interests', and all criticism of it by the administrative functionaries was suppressed on the plea that such criticism of the policy of government was antagonistic to the maintenance of British rule in India.

As a result, the government reports and documents took up a new reactionary tone. They became dogmatic and matter-of-fact in their wording. The spirit of thoughtful criticism and mutual discussion of the earlier period gradually vanished; and the process of government finally and once for all became the process of giving commands without the necessity of having to justify those commands to anybody, not even to themselves. The tradition, thus generated, has lasted down to the present times. Its evil effects were noticed in 1918 by Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, during his Indian tour, when he had to tell Mr. (W.) Marris, who was charged with the task of drafting the report :

> "I told him that I had never met a man with a better natural style and a more real command of language. But he failed, like everybody else in India failed, from having no political instinct . . . . . . the I. C. S. had been so long accustomed to state their conclusions without reasoning them."[10]

In the whole period of British rule after the Mutiny, one does not meet even one solitary instance of a British administrator or civil servant expressing himself genuinely sympathetically towards the Indian point of view. A number of them did, indeed, take up India's cause after retirement from service. All the subscribers to the Hobhouse Memorial of 1899[11] were retired civil and judicial officers in India. If they were prepared to express themselves so strongly in condemnation of one of India's greatest grievances, the combination of executive and judicial functions by the district officers, after their retirement from service, surely they could not have lacked a sympathetic attitude towards India's aspirations even while they were in the service; but the tone and spirit of the government had changed in such a way as to make it impossible for these people to utter their sentiments so long as they were in the service of the government. The old liberty of opinion and liberty of thought had been replaced by a system wherein there was an active enforcement of uniformity of sentiment, and if possible, of belief, within the administration.

---

[7] *The Two Paths*, p. 262. [Consult *The Works of Ruskin*, ed. by Cook and Wedderburn, vol. xvi, (George Allen, 1905)].

[8] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, vol. 21, p. 386.

[9] Government of India selections, No. 89. (Home, 1872).

[10] E. S. Montagu : *An Indian Diary* [London, 1930], p. 358.

IV

It is not difficult to find out the reasons for this change in the spirit of the British administration of India after the middle of the 19th century. Such development was inherent in the very fact of foreign rule. As the political consciousness of the subject people would show signs of growing, the administration was bound to become increasingly reactionary. As the demand for a certain amount of relaxation of political control would become visible, the government was bound necessarily to begin to think in terms of the maintenance of that control. As there would come into being in the subject country a public opinion which was able to visualise their ultimate independence, in the ranks of the administration there was bound to develop the technique of 'wishing to look at things according to the circumstances and the interests of the subject country.'

The development of British administration into a well-knit organization, having common interests against Indian nationalism, was, therefore, natural, in view of what was taking place in India herself. So long as there was the period of territorial expansion, there could be no danger even in dangling with liberalistic ideals. So long as there did not seem much possibility of a real demand for independence, there was no risk even in allowing the talk of self-government. But as, with the occurrence of the Indian Mutiny, the possibility of Indian struggle for freedom came into si everything had to be done to prevent t possibility. Any show of internal differences the administration, or a show of sympath attitude on the part of any administrator opposition to the policy of the governm might serve simply to encourage the peo Therefore, such personal sentiments could longer be allowed to come into play.

This, then, is the underlying idea t controls the policy of the British governm in India during the period after the Mut With the growth of Indian nationalism and the organisation of Indian public opinion, necessity for showing a united front to the peo became paramount. In such circumstances, rifts could possibly be permitted in the lut the administration. It is at this time, theref that there developed the tradition of a unif civil service attitude in India. 'Sun-d bureaucrat' or whatever one might call him a description of the Indian civil servant, factual basis of which had its birth at this ti It is again at this time that there develo that remarkable *esprit d' corps*, which is s a noticeable feature of the Indian civil serv and which succeeded in making the Indian c service a caste, such as it remains even to day.

V

With the coming of the Government India Act, 1935, the facts of the situation h altered a little. The constitution of nationa ministries in the provinces makes it possible, least within certain limits, to run the governm now truly in the interests of the people. W the civil service be able immediately to cha its attitude to bring it into line with the cha of the times?

Transition from the first type to the sec type of attitude, explained in this essay, at least a whole period of a generation, that in spite of the fact that the composition the civil service was a feature helpful in task of transition. The European structure the Indian civil service made the identifica of the mental outlook of the administrators the underlying policy of the government after the Mutiny, on the whole, an easy convenient proposition. That very fact would stand as a great stumbling-block to adjustment of the traditional mental atti with the changed policy of the new governme The traditions of the civil service in India far have been the traditions of a civil serv in a foreign dominion. Will it be able to transform those traditions overnight into ones of a civil service in a national state ?

---

[11] See the text and the names of subscribers, in P. C. Mitter. *The Question of Judicial and Executive Separation* [Calcutta, 1913]. Part iv, p. 19.

The experience of civil service in other countries does not enable us to give a ready reply. As a matter of general experience in the countries of Europe, response of the civil service to technical changes commanded by the government in the process of administration has been, on the whole, more rapid and sure than the response to changes of political outlook in the government itself. The present change in India is eminently a change in political outlook, and that too one of the greatest in magnitude that history has ever known. How far the civil service of India will be able to respond to this change is a question which only actual experience would answer.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

By Prof. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, Ph.D.

II

Enthusiastic feminists may hold that it is even better to be a tenth rate imitation of man than a mere woman, at best an object of man's pity, and argue with Professor Jethrow Brown that :

> "There is something better than the reverence for weakness. It is the reverence for strength."[1]

Without however claiming on my part any right to advise the feminist as to the best attitude for them to adopt I would like at this place to clear a misconception involved in the mental attitude which views the consideration or respect shown to women as only a 'reverence for weakness'.

The reverence shown to woman are not based on her weakness (though the patent fact regarding her physical inferiority is not denied), for mere weakness can never give rise to reverence, or else, the tiger will have revered the stag. The basis of reverence shown to woman will have to be sought for elsewhere than in her weakness. It is founded, I submit, on the solid bed-rock of her extraordinary sex-function, *her maternity*—the soundest of human relationships. Since the dawn of time woman is the central focus of life—the primordial creatrix (*Adya-Mahamaya*). It is no doubt found in human history that man has in times of excitement, irritation and jealousy enslaved, belaboured and otherwise ill-treated woman. This certainly is a proof of woman's physical weakness, a fact which we have all along admitted. But that is not the all important fact about the life of the human race, that does not and cannot obliterate the 'Mother-Child' relation binding the two sexes, just as we often come across in life cases of hatred but that does not disprove the fact that the central law of life is love not hatred.

Admitting (as we do the physical inferiority of woman) we maintain that she is the central focus of our life-activities and not the central doer herself. *Not she herself but it is round her that society has evolved, civilization has grown up, tradition has taken root and culture has blossomed forth. The moments when man ill-treats her are the moments when he loses sight of the central focus of his existence.* The moments of the preponderance of the brute in man over his rationality are the moments when he very nearly approaches his moral annihilation—when he ceases to be a man. More than the physical weakness of woman such moments emphasises the moral weakness of man—the animal. It is no wonder that the animal man amidst the weaknesses of the flesh loses sight of his moral self and takes advantage of his stronger physique but *the wonder is that amidst all the tumult of his raging passions he unerringly comes back for fresh vigour and inspiration to this sheet anchor of his stability, the central focus of his life—woman.* And every time he comes back to hide his face in her bosom, he has come back ashamed and repentant at his own impetuous conduct and woman with the unerring mother-instinct of correcting a child through affection has received him as a naughty and tired child without refusing him solace and shelter, so that every wound that he inflicted on her redounded ten-fold in his own heart-ache. *This, in a word, is the process of human civilization and as the major*

---

[1] Jethrow Brown : *The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation.* London, 1917, p. 84.

contributor to this process has woman established her claim to reverence for strength.

Much as I wish to see all differences of rights and privileges between the sexes to disappear within the shortest possible time, I cannot persuade myself to believe that that reverence for strength women can earn and retain simply by making man admit her claim to the full development of all her faculties, physical and intellectual, on lines along which man has developed and found his strength. Because reverence of strength can be achieved by woman only in a field in which she can prove herself stronger than man and the domains of physical and intellectual achievements are domains in which her inferiority to man is too patently established. *This field I submit is the spiritual field and in this field she is by the very fact of her sex superior to man.*

This moral superiority of woman over man is reflected in the very process of the physical union of the sexes. The motive for man's sexual union is carnal. It begins and ends in coition. That is its highest consummation. In woman coition or the very first stage of her sexual union may be an outcome of carnal desires *but from impregnation till the end of her days she is governed by motives most ennobling and divine, for motherhood entails most selfless suffering and sacrifice. The woman is the first martyr on the altar of love and on the unshakable bed-rock of this martyrdom is based her reverence which therefore is founded* (as will now be seen not on her weakness but) *on her strength.* The mythology of ancient India and Greece are replenished with expressions of this veneration for woman in the conceptions of Mulaprakriti, Durga, Jagaddhatri, Hera, Athena and Themis.

It may be argued that the mother-concept and the martyrdom of woman belong to the domain of sentiment and that no martyrdom can be claimed for women who, being physically weak are obliged to go through the ordeals of motherhood against their volition and will. *Sentiment it undoubtedly is and the noblest sentiment that ever swayed the human heart withal.* The moments when man had been blinded to such sentiments by giving a free play to his brutal instincts had been the moments of his spiritual death. They emphasise, as I have said above, man's weakness more than woman's. The very fact that we are capable at times of violating the sanctity of womanhood by thrusting an unwilling motherhood on women is the greatest argument in favour of encouraging the sentiment of motherly veneration towards women and fostering the growth of the Mother-cult. And even in cases of forced motherhood th divine glow inherent in the concept *Mother* difficult to be lost sight of nor the martyrdo which a woman is obliged to suffer for the sak of her motherly sex functions be denied. Wh would not have viewed with the utmost reve ence that the maternal love of Tess for h illegitimate baby for whose sake she woul rather end her own life than forsake it and see readmission in society?[2]

As civilization advances women come t realize more clearly the real source of the strength—their spiritual superiority. Knowi that men's superior physical might can neve be curbed by their own physical strength whi is inferior and knowing also that their sexu disabilities will neither enable them to compe successfully with men in the domain of intelle tual pursuit; women, more or less in eve civilized country have tried and succeeded i creating a firm hold on their men folk by *givi proofs of their moral superiority, which in bri consists in their greater power of endurance a of sacrificing personal comforts for othe greater abhorrence to cruelty and bloodshed a a greater measure of faith in the forces of goo ness and love* (than man). Women who a aware of this source of their strength neve make a show of it knowing that it is having i civilizing effects in silence. Indeed amon peoples of ancient culture women will even lik to hide their superior strength under cover o the mantle of man's superior privileges, knowi that ultimately men will have to pay them th tribute of greatness at heart. Let me illustra

(*i*) Let us consider self-restraint firs Much has been said against the practice o compulsory widowhood among high caste peop in India and no condemnation can be too stron for such an undesirable practice. The fa however remains that to most high caste wome the idea of a second marriage is loathsome (f this their up-bringing also counts for much It is unusual to find one who would like t remarry after becoming a mother. It is not a all unusual to find very young widows (sa from 18 to 30 years of age) arranging marriage for their widower elder brothers having childre It is taken for granted by them that the man i capable of remarrying and should do so. Wh they will say, he is a man and there must b somebody to look after him. *Apparently t may be interpreted as the superior (mo favoured) status of men in our society but t the underlying psychology of women when the say such things is analysed it will be fou*

---

[2] See Thomas Hardy's novel *Tess.*

that they were only asserting thereby the superiority of their own sex and what is more, *the decisive moral inferiority of the males. They were conceding that handicap to the male on the moral plane which was asked for by Mlle. Lenglen from Tilden on the tennis court.*

(*ii*) Again take the case of physical endurance (apart from the travail of motherhood) in which in this country at least the women through a systematic process of cultural education have decidedly created a record which it would be impossible for men to surpass. From early youth till the end of her days women are taught (by women themselves and not by men : often rather in spite of the protest of men) to consider it ignoble, shameful and unwomanly to take food before *men and children*. The mother of an Indian household is always the last person to take her food. And it is not an uncommon occurrence that after the day's toil of feeding perhaps a score of family members, servants and guests little food is left for poor mammy and lest it would disturb the peace of mind and the comfortable mid-day siesta of the other well-fed members of the family she would remain unfed or insufficiently fed unless she is fortunate enough to possess an elderly daughter or daughter-in-law who would make it a point to see that mother is properly fed. Indian women have turned this exercise in endurance into a systematic culture through their custom of keeping thousand and one religious fasts (often observed for the benefit, in health or prosperity of male relations, specially son or husband) throughout the year. On the few occasions when men also try to earn some religious merit (on their own austerity) like the Shivaratri day, almost all of them break their fast by the evening, often at the insistence of women folk who will then remind *men and children* that they do not want them to fall ill and spoil their health by trying to do things which are not meant for them but for women only. Women on the other hand would keep up their fast, in spite of their household works, throughout the night and break it after bathing and much ceremony (which invariably consists in feeding *men and children*) the morning following.

Careful observations reveal that this mode of treating men as grown up children by their women folk finds currency in other civilized countries as well. The following will illustrate my point.

A young couple entrained an early morning train at railway station for spending a Sunday at a holiday resort 50 miles away from the metropolis. As the train moved on the man brought out a packet and asked his wife if she was not hungry. "No," she replied, "but it's time for you—to take something." The man obediently agreed. (Man's defeat No. 1). The man brought next a loaf and in the process of cutting it into slices he thoroughly disfigured it. The wife only smiled at it. (Defeat No. 2). He then opened a packet of butter and while trying to take out some with the help of his knife he made the towel absolutely greasy and in a last attempt to save the lump of butter from falling down on the floor spoilt his coat with his knife besmeared with butter. With a fresh knife the woman scraped his coat clean. (Defeat No. 3). Having buttered his shapeless slices of bread he next brought out three hard boiled eggs. In trying to take out the shell with his finger nails he seemed to slightly hurt himself and was about to spoil the egg by trying to break it at the middle when in a twinkling of an eye the woman snatched away the egg, gave two, three masterly strokes on the top end of it with her knife, cleared off the shell of about half the size of the egg and with the help of a spoon fed him with the eggs one by one. (Defeat No. 4). When the train stopped at the station at which they were to get down the man got down at the platform and with an air of great importance was awaiting at the door to help his wife out of the carriage. A little later to the annoyance of her impatient husband (who was afraid that his wife would be over-carried) she came down after collecting in her hands the morning newspaper, a spectacle case, a pair of gloves and a couple of apples. (Defeat No. 5). I am sure the man, throughout the excursion, had thought that he was guiding and escorting his wife. What the woman thought is better left undiscussed.[3]

This tendency among women of making concessions to men for their inferior moral strength I would like to term "female chivalry." It is chivalry in the strictest sense of the term because it makes concessions for the weakness of the opposite side. In a society which is so primitive that its women have not yet developed in their conduct with men this moral chivalry, no doubt the woman is an inferior and subordinate member, an object of masculine pity. But the moment she brings into play upon the field of our social behaviour her superior moral strength (manifested through the developments of her inherent powers of sacrifice, endurance and self-discipline) she not only qualifies herself for equality of treatment but records a moral victory of first magnitude over the opposite sex.

---

3. Personal Observations in Europe.

In her affectionate gallantry she may not make a capital out of her victory but the fact of her victory nevertheless remains unaltered. When my young widowed sister (to whom the very idea of remarriage is unthinkable) tries to persuade me (a widower) to remarry and I succumb to her pleadings *I may pride in my superior privilege as a male member of the society but the fact of my moral defeat at the hands of my little sister gets irrevocably recorded in undying letters in our racial history.*

Our eminent novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterji has delineated the chivalrous aspect of our womanhood, particularly through the heroines of his two best works *Srikanta* and *Charitrahin*. The vagrant, introspective philosopher Srikanta rejects Rajlaksmi's love (perhaps mistaking it for something else) and in spite of it all Rajlaksmi like the goddess of love with the unerring instinct of a mother comes times and again to help him in days of distress and to nurse him to health when suffering from illness and despair and all this she does with the fullest consciousness of the realities of her life for the woman is supremely intelligent. Who can forget her clever yet affectionate taunts at Srikanta in connection with his repeated and unsuccessful attempts to renounce the world and become an ascetic? Perhaps she tries to teach him thereby the utter futility of searching the light without and she teaches it never so well as when (being transfigured by her love for Srikanta) she ultimately takes her residence with her preceptor at Benares and takes to widow's garb and poor Srikanta inflicted with the agony of this unbearable sight takes flight towards the railway station, his shattering heart echoing in tune with the rattling noise of his wheeled, wooden conveyance. In *Charitrahin* Sabitri wins Satish's heart through her selfless love and friendship but gently declines his proposal for marriage saying, "This heart is always yours but this contaminated widow's body is not a fit offering to worship you with, O god of my pure love." She arranges her lover's marriage with a young virgin bride, blesses them and goes away to nurse Satish's friend Upen in his death bed. Here is a record of woman's superiority over man—an instance of true feminine chivalry.

Chivalry indeed! But chivalry like any other virtue to be genuine must be voluntary and not imposed upon by the superior force of an outside authority. Of late it has become fashionable among a certain feminist group to take an attitude which amounts to suggest (*a*) that women have suffered untold miseries because the conduction of the human society has been in the hands of men, (*b*) that given facilities and opportunities women can prove their equality with men in every sphere of activities (including of course intellectual and also perhaps physical), (*c*) that they have been treated as playthings in the hands of men, and (*d*) that all the sacrifices which women have undergone has been done at man's dictation. It is not difficult to see the utter hollowness of these charges. As to (*a*) and (*b*) it is enough to say that the very fact that men have conducted the administration of society for millions of years though nobody cared to create extra opportunities for them and excelled women everywhere without exception in physical and intellectual attainments is a proof of man's superior calibre in these fields. Even if it is admitted that to further their domination and preponderance men have *systematically* deprived women from taking part in reputation earning occupations their ability to coerce in this fashion is a sure sign of men's strength. Moreover, it is not true that they have so systematically deprived women of opportunities in all reputation producing pursuits. Women's failure to compete with men in the fine arts proves to the hilt the baseless nature of such a charge against men.

As to (*c*) my answer is that it is an argument of despair and betrays an inferiority complex. In woman's pleasure-giving ability to men there is nothing to be ashamed of. It only denotes her utility and use for man. Man also gives certain pleasures to woman and that is exactly why she has any use for him. *May be that the types of pleasure which man gives to woman are different from those which woman gives to man.* If to refresh a tired husband or a father (when he comes back home after a hard day's toil) by a snatch of music on the piano or a few sweet words of mouth be construed most dishonestly as woman's servitude and thraldom for the gratifications of man's pleasures, how much more honestly cannot man's day-to-day labour and sweating to provide his dependents (mostly women and their children) with the necessities of life and to take them to an outing on Sundays be interpreted as man's galley-slavery at the feet of woman!

This dishonest attitude I guess appeared as an aftermath of the Industrial Revolution in Europe when women were for the first time systematically and on a large scale dethroned from their homely occupation and began to work with men in mills and factories. Her taking part in the performance of works till then reserved for males created in her mind a false sense of identicality of functions of the sexes. She did not realise that what the change signified was not the obliteration of the inter-dependent and complementary nature of the sexes but only a demand (necessitated by the pressure of greater economic struggle for existence) on women to engage in more money earning occupations than she had hitherto done. This created in her mind a false sense of "social equality" and under the influence of a mis-guided propaganda she came to think that this equality consisted in the *masculisation of her sex*. No wonder she cut a sorry figure.

Women may of course say, "Well that does not matter, we know our business and do not want to be instructed by men who have misused our goodness and extracted services from and enforced sacrifices upon us which we never meant nor in future mean to perform." This would no doubt be a serious allegation and if true must meet with the misapprobation of every right-thinking man. Instead of looking at our mothers, wives and sisters as angels who cheer our homes with sweet, affectionate and spontaneous service of love, we are, in the light of these allegations, asked to look upon them as so many slaves groaning under our tyranny and serving us under compulsion. *Such a state of things if true must come to an end without a moment's delay.*

Fortunately for mankind such has not been the story of human history which as we have already shown in spite of man's aggressiveness and occasional fits of impetousness (the brunt of which of necessity fell on his nearest female relations) has been in the main a story of mutual understanding and co-ordination between the sexes (but for the short period commencing with the large scale industrialization of the world during which some women lost their head through a mischieveous sense of equality mistaking it for identicality of functions and responsibility in society between the sexes). *It would be inflicting an insult of the first magnitude upon all those vast majority of women (the noblest flowers of world womanhood) who have realized the greatest worth and happiness of their innate radiant motherhood in undergoing infinite willing and cheerful sacrifices for making man's struggleful and worriful life more bearable and pleasureable, to degrade their self-dedicated labour of love to the level of forced labours of concubines and slaves only because a handful of hysteric feminists would like to interpret their lives in this fashion.* Two errors are responsible for giving encouragement and currency to this kind of thinking :

(*1*). Some well-meaning men, while stating the age-long truth (that it would be better for women as well as the human race if they confine themselves more to the works for which they are better fitted by nature and through which they can serve society more efficiently than by competing with men in more manly pursuits) have couched it in a language which is rather too paternal and authoritative for the modern age and which may be cited as a sample of masculine dictation specially by those who are out to create mischief. An apt illustration is to be found in the presidential address to the Chemistry Society of the British Association in 1909 of Professor Armstrong. Refering to the important topic of the 'future of our race' the learned Professor remarked :

> "The subject has been brought before the chemical world in England recently by the application of a large number of women to be made Fellows of the Chemical Society. Many of us resisted the application because we were unwilling to give any encouragement to the movement which is inevitably leading women to neglect their womanhood, which is in itself proof that they do not understand the relative capacities of the two sexes, and the need there is of sharing the duties of life. If there be any truth in the doctrine of hereditary genius, the very women who have shown ability as chemists should be withdrawn from the temptation to become absorbed in the work, for fear of sacrificing their womanhood. They are those who should be regarded as chosen people, as destined to be the mothers of future chemists of ability."[4]

It is the repetition and recurrence, I submit, of the same mistake committed by Manu, Rousseau and Dr. Gregory who in the atmosphere of their old-fashioned days did not anticipate the feminist view-point and temper. It is dangerous to try to give advice in a suspicious atmosphere where the adviser is regarded as an enemy and oppressor. The danger is magnified tenfold when he comes to advise with an air of authority (an old habit with men which has *acquired the rigidity of an ancient tradition*). Since the days of Manu men have been under the disadvantage of being in the necessity of determining the boundaries of the range of woman's activities, the limits of her womanhood. In his arrogance (perhaps not disliked by our ancient ancestresses) he couched his rulings in language which had the appearance more of commands than that of a mutual arrangement. An impartial scrutiny however is sure to reveal to one who looks to the spirit and disregards the letter of the man-made laws that the division of functions between the sexes made by man was never ungenerous in the allotment of works to women. Unfortunately for our law-giver there was no feminist in the days of Manu to warn him that if due regard was not paid to their susceptibilities the letter of the law will be misconstrued to paint the spirit of the law relating to woman in black. The laws of Manu relating to man is also couched in the language of commandments but then no exception is taken to that by any feminist because to mention it will be as good as to admit in them a sense of equity which they are out to disprove. (The defects and drawbacks of Manu's code are not denied, they are *inevitable in such an ancient code*).

---

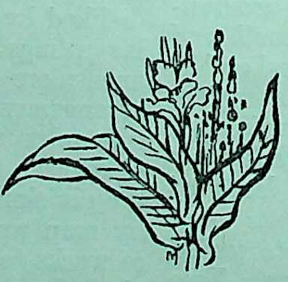
[4] Jethrow Brown. *Supra*, p. 249.

It may be argued that in a modern society where every man has the right of choosing his own occupation what right have men to bind women to a restricted field of activities which they do not like? Legal rights? Absolutely none or rather if any such right does exist it is absolutely void of any ethical justification and therefore should cease to exist this very moment. To admit such a right would be putting a seal of sanction on the worst type of despotism. Any statute or law which exists in any society debarring women from any lawful occupation in terms of equality with man should be forthwith repealed. Their right of free choice of occupation (including the right to avoid wifehood as a career) has also to be unconditionally conceded. That is admittedly the barest justice.

But what is not just is to uphold that men have no extra-legal right to protest against and record their disapproval of the unwomanliness of certain section of women which arises out of their engaging themselves in a certain type of work. Will women like to forfeit their right to grumble at our unmanly conduct or their privilege to inspire us to be manly? What Rajput woman did not refuse her favour to her lover who fled away like a coward from the battle-field? What woman of the meanest station does not reproach her man who does not mind his (God-given?) business (we should of course never say that it is a sort of slavery) of supporting her and off-springs? If the woman has the righ register her disgust and to reproach man she does not get what she expects from physical and intellectual company of man admission of the same right of registe protest at not finding his expected satisfac from woman's company by man is si irresistible.

(*2*). The second error is that throu vigorous interpretation of the phrase "free of occupation" feminists came to mean include in its meaning the freedom of havin occupation at all (unless the art indulgin wild rhetorics pointed against the very men by the sweat of their brow have afforded opportunity of exhibiting their oratorical ta be considered a socially profitable occupati A woman should undoubtedly have the rig take to a professional career in preferenc wifehood or motherhood so long as she service to society in some useful form b woman who neither takes to a profess career seriously nor minds her work as wife mother is a drone whose existence in socie difficult to justify. In addition when she m a grievance of the ill-treatments of a managed society she only helps to make he a public nuisance. Even such a sympat philosopher as H. G. Wells has been constr to remark :

> "It is one of the entirely unforeseen conseq that have arisen from the decay of Normal Social that great numbers of women while still subordinate become profoundly unimportant. They have ceased very large extent to bear children, they have dr most of their home-making arts, they no longer or educate such children as they have, and they taken on no new functions to compensate for dwindling activities of the domestic interior."[5]



---

[5] Wells in *The Great State*, p. 44. Quote Brown. *Supra.*, pp. 251-52.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLMASTER IN THE BALKANS

By JOHN BROWN

EDUCATIONAL facilities were extremely limited in most Balkan countries before the Great War, but in recent years there have been several remarkable bursts of energy. Yugoslavia, for example, has now no less than 168 secondary schools, and in the Education Ministry in Belgrade I listened to grandiose but rather unconvincing plans for doubling this number within two years.

According to Yugoslav law all secondary schools may be co-educational, but I always found separate schools for boys and girls, and one Belgrade assistant master told me that Serbian and Bosnian public opinion would be against the experiment. I realised the force of this point in Serajevo, where the teachers are having an uphill fight against semi-Oriental traditionalism. In the Moslem household where I stayed, my host told me that many of his friends had had grave doubts about sending their daughters to school, and had only agreed when a girl from the local secondary school made a singularly brilliant marriage!

Until recently headmasters of Serbian secondary schools were appointed only from the list of graduates of the Teachers' Training Colleges at Zagreb and Belgrade, but a spanner was thrown into the promotion machinery when Premier Stoyadinovich was fired on in the Skuptshina. He and his colleagues, alarmed at the terrorist threats of the military "White Hand" league, have brought pressure to bear through the various Ministries to debar all suspected opponents from key posts. In practice, all men are considered opponents who have not been members or have not contributed to the funds of the controlling party.

Naturally, this has caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, especially in the provinces, and this is not lessened by the new "regional inspectors"—some of them illiterate political demagogues—who descend on secondary schools "out of the blue", for their powers are wide and indefinite.

But one Belgrade secondary schoolmaster at least is untroubled by these developments. He is only too glad to be away from Macedonia, where he was appointed some time ago at a higher salary. The Macedonians look on all Serbian officials as interlopers and foreigners, and he had hardly arrived before he was advised by an agent of Imro (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) to demand a recall on grounds of ill health. Some of his colleagues who refused the advice were murdered by the Imro gunmen shortly afterwards, and as the agents of the society were everywhere in the district he and most of his friends left for the north. Today Imro has been temporarily submerged, following military action, but in Skopje and Gorna-Djumaya, capital of Bulgarian Macedonia, I heard many rumours of a resurrection being planned in Anatolia, where the leaders have gathered.

Imro, however, is only one of the societies which menace the liberties of Balkan school masters. In Bucharest, any secondary school master who has lived in the same house or shared a meal with an Iron Guard supporter is liable to dismissal, and the government is organising a careful "comb out" of all suspected opponents. This investigation is directed by agents of Madame Lupescu, the green-eyed, red-haired Jewess who infatuated King Carol at a chance meeting a few years ago, and who is the main target of the Iron Guard propaganda. The Iron Guard leader, Stilescu, has been murdered, and there is no doubt that reprisals will be ordered by the terrorists. In Kishinev, the chief town of Bessarabia, I found that the Iron Guards had the backing of a section of the garrison, and as the province is under martial law this gives them some control of public affairs, in spite of Bucharest decrees. Secondary school teachers in the town are placed between two fires, and most of them are taking the line of least resistance—denying membership of the Iron Guards while at the same time they pay a secret levy to the local "Blue House".

Promotion systems based on merit or seniority have never survived for long in Rumania, and in the secondary schools masters applying for better appointments must be well supplied with cash or have friends in government circles if they are to succeed. In the areas inhabited by racial minorities, such as Transylvania and the Bukovina, masters are expected to act as agents for the government in the work of denationalisation, and to report any traces of anti-Rumanian sentiment in the work of their students to the authorities. The system caused a revolt in a Cluj school, where the masters were pro-Hungarian, but the objectors were soon dismissed and replaced by government nominees.

Hours are long in secondary schools, but salaries are high in the upper grades, and a nation-wide pension scheme has been drafted. There are still vast tracts of the country which have never been touched by the Education Ministry's activities—Bessarabia being one of the worst examples of this neglect—and when the department is reorganised there will no doubt be a lack of qualified masters. Meanwhile, those men who have been dismissed by the present government are being approached with offers of paid employment by the Iron Guards. At their Blue House at Jassy, where I was received with Nazi salutes and the Nazi greeting, I met an adjutant of Codreanu, the chief Blueshirt, who is at present in gaol. This man told me that the few teachers already enlisted in their ranks were proving excellent propagandists. He reminded me with a smile that Mussolini had once been a teacher! As I expected, he denied the Berlin subsidies his party is alleged to receive, but it is significant that the swastika has been adopted as the official armlet emblem of the fighting squads, while the new policy includes a close alliance with Germany.

In Bucharest, Jewish headmasters are receiving threatening letters from the terrorists, and although these have been disregarded in the past, the recent outrages have changed the atmosphere, and there is a constant stream of callers at the Ministry and at Madame Lupescu's apartments demanding government action.

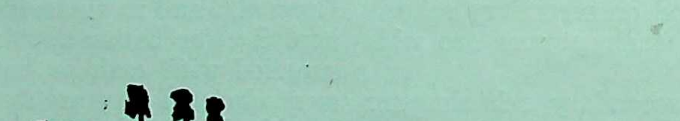
Albanian secondary school masters are free of these worries, but are faced with special problems of their own, which require delicate handling. Thus in the northern mountains, where I stayed among the Gheg clansmen, the habit of carrying arms survives, and the blood feud tradition is still strong. This means that the task of maintaining class discipline is rendered doubly difficult for masters who are Tosks, from southern Albania, for a complaining of punishment might precip bloodshed. Many of the blood feuds, w have caused the loss of scores of lives, started over much more trifling arguments

One master, a Moslem Gheg, told me his salary was so low that it took year saving to accumulate the price of a European suit from the Zagreb fact Many of the secondary school masters re less than twenty shillings a week, and complaints are sent to Tirana about the r the cost of living it is pointed out that Minister himself has less than £250 a year

For centuries the clansmen have f against Turk and Slav, and the military t tion dies hard, in spite of the suppressio banditry and the new 'bus services. A who is not a good shot or who does not at possess a good knowledge of weapons is des and one of the first things newly appo masters must do is to demonstrate their pr with a rifle. Otherwise they are soc ostracised, and in a community where the of the clan chief is law, this is more serious it sounds. Some masters sent north from capital with excellent scholastic records returned after a few unpleasant months.

Illiteracy is widespread among the people, but they have their own ideas abou subjects that should be taught in the sch and one clansman confessed to me that he disappointed in the local secondary sc which did not include military map-making reading in its curriculum! When he serv the war, he added, his lack of this know was the only thing that prevented his pr tion. Apart from this, he had never felt absence of an education!

In the southern and central province Albania conditions of work are better secondary masters, and the country is comp tively free from the corruption prevalen other Balkan countries. But salaries re pitifully small in view of the qualifica demanded, and it is no wonder that they envious pangs when they hear of British se dary school masters enjoying Balkan holi



NANDA DEVI

Empire's Highest Peak Climbed

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

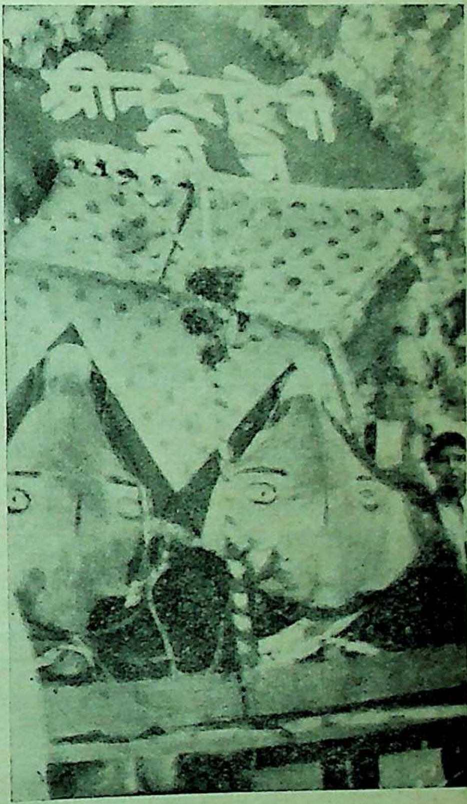
> "Double crowned Ushba in the central Caucasus is the only mountain which I can compare for beauty with Nanda Devi. But the surroundings of the latter are more beautiful even than in Svanetia. Nanda Devi was my goal years before I set foot in the Himalaya. After six visits to the snows I still believe that Garhwal is the most beautiful country of all High Asia. Neither the primitive immensity of the Karakorum, the aloof domination of Mount Everest, the softer Caucasian beauties of the Hindu Kush, nor any of the many other regions of Himachal can compare with Garhwal. Mountain and valley, forest and alp, birds and animals, butterflies and flowers all combine to make a sum of delight unsurpassed elsewhere. The human interest is stronger than in any other mountain region of the world, for these anciently named peaks are written of in the earliest annals of the Indo-Aryan race. They are the home of the Gods. For two hundred million Hindus the shrines of Garhwal still secure supreme merit to the devout pilgrim . . . . . Nanda Devi reigned over the most supremely beautiful part of the Himalayas and the climbing of this peak would be a sacrilege too horrible to contemplate."

Thus writes Dr. T. G. Longstaff, the famous mountaineer, in *The Ascent of Nanda Devi.*

There can be few regions of the Himalayas, providing topographical problems of more absorbing interest than that lying in Garhwal. For centuries it had inspired worship and propitiatory sacrifice as the 'Blessed Goddess' of Hindu philosophers and scribes. There is probably no other region in the whole world where such rich mines of knowledge await the investigator. The superstition, myths, and traditions, relating to mountains, are mostly thrilling. The mountains of Garhwal are particularly rich in such stories, because Garhwal is the fountain-head of the Hindu religion, the traditional home of most of the Gods of the Hindu Pantheon, and the terrestrial scene of their exploits. Every mountain and river, almost every rock and pool, is associated in legend with the life of some God.

The Himalayas are the Olympus of India. The two most sacred rivers of India, the Ganges and the Jumna, take their rise in the Garhwal Himalayas. From Vedic times down to the present, the Himalayas have been held in the highest reverence by the Hindus. The snowy peaks of Garhwal have a peculiarity of forming distinct groups, a fact which is absent in other Himalayan tracts. In stupendous sublimity, combined with a magnificent and luxuriant beauty, there is no other part that can be compared with the Himalayas. The average elevation of the snowy range of Garhwal and Kumaon is nowhere surpassed. For a continuous distance of some 200 miles the peaks constantly reach a height of from 22,000 to more than 25,000 ft. These holy peaks have been receiving great veneration from the Hindus from the earliest period. 'In a hundred ages of the gods,' writes one of the Sanskrit poets, 'I could not tell thee of the glories of Himachal.'

It is here that the Empire's highest peak, Nanda Devi, stands magnificently in the centre of the great Himalayan range. It is situated in British Garhwal at 80° east longitude and 30° 20′ north latitude. The peak is surrounded by a vast amphitheatre of mountains. It is seventy miles in circumference and twenty in diameter. Nanda Devi is guarded, as Mr. Hugh Ruttledge has said :



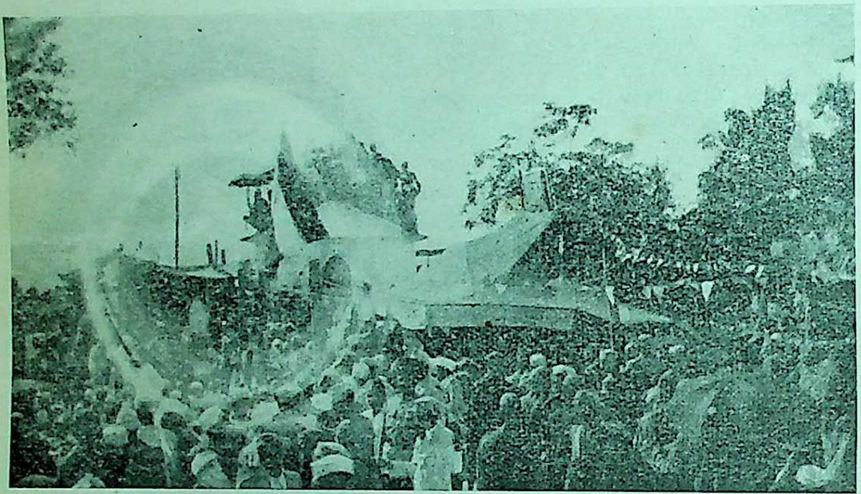
The two images of the goddess Nanda Devi

> "A seventy mile barrier ring, on which stand twelve measured peaks over 21,000 feet high, which has no

depression lower than 17,000 feet, except in the west, where the Rishi-ganga river, rising at the foot of Nanda Devi, and draining an area of some two hundred and fifty square miles of snow and ice, has carved for itself what must be one of the most terrific gorges in the world. Two internal ridges, converging from north and south respectively upon this river form, as it were, the curtains of an inner sanctuary, within which the great mountain soars up to 25,660 feet. So tremendous is the aspect of the Rishi-ganga gorge that Hindu mythology described it as the last earthly home of the seven Rishis. Here, if anywhere, their meditations might be undisturbed."

MYTHOLOGICAL HISTORY

According to a legend, the hand of the Princess Nanda, the beautiful daughter of a Hindu King of Kumaon, was demanded in marriage by a Rohilla Prince. It was refused and war followed. Nanda's father was defeated and the future Goddess fled, and after many vicissitudes, took refuge on the top of Nanda Devi. There are two other mountains in the vicinity which also are affixed by the name of Nanda. Nanda-ghunti to the west is supposed to mean 'the halting-place of Nanda'; it is only 19,893 feet high and was probably used as a stepping stone to Nanda Devi. To the east is Nanda Kot, 22,500 feet, which means 'the strong hold of Nanda,' and south is Trisul, 'the trident,' a defiance to the rapacious Rohillas.



A view of the Nanda Devi fair held at Almora (Himalayas)

Nanda Devi, the daughter of the Himalaya and the consort of Mahadev, is worshipped by the hill people as the 'Guardian Goddess'. To them Nanda Devi is something to be feared and loved. She is a merciless Goddess. She loves blood and knows no pity when her devotee betrays her. Woe unto the man who swears by her and tells an untruth or cheats another in her name. The Goddess rules the hearts of the Kumaonies in a hundred ways. A big fair is held in her honour, when buffaloes and hundreds of goats are sacrificed to propitiat Goddess. Over a mile below the summi religious festival is held every twelfth y starting from the village of Nauti in T Chandpur, but access to the spot is so diff that it is reached by scarcely fifty of the pilg who make the attempt.

Her position and altitude was determine long ago as 1845. Nanda Devi had for over years repulsed all attempts not only at sc but even of approach as the series of p encircling her constitute themselves unrel ing guardians of the great mountain to de any penetration. This sacred mountain of Goddess Nanda had remained unassail until E. E. Shipton and W. Tilman first expl and mapped the basin 1934. By forcing a p age up the tremen gorge of the Rishi-ga they entered the rem able meadow-spread b out of which Nanda D rose to the heaven heights.

There are three m ridges: on the east that which stands the N Devi, in the middle that Kamet, 25,447 feet second highest peak, on the west that of Badrinath-Kedarna group of peaks, in formation much m complex than that of the other two.

The Nanda Devi group itself, presents usual features. The main ridge runs fr north to south and in the southern half th arms project to the west. At the south extremity, a long one leads up to Trisul, 23 feet, which is nowhere less than 20,000 feet elevation for a length of ten miles to the and culminates in Nandakana, 20,700 feet, Nanda-ghunti. About ten miles north is shorter arm marked by Dunagiri, 23,184 and between the two short parallel spurs the shortest arm of Nanda Devi.

EARLIER EXPLORATION

Few developments in world explora during recent years have been more interes than the increasing interest and enterprise sh in climbing the Himalayan mountains naturally so grand a mountain drew m climbing parties. The names of those who m the attempts earlier from almost every direct are : T. S. Kennedy and W. W. Graham

1883 ; Boeckh in 1893 ; T. G. Longstaff in 1905 ; Longstaff, G. C. Bruce, and A. L. Mumm in 1907 ; Ruttledge, Howard Somervell, and R. C. Wilson in 1926 ; Longstaff and Ruttledge in 1927 and Ruttledge in 1932.

Mr. Traill, the first Commissioner, crossed a pass between Nanda Kot and Nanda Devi in 1830 for the first time. In 1855, the same route was taken by Adolph Schlagintweit and his brother Robert and both explored the great Milam glacier and travelling to the west they reached Kamet and climbed to an altitude of 22,239 feet, which was then the greatest height attained.

Colonel Edmund Smythe, in 1861, crossed the Traills pass and T. S. Kennedy, the great Alpine climber, explored the Milam side of the range in 1883.

This goddess peak then attracted the attention of W. W. Graham in 1883 who reached the Rishi gorge, accompanied by two Swiss guides, near the junction of Rishi and Dhauli rivers. Mountaineering into the Himalayas was then partially unknown and it is only during the last few years that the lure of the Himalayas has spread widely over Europe and abroad. In 1893, Dr. Kurt Boeckh with an Australian guide, Hans Kerer, made his way to Milam glacier but he was deserted by the porters before he could go very far. He however crossed the Untadhura pass (17,590 feet) to the north and descended through the difficult gorge of the Girthi in the Dhauli valley. In 1905 Dr. Longstaff and two Italian guides trekking through the Gori valley made a serious start from Milam and got on to the rim of the Basin at 19,100 feet and were the first to look into the Sanctuary although on account of extreme steepness, descent was out of the question. Not undaunted by this excursion, Dr. Longstaff returned back in 1907 with General Bruce, Mumm and three Alpine guides and crossing the Bagini pass, descended and got into the Rishi gorge at the point reached by Graham. But finding it not possible to go beyond it, he took the opportunity to scale Trisul, 23;360 feet, the highest summit trodden by man until that period.

Pilgrims and visitors watching sacrificial rites

In 1926, Mr. Ruttledge, accompanied by Dr. Howard Somervell and Major General R. C. Wilson attempted an approach by the Timphu glacier to the north-east but failed. Mr. Ruttledge came again in 1927 with Dr. Longstaff and climbing at the head of the Nandakini valley, reached the crest of the wall at its lowest point 17,000 feet but their further progress was barred by bad weather.

1934 Expedition : Basin Reached

In 1934, Messrs. Shipton and Tilman with three Sherpa porters tried a route through the tremendous gorge of the Rishi-ganga and succeeded in forcing their way into the remarkable meadow-spread sanctuary of the Blessed Goddess. Not only this, they discovered a practicable route up the sacred peak and quitted the basin over the inner rim to the south by the difficult Sunderdhunga Col. It was considered to be a magnificent achievement of what may be accomplished by two resolute mountaineers at an almost negligible cost.

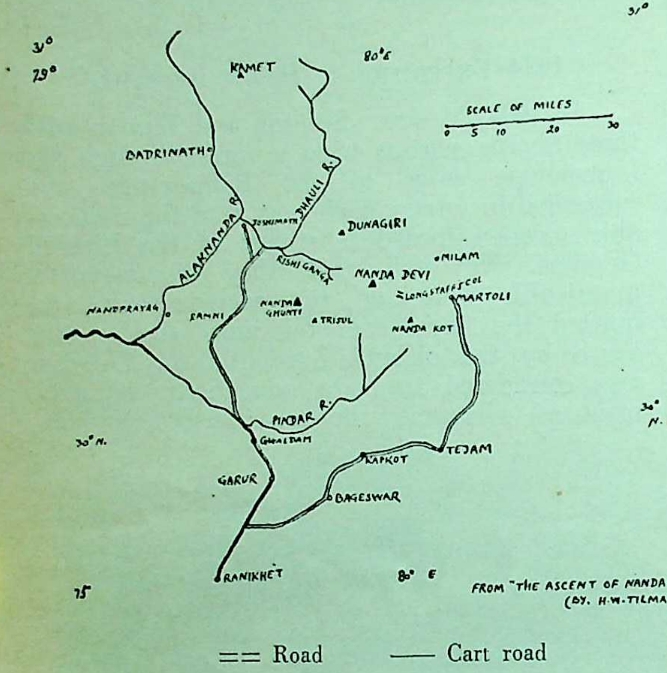
British-American Expedition (1936)

The British-American Himalayan Expedition at last succeeded to scale the peak in 1936. It consisted of eight members, namely (British) T. Graham Brown, N. E. Odell, H. W. Tilman, Peter Lloyd and (American) A. B. Emmons, C. S. Housten, W. F. Loomis and Adams Carter. They were drawn from the Universities of Cambridge, Wales and Harvard.

Professor Graham Brown of Cardiff University has done much Alpine climbing and has made the first traverses of some very difficult routes. He was also a member of the first party to climb Mount Foraker in Alaska.

Odell was the last man to see Mallory and Irvine before they disappeared on their fatal effort to reach the summit of the Everest in 1924. Before the last Everest expedition he had also stayed longer than anyone else at a height of 27,000 feet. He has climbed in Greenland and Canada.

Emmons took part in the magnificent Sikong expedition and climbed the Minya



FROM "THE ASCENT OF NANDA-DEVI" (BY. H.W. TILMAN).

Gongkar massif, 24,900 feet, in western China in 1932. Their performance is considered to be one of the most important in the history of mountain exploration and climbing combined.

The party established Base Camp at 17,000 feet on the twenty-eighth day after beginning their long hill-trek of over 100 miles from the rendezvous at Ranikhet on July 10. In addition to the six Sherpas, thirty-seven Dotial porters were engaged from Ranikhet who failed to face the crossing of swollen flood waters of the Rhamani torrent in the Upper Rishi Nala. Double labour of relaying the loads had then to be carried out. The eleven Mana porters who joined the party at Tapoban cheerfully carried their loads up the glacier and from the Advanced Base Camp (16,600 feet) they had to be paid off. The six Sherpas, several of whom had distinguished themselves in Everest expeditions, however, failed to assist the amateurs in establishing the long line of camps in the last 5,000 feet of the steep face of the mountain due to snow-blindness and some other indispositions. Only four Sherpas went to Camp I, 19,100 feet, and only two of those to Camp II, 20,400 feet. The climbing was steep and difficult and at times blizzards or snow storms of great ferocity blew on the mountain.

Professor Graham Brown has described gorge as the 'grandest, longest and most dif hill scramble in the world and formidabl a heavily-laden party.' The wild grandeu the view of the gorge, he says, is impos to express in words. As regards a climb, he adds, "of the loads raised to C I the amateurs carried a little more half the number, of the loads raised Camp I to Camp II, the amateurs ca 23 and the Sherpa porters four; of t between Camp III (21,200 ft.), amateurs carried all but one." In th maining three Camps, IV, V and VI a this, the loads of about 30 pounds each to be carried by the amateurs alone.

Seven members reached Cam (23,500 ft.) and Odell and Housten commissioned to form the first to the summit while others retu to Camp IV (21,700 ft.). But vi sickness seized Housten during night and he was replaced by Til Camp VI was established at 24 feet and the modest party of British members reached the su on August 29, the twenty-second of the climb and the fifty-first Ranikhet. Climbing over snow apparently so difficult that eight breaths to be taken at each step, short halts b necessitated after every ten.

Tilman has graphically described an count of the top in his book *The Ascen Nanda Devi*:

> "It was difficult to realize that we were ac standing on the top of the same peak which we viewed two months ago from Ranikhet, and which then appeared incredibly remote and inaccessible, a gave us a curious feeling of exaltation to know th were above every peak within hundreds of miles on e hand. Dhaulagiri, 1,000 feet higher, and two hu miles away in Nepal, was our nearest rival.
>
> "After the first joy in victory came a feelin sadness that the mountain had succumbed, that the p head of the Goddess was bowed.
>
> "At this late hour of the day, there was too cloud about for any distant views. The Nepal peaks hidden and all the peaks on the rim, excepting Trisul, whose majesty even our loftier view-point not diminish. Far to the north through a vista of cloud the sun was colouring to a warm brown the and bleak Tibetan plateau.
>
> "After three-quarters of an hour on that s summit, a brief forty-five minutes into which was cr the worth of many hours of glorious life, we dr ourselves reluctantly away, taking with us a memory can never fade and leaving behind 'thoughts beyond reaches of our souls'."

Doubtless the sanctuary of the ble goddess has at last been violated by humble man. No wonder the Garhwalis s bute the loss of forty-five lives in Badhan due to the abnormal rise of the Pindar river, which is fed by the glaciers of Nanda Kot and Trisul, in the foot-hills south and west of the Basin, on that very day to the wrath of the goddess. Indeed the incident provoked the anger of the goddess, who immediately avenged, blindly but terribly, the violation of her sanctuary.

The weather suddenly grew worse and the remaining party were prevented from attaining the summit.

RETURN

While the party descended to the Advanced Base Camp, the only misfortune befell the expedition. Poor Kitar, the Sherpa porter, died of his illness. Tilman and Housten crossed the Longstaff pass, 19,200 feet, to the east, the crest of which had virtually been attained by Emmons during the party's absence in the higher mountains, and returned back to Ranikhet *via* Martoli, Tejam and Bageshwar. The rest of the party descended down to Joshimath through the Dhauli valley and took the pilgrim route down to Ranikhet.

LESSONS OF EXPEDITION

In the current number of the *Himalayan Journal*, Mr. Eric Shipton, the famous climber, pays tribute to their feat as finest mountaineering achievement which has yet been performed in the Himalaya and which he says is the first of the really difficult Himalayan giants to be conquered. He further says :

> "This expedition was a model of what such an expedition should be : their party was a team consisting exclusively of mountaineers; they avoided the great mistake which, to my mind, nearly all the major Himalayan expeditions since the war have made, and did not handicap themselves with a vast bulk of stores and superfluous personnel; each man was prepared to carry loads up to any height, and indeed all were called upon to do so during the most arduous part of the climb; above all, they avoided newspaper publicity."

The remarkable thing about the expedition is that it has proved that the major Himalayan peaks can be tackled with success, even during monsoon, by small and informal parties and with few or no trained porters, on the actual climb. The finances too were provided by the members themselves. Tilman was appointed leader for the higher mountains otherwise the party had no official leader. Another interesting point is that this is probably the only expedition of mixed nationality to be a success.

There is no doubt that there is yet enough left to occupy the mountaineer, geographer, geologist and botanist for many generations in Garhwal and other districts. The interest of Indian public, however on the subject, is yet very insignificant and may take several decades to kindle in them the fire of mountaineering.

PHTHISIOPHOBIA AND ITS EFFECT ON ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

BY DR. BOLORAM MUKHERJEE, M.B.

THE mortal fear of phthisis, the Great White Scourge, has for a very long time been lurking in the human mind. Tuberculosis was known in ancient Egypt and the descriptions of the disease can be recognized in the accounts of the early Hindu physicians. In a later age, John Bunyan named it, "the captain of the men of death"; and with the march of time far too many sayings of evil import accumulated around it whereby the fatal nature of the malady has come to make a lasting impression in the minds of people. Moreover, as there are other features of the disease cropping up simultaneously, *e.g.*, the social and economic factors, which go to prove how the disease stands in a class by itself, its very name has become associated with the most dreadful state of affairs. It is regarded not as a messenger of uneventful death like a common epidemic disease having a rapidly fatal course, but as an emissary that inflicts the deathblow slowly and stealthily, inch by inch, thus bringing untold miseries to the sufferer and his people. No wonder then that the dread of the disease has taken such a full possession of the human mind. In fact, that is the only reason why many physicians diagnosing the disease for the first time in a patient, do not divulge the truth to the sufferer although such a step on the part of the former is absolutely unjustifiable on account of the fact that the patient who is thus lulled into a sense of false security may neglect his condition, the result being disastrous not only to the patient and the community exposed to the risk of infection, but also to the reputation of the physician.

Now the question arises whether people, dreading the disease as they are justified in doing, can reasonably work themselves up into such a state of nerves as will lead to the development of phthisiophobia. Knowing that phthisiophobia derives its origin from some exaggerated notions having, as we shall see presently, no sound basis in facts and that with its repercussions it has, as shown below, been persistently putting back the cause of campaign against tuberculosis, it is high-time that the public mind was disabused of misapprehensions. If phthisical patients are dangerous it is not those who observe all commonsense precautions and obey the laws of hygiene but those who, for some reason or other, disregard them and spit promiscuously. Many phthisical patients scrupulously particular with regard to the well being of the community are often tempted and sometimes fairly compelled by the phthisiophobiac attitude of a large section of the public to disregard the laws of hygiene and go on as if there was nothing wrong with them (phthisical patients), because, so long as you conceal your disease and do not care about the necessary precautions, *e.g.*, in the matter of spitting, which are so essential to prevent the spread of infection to others you are welcome everywhere, but the moment you use a spittoon and obey the necessary laws of hygiene in the interest of public health you are going to be hated and shunned like a leper. Says the American historian, William Garott Brown, in his *Confessions of a Consumptive* :

> "We must incessantly take for the sake of the public precautions which are disagreeable and costly; and meanwhile a great part of the public is, by its attitude toward us, steadily tempting us and even sometims fairly compelling us, if we would live to discontinue these precautions and go on as if there were nothing the matter with us. The folly and stupidity of this attitude it is impossible to overstate. It is of itself, by far, the chief cause and source of the persistence of this scourge.
>
> "Known, recognized and decently entreated we are not dangerous. Shunned and proscribed and forced to concealments we are dangerous. Victims ourselves of this same regime of ignorant and self-deceiving inhumanity, we are called on every hour of our lives for a magnanimous consideration of others. Society can hardly find it surprising or a grievance if our human nature should sometimes weaken under the strain of incessant provocation it endures from this strange working of human nature in general. Why should we ourselves be expected to be guiltless, always to our own cost and sacrifice, of that form of man's inhumanity to man from which we ourselves are suffering more than anybody else? Yet I can honestly attest that the vast majority of us are guiltless of any merely resentful offence; as a rule when we fail to protect the public it is because the public compels us to disregard its int its safety. This is what I earnestly entreat the p for its own sake, candidly to consider.
>
> "Candidly means fully. If the public is to be from us, if the public is to continue to have our tection from which it failed to protect us, then public must make it possible for us to get—it certainly cease to make it impossible for the ma us to get anything except by subterfuge—what we have to live. We are neither criminals nor mendic We do not ask favours. We merely revolt again mean and stupid oppression. We revolt against i ance and against a lie. The public would get rid and thereby makes us inescapable. It would pre and would have us pretend, that we are nowhere thereby insures that we shall be everywhere. It cribes us and thereby admits us."

What a height of folly and stupidity associated with our people's phthisiopho attitude which is thus responsible for dri tuberculosis underground and seriously endan ing public health and safety is now quite c It will be no exaggeration to say that the pu are, as it were, digging their own grave bec of this attitude. If, on the other hand, average consumptive was not shunned by ad but told that he was only a menace to inf less dangerous to children and not at dangerous to adults who might safely asso with him at least casually, he would surely t all commonsense precautions against infec those who may be harmed by it. If he permitted to work unmolested after he is c or the disease is arrested or quiescent, allow him to earn his livelihood, a considerable par the economic stress caused by this disease w be done away with. How long it will take the public to realize these facts God only kn

Even viewed from the medical standp phthisiophobia amounts more or less to scientific heresy. Because phthisis is not infectious as measles, diphtheria and other s conditions. For instance, the virus of mea appears to be spread only from persons actu suffering from or in process of developing eruptive stage; but it is so highly infective t it succeeds in producing this effect in nearly persons who survive to adult age. As for diphtheria bacillus and some other pathog micro-organisms, although they cause cli disease in only a small proportion of t who are infected yet actual disease is essential to their propagation, because they m be transmitted from host to host even by t without actual disease. On the other hand the case of tuberculosis we find that in order be infective, the disease must be of the 'op type (*i.e.*, the type in which tubercle bacilli present in the patient's sputum) and that s types of disease are produced in only a limited proportion of infected persons. In other words, supposing X to be the number of persons having tuberculous infection, the number that will get tuberculous disease will be much less, and the number that will develop the 'open' or infective type of the disease will be, comparatively, still less. This shows that there is the combination of two limiting conditions characterising tuberculous dissemination. Hence it is reasonable to say that tuberculosis is not so infectious as the other diseases mentioned before. In fact there are many notable authorities such as, Wingfield, Fishberg, Pottenger, Saugman, Baldwin who do not exactly believe in the infectivity of phthisis so far as the ordinary adult population is concerned. Says Baldwin in this connection :

> "Adults are very little endangered by close contact with open tuberculosis and not at all in ordinary association . . . It is time for a reaction against the extreme ideas of infection now prevailing. There has been too much read into the popular literature by health boards and lectures that has no sound basis in facts and it needs to be dropped out and revised."

It is also interesting to mention that experimental infections of physicians have almost without exception, proved harmless. Thus Alfred Moller was infected intravenously with tubercle bacilli. He did not develop any acute disease, excepting that he lost in weight for a few months and then recuperated without showing any symptoms of tuberculosis. Baldwin and Gardner also mention that Garnault injected virulent bovine bacilli (a variety of tubercle bacilli) into his own forearm with no harmful results. Ritter and Vehling report accidental inhalation without harm of millions of dry virulent tubercle bacilli by Hans Much and his co-workers. Say Baldwin and Gardner :

> "It is difficult to avoid such accidents, in research laboratories where dry material is manipulated, yet to our knowledge no authentic instance of their causing pulmonary tuberculosis has been reported."

On the other hand, when tubercle bacilli gain entrance into the body of an infant (or even of an adult belonging to the primitive community that are raised in the remotest interior of the country) the results may be disastrous.

Now a pertinent question crops up—if the infectivity of adult phthisis is very little or negligible, then why according to Vasudev Rao, as quoted by Benjamin, was tuberculosis in some form or other found in 32.79 per cent of a group of 2,620 contacts of patients with open tuberculosis? Similarly, why in 35.9 per cent of the patients of the Madanapalle Sanatorium was there a history of direct contact with tuberculosis, domestic or extra-domestic (although the larger proportion of the patients *i.e.*, 64.1 per cent gave no history of the kind)? In answering these questions we must enquire under what circumstances there might have been dissemination of infection and disease in the above instances. The predisposing factors for dissemination of tuberculous infection are among other things, overcrowding, bad hygiene, bad standard of living, inferior economic condition and indiscriminate spitting; and when these occur simultaneously with the contact that has been intimate, repeated and prolonged, the probability of the disease being transmitted will be great. That such conditions prevailed in the above instances it won't be far wide of our mark to presume. Says Opie :

> "Tuberculosis of human races, is profoundly influenced by habits of life, crowding, poverty and many other factors."

Similarly Dr. Frimodt Moller, Superintendent of the Madanapalle Sanatorium, who is regarded as a redoubtable figure in the Tuberculosis field in India, says :

> "It is now believed that infection takes place only from patients when they cough in closed rooms."

On the other hand, in tuberculosis hospitals and sanatoria run on hygienic lines, there is not at all any marked incidence of the disease among the staff although they come in close contact with the consumptives. Fishberg says :

> "During the forty years of the existence of the Montefiore Hospital (in U. S. A.) exceedingly few nurses, orderlies and resident physicians have been observed to develop tuberculous disease while attending to the needs of the tuberculous patients. In the case of the physicians all cases that have occurred had had symptoms of the disease before assuming hospital duties. The same is true of the nurses and orderlies."

As regards the Brompton Hospital for consumptives in London, there is on record statistics showing that among the physicians, assistant physicians, hospital clerks, nurses and others to the number of several hundred, who had served in the hospital (not few of them having lived in it for a number of years continuously) phthisis had not been more common than it may be expected to be on the average among the civil population of the town. Similar statistics are available for many hospitals and sanatoria in other countries. Sangman who had collected from many sanatoria in various countries instructive data on the subject, found that among the laryngologists, exposed to infection more than any other class, the incidence and death-rate of tuberculosis was less than would be expected. He concluded that tuberculosis was extremely rare among those who were engaged among consumptives and that physicians and laryngologists who had been healthy before entering upon their duties remained so.

Thus we find that the consumptive patient who is properly trained and willing and able to carry out instructions is no real source of danger. Still less should such patients who need our sympathy be regarded as lepers to be shunned. That is why the number of protests sometimes made by our phthisiophobiac people to interfere with the establishment of a tuberculosis institution (hospital or sanatorium as the case may be) or to demand the abolition of one already existing in a given locality, is utterly senseless. Tuberculosis institutions, far from being dangerous to the neighbourhood, improve public health by segregating and treating individuals who, left to themselves, may become a fertile source of infection to the community. That is why Sir Arthur Newsholme could draw an interesting parallel between the increase of institutional treatment and the decline phthisis death-rate during the later half of the last century.

It may be asked—why is it that tuberculosis institutions do not constitute a danger to the neighbourhood? Now, if the consumptive patients living hygienically in the institutions cannot disseminate disease to the staff although the latter come in such a close contact with the former, surely the outsiders who are much beyond the range of 'droplet infection' (*i.e.*, infection due to the spray of droplets thrown out usually up to a distance of about three feet by a consumptive in the process of coughing) cannot be harmed in any way. Says Dr. Frimodt Moller while dealing with the subject "Is a Tuberculosis Institute a danger to its neighbourhood?",

> "If we now consider that in a Tuberculosis Institution, the patients are kept in the institution and do not visit the homes of the neighbourhood, it seems absolutely impossible to think that the bacilli coughed out by the patients can pass from the institution out into the surrounding houses and neighbourhood. This is not mere theory but is supported by the fact (mentioned before) that viable tubercle bacilli have never found in road dust or in exposed public places. therefore, not only not likely from a bacteriol point of view that a Tuberculosis Institution is a d to the neighbourhood, in which it is situated, but is no foundation at all for this assumption."

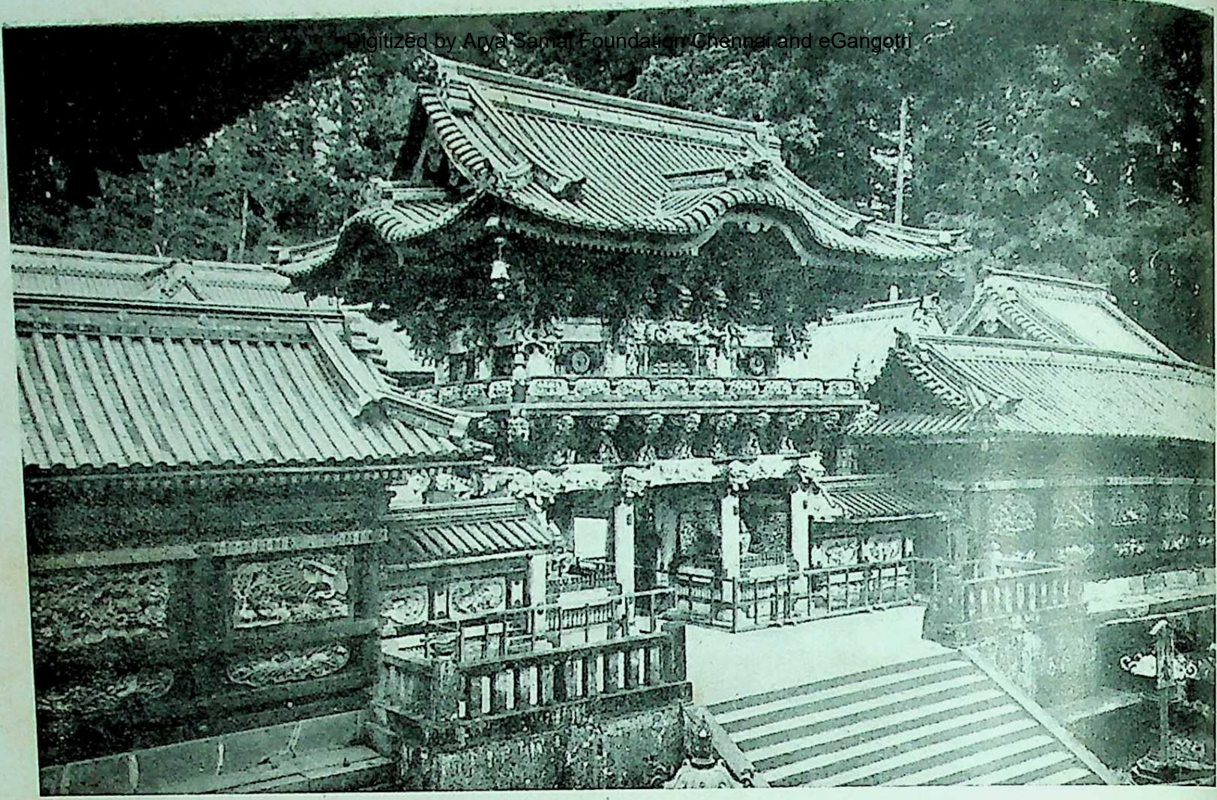
Hence tuberculosis institutions should merit the reproach of the phthisiophobiac pu On the other hand, care must be taken to that they may multiply in number and pro treat consumptives who, although not dang when living hygienically, are liable to be left out and particularly forced to concealm

Knowing as we now do, that there crying need of many more Tuberculosis Ins tions in India—a fact also stressed Prof. Lyle Cummins and by Sir Cuth Sprawson at the last Empire Conference on care and the after-care of the tuberculous- cannot but view with concern the reprehen attitude of our phthisiophobiac people are disregarding or interfering with the mat growth of anti-tuberculosis schemes and pu obstacles in the path of anti-tuberculosis Financial insufficiency was, so long, regard the only cause of deadlock, or retardati progress, of sanatorium schemes in India lately available facts do not warrant conclusion, as several contemplated institu could not come into existence because of pro from phthisiophobiac people although m was available for their establishment. H it is time for a mental renaissance of our pe The situation in our country brooks no d The disease which was unknown among rural population has become established mo less endemically in several villages, not to s of many towns and cities which have al become hotbeds of the disease. If the situ is not properly controlled it may get w Says Prof. Lyle Cummins while referring to present Indian situation :

> "Tuberculosis is increasing and seems lik increase still more unless something effective ca done to stop it."

The Ainus of Japan

Members of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council going on a pleasure cruise



Yomeimon Gate of Toshogu shrine, Nikko, Japan—a monument to feudal splendour

Tokyo at mid-day

THE PRACTICE OF THE BUDDHIST TENET OF AHIMSA IN JAPAN

By Prof. Dr. RAGHU VIRA, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT. et Phil.

Director, the International Academy of Indian Culture, Lahore

The Japanese people recognize fully their debts to India in raising them from primitive conditions of life and mind. But not so with the Indian people. In a vague way they know that Japan's religion is predominantly Buddhist. By Buddhism again they understand entirely a different thing from that practised in Japan. Books on Indian history, read by them as boys in the schools, bring into high relief the Doctrine of Ahimsa, "non-killing," "non-annoying" of any living creature, not even for food. This doctrine has, however, never flourished in any of the countries outside India. India lost the statutes of Lord Buddha, but not the great doctrine for which Buddha came into being. Other countries accepted Buddha, the numerous tenets, rites, scriptures and systems of philosophic thought connected with his name, but connived at this, to them inconvenient, control of the palate in favour of a vaster life of sympathy for the mute population of the world.

In the earlier and middle years of Japan the monks, nuns and a few pious men and women practised vegetarianism, but it was so superficial that at the mere touch of the West it disappeared rapidly. Formerly a nation of fish eaters, it is now equally proud of being beef and pork eaters. Even the pious, whether among the clergy or the laity, relish without any compunctions forbidden meat. But it should not be understood that the idea has altogether become extinct.

In recent years it has taken a new form that of memorial services. They will interest the reader by their novelty and freshness. However corrupt, Buddhism still lives, it still forges new channels for expression. Finding non-killing impossible it still tries to retain what it can. Let the readers see it for themselves.

(1) In Tokyo the members of the wood-print engravers' guild occasionally hold memorial services in honour of the spirits of countless cherry trees whose lives they and their fellow craftsmen have taken in making wood-print engravings. Up to 1911 all wood-print engravings made in Japan utilized cherry wood for the blocks. Since then about 20% of the blocks have been made of box wood. Leaders of the guild realizing that Japanese culture owes much to wood-print engraving hold such services as the only way of showing their sentiments for the tree which has contributed so much to the artistic life of Japan. The first service of this kind was held in Tokyo on April 1, 1923, at the Shinryion Temple near Heno Park.

(2) On May 21, 1932, an elaborate Buddhist mass for all the silk-worms which have given their lives for the silk industry in Japan was recited by 24 priests in the Asakusa Kwannon Temple, Tokyo. This memorial service was the idea of Mr. K. Kijima, the head of the seventh generation of a family of silk-thread dealers in Tokyo. At Uzumasa, near Kyoto there is a small shrine called Kijima Jinja, dedicated originally to honour and to give thanks to silk worms and weaving machines for the production of silk-thread, perhaps erected by an ancestor of Mr. Kijima mentioned above.

(3) On March 22, 1932, a Buddhist mass service for the purpose of comforting the spirits of fish that have been caught to feed the nation was held at the great Sodosect Temple, Sojiji in Tsurumi and elsewhere. The next day the Tsurumi priests observed a service on the sea for fish that had died from natural causes. This took place on the waters of Tokyo Bay. These services were held under the auspices of organizations of marine-product dealers throughout Japan and the Government Department of Fishery and were made possible through their monetary contributions. It is expected that this service will be observed annually.

(4) On November 6, 1932, a service was observed in Hibia Park, Tokyo, in honour of the chrysanthemums which have beautified the November chrysanthemums exhibits in the park held annually for many years.

(5) Annually in early June, a Buddhist service is held at the Teikoku Primary School in Nishi Sugamo, Tokyo, for dolls that have been broken beyond repair. The dolls are buried in the playground of the school, the grave being marked by a stone about 2 feet high inscribed "Grave of Dolls." Since the

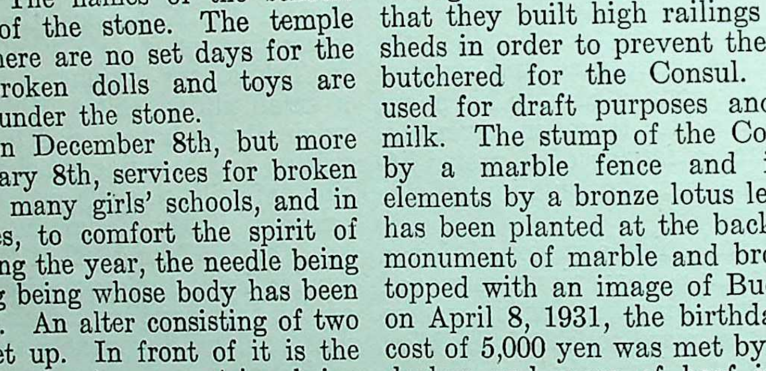
service was started in 1918, several hundred broken dolls have been buried there. The ceremony is always largely attended by school children and their mothers. Priests chant the *sutra* intended to compose the soul of the dead. This service is an outgrowth of the Doll Hospital conducted by the school since 1913. An expert repairs all dolls turned in at the 'Hospital,' and those broken beyond repairs are saved for the annual ceremony which never fails to delight and impress the children. Dolls have been the intimate friends and companions of children from time immemorial and they are regarded and treated by children as living beings and are factors in their education, and that is stated to be the reason for establishing the 'Hospital' at the school. The dolls thus treated here have exceeded ten thousand in number.

At another place, the Kosenji temple in Tokyo, the first stone at the entrance on the left is a grave stone for broken dolls and toys. It was placed there in 1931 through contributions of pupils of several girls' schools, each one giving a few sen. The names of the schools are on the back of the stone. The temple priest states that there are no set days for the burial but that broken dolls and toys are occasionaly buried under the stone.

(6) Annualy on December 8th, but more generally on February 8th, services for broken needles are held in many girls' schools, and in some private homes, to comfort the spirit of needles broken during the year, the needle being regarded as a living being whose body has been sacrificed in service. An alter consisting of two or three steps is set up. In front of it is the sacred staff and rope, cut paper strips being suspended from it. On the top step offerings of cake and fruit are placed. On the second step is a plate on which a cube of bean curd, into which the broken and crooked needles are thrust, the idea being to give the needles a rest.

(7) Under the auspices of the Tokyo Iv Art Object Dealers' Association and the As ciation of Artists of Ivory Carving, a Bud mass for the spirits of elephants which h supplied ivory carving in Japan, was celebra by twenty-one priests on April 15, 1926, at Gokoku temple in Otowa. It was attended more than one thousand persons.

(8) "The Butchered-Cow-Tree-Stupa" a monument erected in the precinct of Gyo senji temple, near the decaying stump of citrus tree to which was tied the cow that first butchered for meat in Japan. This was unusual slaughter as the tenets of the Buddhis religion then strictly prohibited the use of m for food, though fish had been in common u This historic event took place in 1856 so t Townsend Harris, the first U. S. Consul-Gene to Japan, who was domiciled in the tem could be supplied with beef. It is furt recorded that when it became known t Mr. Harris was a beef-eater the owners of co throughout the neighbourhood were so alarm that they built high railings around their co sheds in order to prevent their cows from be butchered for the Consul. These cows w used for draft purposes and not for yieldi milk. The stump of the Cow-Tree is enclos by a marble fence and is protected fr elements by a bronze lotus leaf. A new sapli has been planted at the back of the stump. monument of marble and bronze, ten feet hi topped with an image of Buddha, was unvei on April 8, 1931, the birthday of Buddha. cost of 5,000 yen was met by contributions fr dealers and users of beef in the eastern p of Japan, under the auspices of the Butche Guild of Shimoda province, which promo the project.



76308

THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY

By V. SRINIVASAN

By a proclamation issued on November 2, his 26th birthday, His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore has constituted a separate University for his State. At present all the colleges in the State are affiliated to the Madras University. The new University is not intended to be a mere replica of the existing ones. Its chief objectives differ from those of the existing Universities in two ways. Firstly, it seeks to encourage and foster scientific, technical and technological studies, so that its graduates may be in a position to exploit to the full the State's natural resources and take to agricultural and industrial pursuits. Secondly, it aims at conserving and promoting Kerala art and culture.

It is refreshing to read Section 5 :

> "No person shall be excluded from membership of any of the authorities of the University or from admission to any degree or course of study on the sole ground of sex, race, creed, class or *political views,* and it shall not be lawful for the University to adopt or impose on any person any test whatsoever relating to religious belief or profession or political views in order to entitle him to be admitted thereto as a teacher, or as a student, or to hold any office therein, or to graduate thereat, or to enjoy or exercise any privileges thereof, except where in respect of any particular benefaction accepted by the University such test is made a condition thereof."

This provision, though not new to universities, gets a special significance in these days of dictatorships and state-controlled education.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY

The constitution of the University follows that of the other Universities with very few changes. To start with, there will be the Faculties of Arts, Science, Fine Arts, Oriental Studies, Technology, Education and Law. The Faculties, the Senate and the Syndicate will be the authorities of the University.

The Senate will be composed of—(*a*) *Ex-officio members* : the Vice-Chancellor, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, if any, the D. P. I. Travancore, Deans of Faculties and Principals of Colleges (*b*) *Elected members* : 7 graduates of the University, 5 members of the State Legislatures, 1 representative of each Faculty, 1 representative of each college (*c*) *Life members* appointed by the Maharaja—Chancellor (*d*) *Donors* : all persons contributing not less than Rs. 10,000 for the *general purpose* of the University and one representative of each Association making an annual contribution of Rs. 1000 for a period of not less than five years, and (*e*) not more than 20 members nominated by the Chancellor. All members of the Syndicate shall also be members of the Senate.

The Syndicate, the Executive of the University, will consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the pro-Vice-Chancellor, if any, the D. P. I., 2 representatives of private colleges in the State, 2 members elected by the Senate, 3 Deans of Faculties nominated by the Chancellor and 2 others nominated by the Chancellor.

THE STATE AND THE UNIVERSITY

The University will depend for the present almost entirely on State-aid. The six Government colleges will be transferred to the University and the private colleges admitted to its privileges. The amount spent by the State hitherto on collegiate education—nearly five lakhs of rupees a year—will be allocated to the University. The University will get block grants from the State.

The University is not strictly an autonomous one. The Government reserve to themselves the power of auditing the accounts, conducting inspection of the University and directing its administrations if and when necessary. The following section speaks for itself :

> "If, at any time, the Government are of opinion that the affairs of the University are not managed in accordance with this Regulation or the Statutes or the Ordinances, or in furtherence of the objects and purposes of this Regulation, they may call for an explanation from the Syndicate in regard to any matter connected with the University. If the Syndicate fails to offer any explanation within the time prescribed, or if the explanation offered is, in the opinion of the Government unsatisfactory, the Government may issue such instructions as they may deem fit; and the Syndicate shall comply with such instructions. The Government may also exercise all the powers necessary to enforce compliance with their instructions."

There will be very little need for the exercise of these provisions, as the Senate is over-weighted with a good number of Government nominees; 20 members are nominated by the Chancellor in addition to the life-members.

The University starts under many advantageous circumstances.

Firstly, it is the product of two decades of investigation and study. It does not owe its establishment to an act of generosity on the part of a single private donor, as was the case with the Annamalai University, an earlier offshoot of the Madras University, where in recognition of the generous offer the Incorporation Act was hurried through the Legislature. In 1917, the Government of Travancore appointed a committee to go into the question; the majority reported in favour of a separate University. The Government appointed another committee in 1923, and asked them to submit "a fresh scheme for a University of the State of Travancore *by itself or in association with adjacent areas.*" This committee were unanimously of opinion that a separate university was both desirable and feasible and recommended a federal type of university. Another committee appointed in 1932 under the presidency of Mr. R. M. Statham to go into the whole question of the educational reorganization of the State, reported that the disadvantages of Travancore colleges remaining within the Madras University outweighed the advantages. At the same time, it sounded a note of warning:

> "Experience both in Madras and all over India, has tended to show that the new Universities, *unless accompanied by very distinctive features not existent elsewhere, are expensive and not altogether necessary luxuries.*"

So the committee entrusted with the framing of the Act embodied in the Proclamation had before it all the *pros* and *cons* of the question; and the committee was representative of every interest in the State.

Secondly, the new University starts with very good resources, resources far better than what the Mysore University, the Andhra University, the Annamalai University and the Nagpur University had when they began to function. There are 10 colleges of the Degree grade in the State. There are over 300 feeder "English Schools" with nearly 60,000 pupils, and the State spends nearly 20 per cent of its revenue on education, the highest figure for all India.

Thirdly, the University commands the confidence of the public as evidenced by endowments of over a lakh of rupees, by men and women of the State representing all interests created so soon after the Proclamation.

It is to be hoped that besides developing technological centres of all types and centres for Fine Arts (under the guidance of Dr. J. H. Cousins), the University will (*a*) like the Osmania University take steps to impart University education through the vernacular of the State and (*b*) open a college of Indigenous Medicine and thus make available to the outside world the secrets of the famous Kerala system of medicine.

A great deal depends on the Statutes to be framed under the Act and the personnel of the first members of the Senate and the Syndicate who will be nominated by the Chancellor and hold office for two years.

CHILD GUIDANCE CLINICS

By H. P. MAITI

Calcutta University

The 20th century has been described as "the Century of the Child." Never before has man appreciated the importance of proper training of the child for his future welfare so keenly as in the present century. We have come to realize that what we become in our later years are essentially determined by the way in which we are brought up during the first few years of our life. The child's habits of reactions, specially to the social environment of his early years, mainly determine his future emotional dispositions, character traits, tastes and even intellectual abilities. A defect of development in these years is very difficult to be compensated by later educational measures, however ingenious these may be. If one has not been able to enjoy security within family relations in his early days, he will never be able, when grown up, to move in outer society with feelings of confidence and ease which are necessary not only for the individual's own happiness but also for his useful service to the society. If one has the good fortune of unrepressed and free development in childhood under the loving care and help of his elders and in the joyful company of other children like him, if no foolish obstacle is placed on the smooth course of his natural development and on the budding of his individuality, he would grow, in all probability, into a self-reliant being, who is equal to all circumstances of life, and who is happy to live for himself as well as for others in society. In a word, if we want less of unhappy and inefficient, and more of balanced, happy and capable men and women in society, we should apply ourselves more earnestly and intelligently to child rearing on the principle of mental hygiene than we have done hitherto.

As a matter of fact, children are at present very much neglected and mismanaged. Our dealings with them generally fall into two types : over-strictness or over-indulgence. But in either types of relation we fail to understand the individual peculiarities and needs of the growing child. A plan of upbringing that would make the child happy and would at the same time prepare for his future good should be adapted to such needs; and this can never be done without a proper and sympathetic understanding of his behaviour. Such a plan should specially take into consideration the conflicts in his emotional and instinctive life. It should also be guided mainly by the idea that the dominant natural trend of the child's emotional life should not be rudely smothered, but helped on to progressively stable and happy adjustment to the conditions of social life.

Acute conflict in child life in which one emotional tendency is violently pitted against another, as for example, love or hate against the desire for social approval, is mainly responsible for the peculiarities of the "Problem" children. These are children in whom upbringing has been miscarried, and whom we fail to understand and deal with successfully, in spite of our efforts to do so. Failure in upbringing is manifested in various ways in their lives. Some of the children present open defiance to society and the social code of behaviour. This defiance may range from non-co-operation or disobedience to grossly anti-social behaviour like stealing and arson. Disinclination to learn may express this tendency. Perverse or sexual habits in childhood may also in many instances be traced to the spirit of defiance. There is another group of Problem children who can be described as budding neurotics. Neither fully defiant nor fully docile, they are both at the same time. They are always trying to overcome their strong feelings of anger with those of submissive obedience. They develop in course of time certain neurotic peculiarities of behaviour. Their capacity for normal development becomes greatly jeopardised by an inner conflict and a heavy unconscious sense of guilt. Nervousness, complete or partial inhibition of intellectual power, absence of self-confidence proportionate to the age, physical illness of the functional type like asthma, diarrhœa etc., may be due to the working of the unconscious sense of guilt.

Parents ordinarily feel helpless in their dealings with children. In a sense, however, it is they who may be regarded as responsible for the behaviour troubles. For, from the psychological point of view, refractory behaviour in children is mostly a reaction to the kind of treatment which they have had already received from the social environment provided by the parents themselves. Not knowing the psychology of the 'Problem' behaviour, the parents usually accuse their children with an inborn mischievousness, or thoughtlessly ascribe it wholly to outside influences, like the play-mates or the defective school organization.

Though parents cannot escape the criticism in many cases that they have not done, and even perhaps have not understood, their duty to their children during their early years, it must be said in their defence that the task of child-rearing on healthy lines is not an easy one. Recent advances in psychological knowledge indicate how difficult it is to adjust the environmental factors, specially those in the social sphere, to the susceptibilities of the child during the formative years of his growth. Many parents cannot understand the exact requirements of the situation on account of their own intellectual limitations or lack of opportunity of learning. Many have not the leisure for this delicate work. Many are temperamentally unfit for the patient handling of young children. Many suffer themselves, from inner emotional coflicts so that it becomes difficult for them to look at the problems of child's development in a detached way. The fact is, that all of us tend to react unconsciously to our children generally in the same way as our parents did with reference to us in our childhood.

There are three ways in which we can attempt to solve the difficulty of child-rearing : (1) Seeing that the ordinary parents are so ill-fitted for giving the basic education in the period of childhood, we may arrange for this education under the guidance of properly qualified teachers who are to act as foster parents. There has been considerable progress in nursery education in western countries in recent years and I hope we shall very soon see a number of nursery schools flourishing in our country. But we cannot expect to provide the advantage of nursery education to all children. Neither is it a complete remedy for evils of defective child-rearing. 'Problem' behaviour does not exist when the child is sent to school. The method of education may be defective in the school as well as in the home. Then again, even in the case of a child attending a nursery school, it is difficult to keep him altogether away from the 'harmful' influence of his parents with whom he has to spend a considerable part of his time. For these reasons, it is necessary for the society to arrange for some education of the parents through which scientific knowledge bearing on the upbringing of children may be imparted to them.

(2) A plan of Parent-education is, therefore, the second way in which we can attempt to meet our difficulty of child-rearing. This education can be given through popular lectures, pamphlets, magazine articles and radio talks. In order to be effective such talks and lectures should naturally lead to discussions of actual cases and, whenever possible, demonstrations about the proper method of dealing with children's 'problems' by properly qualified persons should be arranged.

This takes us to the third way of meeting our difficulty, namely, (3) 'Child Guidance Clinics.' The primary function of such a Clinic is to help the home and the school with expert advice on the subject of child-rearing and child education. It is not necessarily confined to 'problem' children, but tries to direct the mental development of normal children as well. It aims at the complete understanding of the child. We try to understand the child—physically, intellectually and emotionally; in the weak, as well as the strong points of his personality. No advice is offered at the Clinic without a thorough scientific study of the child as far as possible. The predominant impulse of his individuality is specially taken into consideration at the time of giving advice.

The examination of the child falls into several parts: (1) The specific object of the visit of the child and his guardian at the Clinic is specially noted. This is followed by a detailed family and biographical history. An enquiry is made into the heredity, the size, and economic and social conditions of the family; any notable incident in the early life of the child that may have given him some emotional shock; and also the nature of social relation between the inmates, specially between the parents themselves. History of physical illness is also recorded. Specially important for diagnostic purpose in certain types of cases are informations about the course of bodily and mental development. The records of educational progress have also to be looked into sometimes.

(2) A thorough physical examination follows the biographical history. It should preferably be conducted by one who is a specialist in children's diseases. This examination is necessary for the detection of foci of infection or some other source of chronic physiological irritation; for, the mental trouble of the child may in some cases be due to a physical cause and may disappear when this is attended to.

(3) In the third part of the examination we come to a psychologist who can apply mental tests, and make observation for himself about the peculiarities in the conduct of the individual child. He should preferably be a psycho-analyst also, so that he can observe the unconscious links between the different acts and traits of the child, and form an idea about the real dynamics of his personality. Application of mental tests on the Problem children should always be done with special care and results of such applications should be estimated in the light of the emotional conflicts from which such children usually suffer. There should be opportunities of play at the Clinic; for, it has been found that the conflicting impulses of the child usually come to spontaneous expression through his play activities. An opinion is finally formed about the probable psychological cause of the trouble of the child by taking many things into consideration, viz., biographic history, physical defect or illness and the actual behaviour of the child at the Clinic and outside. In many cases such an opinion is to be checked up by observation of changes in the behaviour and attitude of the child with 'trial' or experimental behaviour from the psychologist, or as advised by him.

In many cases the observation of the child's behaviour cannot be completed at the Clinic and he has to be followed to his home and the play-field. He may not show all the aspects of his personality in the strange atmosphere of the Clinic and, therefore, it is necessary to observe him in his ordinary milieu. This is done by a social worker, who is usually a lady, and who is possessed of tact and sympathy with some training in psychology. This visit is to be made not only for observing the child, but also for observing parents, how they behave towards each other as also with the children. It has been rightly said that the Problem child has usually a Problem parent behind him.

The social worker is an important link between the Clinic and the home, and practical effect of the psychological advice given at the Clinic depends to a great extent on his or her ability to help the child and his relations to live a more happily adjusted life together.

A few words about the nature of treatment of the Problem children may not be out of place here. In the simpler cases a few talks to the parents as well as to the child may suffice to bring about a better relation between them and to put the child on the right line of behaviour. In the case of mental deficiency, the duty of the Clinic ends with advice for a special type of education either in some institutions or at home. If the deficiency be so much as to amount to idiocy or low imbecility, custodial care has to be recommended. In the more complex and serious cases of Problem children, a more radical method of treatment has to be adopted. Psycho-analysis has been found to be successful in many cases. Change of the home atmosphere and specially of the attitudes of the parents become necessary in almost all cases.

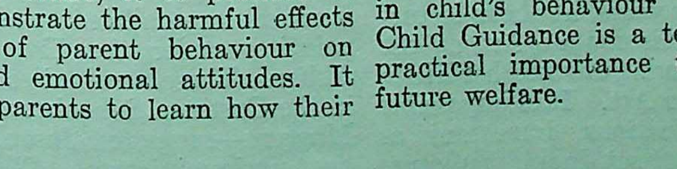
The Child Guidance Clinic usually forms a part of Psychology department or an out-door hospital or a medical institution. It also may be run independently. It is desirable that there should be arrangement, if possible, for prolonged observation and treatment of children suffering from more serious maladjustments, and, therefore, it is good to have a Clinical Ward, if possible, attached to the outdoor Clinic.

The Child Guidance Clinic is meant to serve not only the interest of the Problem and Defective children, but also more important interests of normal ones. There are many educated and intelligent parents who are eager to know if their children are developing as they should and in what way this development can be helped. The question of Vocational guidance of children and youths has become prominent in recent years and this work has to be taken up by the Child Guidance Clinics. The natural aptitude, the points of weakness and the compensations thereof, have to be studied psychologically and an advice has to be given as to the further educational line or vocations in which the child is likely to excel.

The Clinic can also be used as a medium of Parent education; for, with the variety of cases that visit the Clinic, it is possible to explain and to demonstrate the harmful effects of different types of parent behaviour on children's habits and emotional attitudes. It can also enable the parents to learn how their dealings with their children should be improved. Valuable knowledge about children and child training is sure to grow and accumulate in course of time at the Clinic, and this knowledge should be utilized not only for research by child psychologists but also for the enlightenment of the parents and the society.

The idea of the Child Guidance Clinic is not wholly new in India. It has been discussed in lectures and magazine articles from time to time. But there are not many Clinics working at present in India. The city of Calcutta possesses two Mental Clinics which give advice on Problem children. One is run by the Indian Association for Mental Hygiene, Calcutta Branch, and is attached as an Outdoor department to the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia. An eminent Psychiatrist is in charge of it and it attends to all types of mental cases. The Psychology Department of the Calcutta University examines and gives advice upon children referred to it. It confines itself mainly to psychological examination and advice. Some time ago, F. C. College, Lahore, started a Child Guidance Clinic under its Psychology Department. Recently a Clinic has been established at Delhi by Mr. U. S. Gheba. There are proposals at present to start two other Mental Clinics in Calcutta, one of which will devote itself solely to Child guidance, and will be organized by the Marriage Welfare and Child Guidance Association, Calcutta. The other will be run by the National Medical Institute and will form a part of the Chittaranjan Hospital. There are a number of qualified psycho-analysts in Calcutta and it is possible for a guardian to have his Problem child psychologically treated, if a need for this arises.

It has been proved beyond doubt by the researches of modern psychology that the future happiness of the child is essentially determined by the way in which he is brought up in his early years. Child-rearing in the past has considerably suffered from ignorance and bias. Expert advice may help happy and successful adjustment, if it is sought for before the trouble in child's behaviour is very far advanced. Child Guidance is a technical service of great practical importance to the society and its future welfare.



VIENNA'S SHARE IN THE RESEARCH OF INDIAN ART

By Frau H. FULOP-MILLER

The beginning of serious work of investigation in Vienna, both of Asiatic Art as a whole and of Indian Art in particular is connected with the name of Joseph Strzygowski. He was the first man who systematically extended the principle of comparative history of art (which before his time was restricted to the European Art) to the Asiatic countries. While, in former times, we were accustomed, to measure the works of art of the Western Asiatic countries, of India and the Far East by a scale generally used for European Art, by and by we got convinced that we should better understand the real quality of all these cultures and try to know them by their own premises. In this way it was necessary to find out the exact standpoint for the old Indian culture and the monuments of architecture, sculpture and painting and to make the history of Indian Art an equivalent part of the general history of Art. This was the aim which Strzygowski pursued at the University of Vienna where he occupied the Chair of History of Art, since 1909. In his institute for History of Art, which existed till 1933, besides European students, students from India were to be found. Strzygowski himself did not publish special works on Indian Art, although he treated it extensively in his lectures. But in his fundamental book *The Art of Asia* (1930) he has drawn a comprehensive picture of Indian Art.

Some of Strzygowski's pupils have, occasionally or continually, devoted themselves to the investigation of Indian Art. In 1926 Ernst Diez in the *Manual of the History of Art* published the volume on India. Karl With produced in his publication about Java (1920) an intensive study of Indian sculpture. A. Salmony wrote about plastic art in Siam (1925). Last but not least, Stella Kramrisch is to be mentioned, who, for many years, has been lecturing as a Professor of History of Art at the University of Calcutta, having devoted her life to the investigation of Indian Art. It is impossible to enumerate her publications, important as they all are. Her book about Indian sculpture (1933) will always be a standard work; her latest publication is a detailed account of the painting in the Deccan. In Springer's *Manual of the History of Art* she wrote the part dealing with Indian Art (1929). Besides, she is editing the excellent *Journal of the Indian Societ* *Oriental Art* (Vol. I, 1933) in collaborat with Abanindranath Tagore.

In Vienna the Society of Friends of Asi Art and Culture was founded in 1925 by students of Strzygowski. In lectures held Austrian and foreign scholars and in ess published in the *Year Book*, problems Indian Art are treated. Also in an exhibitio "Asiatic Art in Private Possession in Vien specimens of Indian Art are shown to the pu Besides, the interest for Indian Art in Vienn elsewhere is created by and based upon wo of Art which are in the possession of Museums. It is worth mentioning, that th exists in Vienna a great number of interes Indian miniatures since the 18th cent They are preserved in that well-kn room in the Castle of Schonbrunn, wh by its wooden casing is called Feke room, or Room of the Million. The walls of room were, in the second half of the 18th cent under the reign of Maria Theresa, covered w rose-wood in such a way that the fine Roco ornaments of the wainscot formed single fra for the inlaid pictures. There are a g number of Indian miniatures of the 16th 18th century, works of the court-painters the time of the great Moghuls. These painti probably presented in whole collections to Imperial Court of Vienna, were cut apart a put together again into new units, as find them at present. These miniatures h been edited in a splendid publication Heinrich Glueck (1923), The same au wrote a similar work about the miniat of the History of Emir Hamza, wh are preserved in the Austrian Museum of and Industry, containing sixty large folios, wh form an unparalleled specimen of Indo-Isl painting under the Emperors Humayun Akbar. These two collections of miniatu in the Castle of Schonbrunn and in the Aus Museum—suggested Joseph Strzygowski's b on Asiatic miniatures. This book also cont contributions by H. Glueck and S Kramrisch, also one by E. Wellesz, whose ea work about the Art of Gandhara (1924) sh be mentioned apart.

Of earlier Indian Art there is not very m to be found in the Museums of Vienna: but there are, as in the Museum of Ethnology, fine and very rare specimens of Indian sculpture, especially one of Java, which, however are not yet arranged according to their importance they deserve. The Museum of Ethnology possesses a notable collection of Java bronzes, on which R. Heine-Geldern has written a little book (1925). But also in the Austrian provinces works of Indian Art are occasionally found, as for instance the Buddha-head of the Boro-Budur, which was last year discovered in the Museum at Linz (Upper-Austria).

At present the research on Indian Art and Ethnology has its active centre in the person of Robert Heine-Geldern, Professor at the University of Vienna. His publications first of all concern subjects of Ethnology, especially of Indian and South-Eastern Asia. But his enquiries brought forth, in the last decade, many results of great importance for the History of Art. In connection with Ethnography and Pre-history many problems were raised, the treatment of which has already brought about valuable explanations of the origin and the nature of Indian Art. Especially in a great work about the Megalithic Cultures, followed by a detailed investigation into the pre-historic fundamentals of Indian Art, Heine-Geldern found new methods for the treatment of problems of the History of Art. The grand temple-buildings of Indo-China and Java, the relation of which to these cultures the author was able to make evident, form the subject of another important publication. It may be said that here a promising path has been taken, which in the next few years, will prove successful by showing valuable results. In R. Heine-Geldern's work a certain method and aim has been developed which has brought Vienna to the forefront in the sphere of investigation into Indian Art.

SAHEBJI MAHARAJ SIR ANAND SWARUP

By B. CHATTERJI, M.A., LL.B., *Hoshangabad*

FROM a telegraph operator to a great spiritual and industrial leader—that has been the life of Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup.

About nine years ago the writer had to visit Dayalbagh on professional work. Sir Sahebji was then plain Sahebji Maharaj, the head of a growing colony of devoted followers—all men of culture. It was a new experiment that was going on six miles from Agra City on the banks of the Jumna where only the Jhau (casuarina) tree thrives. A beautiful array of well-built cottages, some single-storied and some double-storied, lined the equally well-laid array of roads and streets which traversed the length and breadth of the colony. The central block was the hub of the colony. It is known as the Radhaswami Educational Institute building. It located the offices, the library and the museum. Guests from all over India are lodged in its big halls during the annual Bhandaras* or festival time. Hundreds of people from different parts of India visit Dayalbagh twice a year to sit at the feet of the Guru and to listen to his sapient words. Though the Satsang (Divine service) is held morning and evening every day, it is a great experience to be present at one of the morning services during one of the annual festivals. It reminded me of the great morning services held in the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Hall in Calcutta during the *Maghotsab* celebrations over which the late Pundit Siva Nath Shastri used to preside. I told the Sahebji Maharaj so, but he told me that their faith was different from that of the Brahmo Samaj. It may be so. I do not enter into polemics. But the spirit of the service, the devotion of the worshippers, the whole atmosphere was reminiscent of the Brahmo prayer meetings.

How the whole show at Dayalbagh (the Garden of the Merciful) strikes a European observer, will be apparent from the following extract from a chapter named "Modern Utopia" in Major Yeats-Brown's book *Lancer At Large* (Gollancz Ltd.). Says the author:

> "However, we have come to Agra to pay a visit to a colony of work-a-day mystics. There is a mystic about the Ford factories at Detroit, about the Hormons in Salt Lake city, the Doukhobors at Nelson B. C. (who have moved since I was last in Canada) and about the Russian factories which I have visited in Moscow, Nijni Novgorod and Stalingrad, but Dayalbagh surpasses them

---

* There are four such every year, but the largest gatherings are witnessed during Easter and Christmas.

all in versatility and in its ability to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's. Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup, the spiritual and temporal ruler of the colony, is a pioneer the like of whom the world has not yet seen."

Yet another observer, Paul Brunton, says about the Guru :

"Sahebji Maharaj reveals an uncompromising resourcefulness in the way he disposes of everything which comes up. He adopts a chatty, witty tone, is never at a loss for an answer to the subtlest query and delivers quick confident opinions upon the most varied spiritual and material problems. His entire attitude betokens an unusual and successful reconciliation of self-confidence with quiet humility. He shows that he possesses an engaging sense of humour, which crops up again and again in merry remarks.

Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup

"My mind is carrying away a picture of a notable man whom I greatly like and profoundly admire, for he is at once an inspired dreamer, a serenely-minded *yogi*, a practical man of the world and a polished gentleman . . .

"I realise anew the curious paradox which his character presents. Master of over one hundred thousand people who practise a mysterious form of yoga; prime organiser of the multifarious activities which seethe around me in Dayalbagh; taken all in all I write him down as a brilliant and breath-taking man. Nowhere in India, nowhere in the world, may I expect to meet his like again."

Speaking of the growth of the Dayalbagh colony Major Yeats-Brown observes :

"From small beginnings Dayalbagh has developed into a garden city of four square miles in extent, housing 3,500 community members, and employing another workers in forty-two industries. The exports of its and factories have doubled themselves in the last years and now amount to £60,000 a year. Its pr are known throughout India and there is hardly a where there are not members of the faith. The number of Radhaswamis is over 150,000 grouped i branches.

"The 'Model Industries' in Dayalbagh on £60,000 have been spent turn out goods to the va £37,000 a year : they have depots in seven cities ninety agencies. Motor parts, dynamos, electric stoves, clocks, heaters, gramophones, laboratory ba and weights, biology models and surgical instru fountain pens, knives, nibs, inks, buttons, toys, w goods, socks, stockings, vests, shoes and all kin leather goods are made. This list might be extended. Sir Anand tells me that he is thinki taking up the manufacture of cheap radio sets as as his workshops have breathing space. All thi been achieved in twenty-three years. All departme managed by Indians."

The writer proceeds :

"My amazement grew as I walked around f after factory, saw the dairy, the farms, the new from the Jumna, talked to the students in their I thought : India is the foster-mother of most faiths in the world and this rural industrial rel life of the Radhaswamis as seems, as far as I ca to knock out western experiments along the same into a cocked-hat. Is it perhaps the forerunner new civilization?"

The writer concludes :

"Given a hundred Sir Anand Swarups, how q India might become a smiling land, clean, gay, pr ous, dustless (such as the whole of Dayalbagh ap to be) and at peace within her borders!"

Sir Anand Swarup had not his like in whole of India. When I visited Dayalbagh saw him, I thought of the Negro patriot had founded the Tuskegjee Institute for elevation of his race. If you could by s process weld together the spirituality of T and the industrial genius of Sir R. N. Muk you might be able to produce another Sir A Swarup. But for the present, India has lo son who cannot be replaced for some But as Sir Anand himself used to say, believe that a leader will always be found our community, since we seek God's guidan everything."

Sir Anand Swarup was a great nation but he did not agree with Mahatma Gandh all the details of his politics.

He would not, for instance, accept the of the spinning wheel, being a great believ the industrial regeneration of India. He not believe in non-cooperation with the Eng

India mourns the loss of one of her gre sons of the present century. May his attain the bliss for which he worked all his

WINTER IN BADGASTEIN

By E. SCHENKL

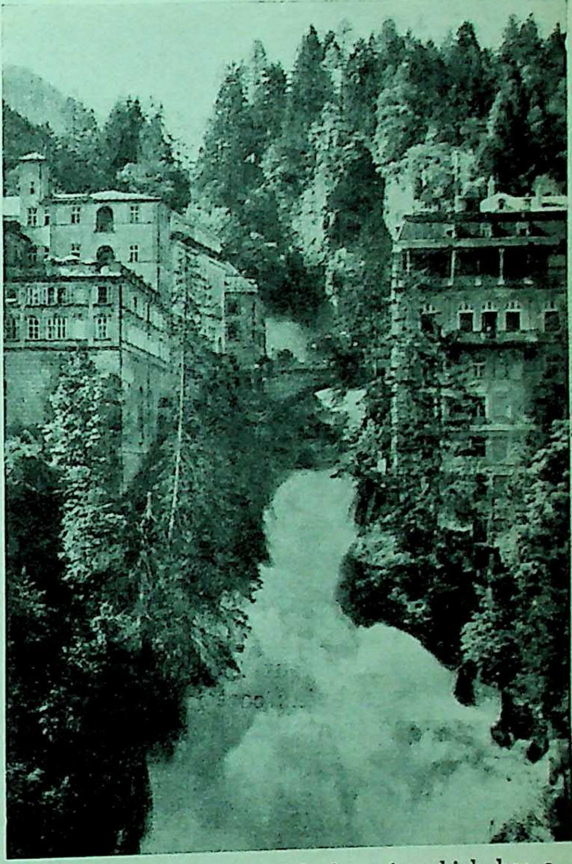
The train leaves Salzburg at about 1 p.m. and wends its way southwards. Looking back one can see the castle of Salzburg saying farewell from the distance. It takes only a few minutes before the train reaches a narrow valley. The railway lines, a road and the river, nothing more finds room in this valley that is deep cut in the midst of gigantic mountains soaring high on either side. On and on the mountain railway goes and one can easily notice the change in temperature. It gets colder. The summits of the mountains at a distance begin to appear with a touch of snow.

Schwarzach St. Veit is reached, where one must usually change for Badgastein unless it is a through train. In half an hour's time the train will get there (Badgastein) up till Schwarzach St. Veit the train runs on the same level with the road but now it begins to climb, leaving the river and road down below in the valley. Near Hofgastein the valley broadens out. From the train the village looks like a picture drawn on a flat background or perhaps like a toy village in a box. The next station after Hofgastein is Badgastein which is reached at 3 p.m.

On leaving the train, fresh cold mountain air fills the lungs and one takes a deep breath.

Badgastein has been a health resort for centuries. In 1936 it celebrated the 500th anniversary. In ancient times people came there to find relief for their ailments through the hot springs. Today we know that the healing factor in this water is radio-activity and doctors prescribe the use of the water for various illnesses, like rheumatism, gall-bladder trouble, stomach trouble and general weakness and debility. The treatment consists of two kinds—namely, bathing or drinking, bathing being more important. In summer the place is crowded—people from all parts of the world are coming to find relief but it is also a rendezvous for the fashionable people, like actors, sportsmen, artists, writers and the like. The municipality of Badgastein has naturally provided for all their needs—big hotels, restaurants, cafes, concerts, cinemas and all the paraphernalia of modern civilization which people will not miss even when coming from the noisy towns. But this season does not last long—a few months and the village sinks back into its winter-sleep.

Coming here in December, one finds a different place and certainly a nicer one. Quietness everywhere. Snow covers the roofs, the trees, the streets like a white, soft mantle. The silent range of the snowy mountains with its hoary peaks looks down upon Badgastein.



The famous waterfall of Badgastein which has a drop of 600 feet

The town itself, or rather village, is built on three terraces about 3500 feet above the sea-level. Right in the centre roars down the gigantic waterfall in three cascades. A grand view indeed! Dark fir trees on the slopes of the mountains help to make a harmony of white and green.

But also in winter people come to visit Badgastein. Only, they are the more quiet types of mankind, those who want to enjoy nature and quietness. The place is also famous

Badgastein 1083m, im Winter

Badgastein in winter

for winter-sports and in the morning one can see these people go out with their skis. The fashionable folks are of course not there and the big hotels are all closed, giving the place a weird appearance. But prices are generally cheaper and even baths cost less. If one would like to combine treatment with work or rest or sports then winter is the proper season in Badgastein. There are no distractions of the kind that one finds in the big cities in Europe but there are plenty of these distractions in Badgastein in summer. No, I would not go to Badgastein in summer for anything, though it may be the fashion to do so.

Further, in winter the climate is at its best. The air is fresh and pure. Snow may be lying thick all round but it is a dry cold which does not depress like a London fog. It exhilarates because the sky is blue and a warm sunshine smiles on a silvery landscape. It is this combination of sun and snow which has a maddening effect on me and lures me as no city entertainments could.

In the matter of walks, Badgastein has much to offer. Aged folks can walk for miles on the same level along the river bank and enjoy the babbling music of the river. Youthful individuals go up the mountains along hilly paths in search of adventure. And between thes extremes, one can enjoy a longish walk to the neighbouring town of Hofgastei walk back again. There is also a regul service between these two places.

From Badgastein one can continu journey in the mountain railway south Passing Bockstein and Mallnitz one co Villach, an important junction on the V Rome line. But at Villach the snow be thin off. From Villach a half hour's j brings you to the Austro-Italian frontier of Tarvisio. And from Tarvisio the lin down straight to Venice.

Apart from the bracing climate, B tein has hot mineral springs which us bathing (or for drinking) serve as a n tonic. These waters are the most highly active in the world—that is why people from all over the world. The usual co treatment consists of twenty-one bath proper intervals in between. There are of men and women who come every yea spend six weeks or a couple of mont Badgastein and go back entirely refres that they may carry on for another months with full energy and vigour. W not Indians try this health-resort also?

ALL INDIA SEVA SAMITI SCOUT MELA

By AMIYA ROY CHOUDHURY

THE Seva Samiti Boy Scouts Association celebrated its ninth annual mela at Calcutta at Eastern park, Park Circus, the famous venue of 1928 session of All India Congress, during the period 26th to 30th December, 1937.

The writer with a jolly group of Calcutta Wolf Cubs

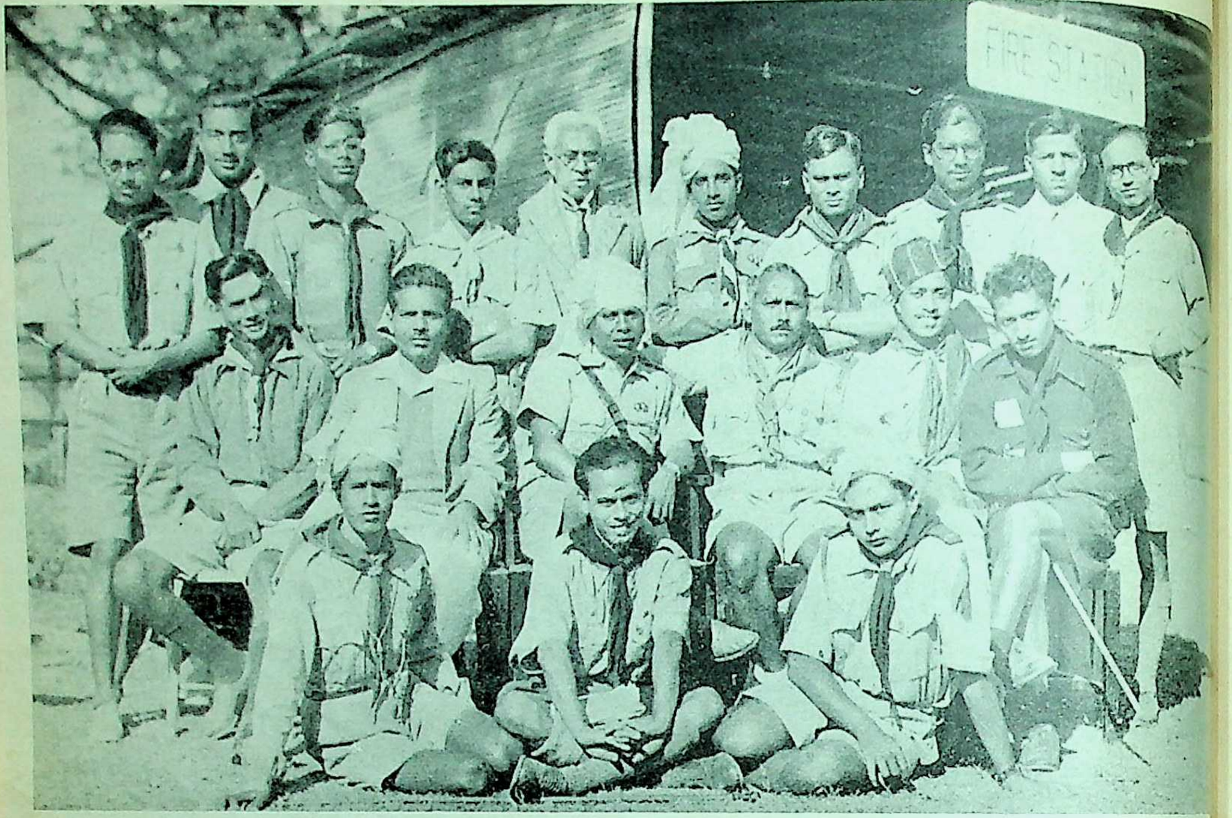
About five thousand Scouts from every nook and corner of India came to share a common life in open air at this vast encampment of fraternity.

"Mela" is the Indian term for Jamboree and is held every year to stimulate fellowship and goodwill amongst the youth of the country. This "mela" was more than an educational experience and was an actual demonstration of the practice of Scout law and promise, of patriotism and citizenship and more than that of universal brotherhood, and lastly of training, discipline and innate character.

The Baden Powell Boy Scouts Association, National Scout Association, Brati Balak Organization of Shantiniketan were also represented in this pilgrimage of brotherhood.

It won't be out of place here to write a few lines about the origin and growth of the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association. Scouting though introduced in India as early as 1911, was not meant for Indians. Realizing the need of scouting for Indian boys, people like the late Mrs. Annie Besant and Dr. G. S. Arundale started the Indian Boy Scouts Association in 1917 in South India. In Northern India Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and Pandit Shree Ram Bajpai started the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association in 1918.

In 1921 Lord Baden Powell, the Chief Scout of the world visited India and extented affiliation to all the existing Scout Associations in India, under certain conditions, which though accepted by many, did not satisfy a section of



Group of Mela workers. Standing fifth from left Pandit Shree Ram Bajpai

A general view of the huge crowd that assembled to witness the demonstrations of Scoutcraft at the Mela

---

the earl
States S
Boy Sco
side and

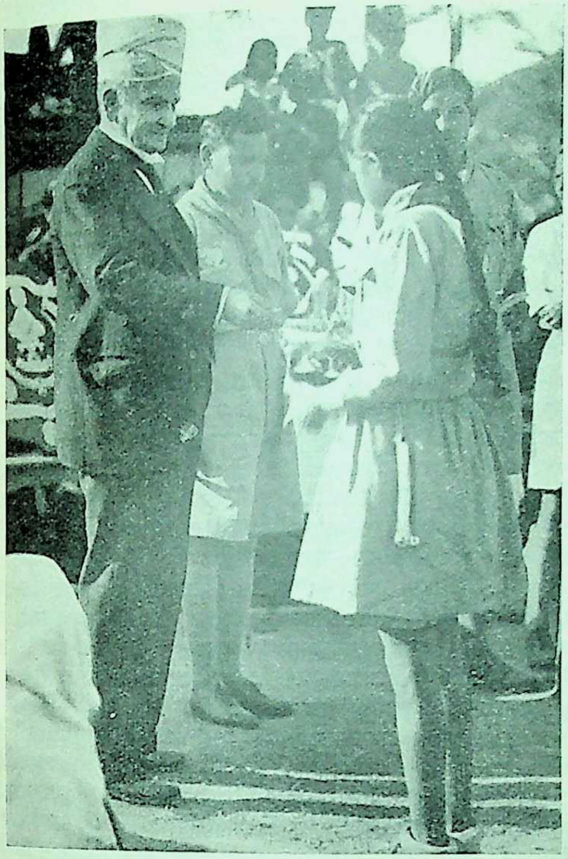
Prof. F

The intr
and it s
tremend
ment re
was offi
Educati
Scouts A

The
criticism
characte
ing of '
consequ

As
Congres
days ca

the early pioneers of scouting in India. Several States Scout Associations and the Seva Samity Boy Scouts Association preferred to remain outside and to carry on on strictly national lines.



Prof. P. Sheshadri awarding trophy to a Girl Guide

The intrinsic worth of Seva Samity was realized and it spread out to all corners of India with tremendous rapidity and in 1922 U. P Government recognised it and Seva Samity Scouting was officially recommended in schools by the Education Department. The Seva Samity Scouts Association has a girl-guides section also.

The recent agitation due to the alleged criticism by Lord Baden Powell of Indian character and honour has resulted in the awakening of "national prestige" in Scouting and the consequent stimulus of Seva Samity Scouting.

As Pandit Raghunath Misra, President, Puri Congress Committee, has stated after his five days camp life in the Mela, that "Scouting is one of the best ways of unifying the youth of the country and engaging them profitably at the sevice of the motherland" and as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru trusts, that "they will grow up as soldiers of India's freedom," Mr G. S. Arundale has rightly stated that "the Seva Samity movement has done immense social service to our country. It has helped to create in our youngmen and women noble feelings of self sacrifice and service for others and I pray that this useful organisation may gather more and more strength every day". The Mayor of Calcutta in his address during the opening ceremony also emphasized the need of a national Scout organization like the Seva Samity and appealed to the elite and intelligentsia of the country to adopt Seva Samity Scouting as a supplementive and corrective of bookish education.

Miss R. Majumdar, Organizing Commissioner for Girl Guides, addressing the General Conference

* * *

RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY*

BY PROF. UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

I

THE existing social order in most, if not all, countries of the world, is still based on religion; and morality is perhaps still the steel-frame upon which the structure of society is built. Social institutions are moral institutions. And man's rights, and duties and responsibilities centre round these institutions. Man is a moral agent because he is a social being and he is a social being, because he is moral. And if society is founded upon morality, morality in its turn has its foundation in religion. Religion thus is the deep fountain-head of all our strivings and aspirations—in fact, of all our life's endeavour.

Stability of social order depends,—at any rate, it has so long depended—on religious beliefs. Man can be reconciled to social inequalities, only if he believes in a moral order and a divine administration. Caste in India, for instance, inspite of its apparent hardships as a part of social structure, was acquiesced in, because there was a religious sanction behind it. The inequalities of birth and wealth were submitted to because of man's belief in a previous birth and the fruits of *Karma*. Even without a belief in a previous birth, in all countries there was the general belief in divine dispensation and society was what it was because God wished it so. And His wishes were expressed in the moral law. Social order is thus a moral and spiritual order.

This belief still finds acceptance in many quarters. Many of us still think that human society would not last if moral ideas were banished and religious beliefs were abolished. But we live in a time when this proposition can no longer be affirmed without fear of contradiction. The very facts of man's social life—the inequalities between man and man, the difference in power and opportunities—the difference between what they in economics call the 'haves' and 'have-nots'—are tending to undermine man's religious belief. The ideas of justice and retribution have undergone changes and these facts of difference between man and man are cited as evidence of inequity injustice of the existing social order, and continuance of a wrong once perpetrated by section of the population upon another. T is a growing tendency to alter these facts therefrom alter the spiritual theories with w these facts were supported, *viz*. Religion.

In economico-political theories of s reconstruction we hear the cry against ve interests. And religion is always suspected be an ally of vested interests. Of course, does not apply to the religious emotion of individual—to religion in the abstract,—bu organized religion,—or, what is the same th —to the institution of the Church, or, where actual church does not exist, to the orga theological creed—the dogmas. This atti of hostility towards religion is not new to age. In two great countries of the world, du a period of a tremendous upheaval, religion been condemned as the most impregn fortress of reactionary forces by those constituted themselves the vanguard of prog During the Revolution in France at the en the 18th century and also during its more re counterpart in Russia at the beginning of 20th, religion was found opposed to the impr ment of the lot of the masses for whose sou professed so much concern. During both t great events of history, two things that most violently attacked were property religion. Aristocracy of birth also suffered. that was chiefly because it owned property.

This tendency has not died out with success of the Russian Revolution. Even Turkey of today, the home of the old Calip a recent traveller has discovered that 'Allah been dethroned'. In Nazi Germany, if n newspaper reports are to be credited, the r tion between the Government and the Ch is far from happy. And in Fascist Italy, some time ago between the Vatican and Secular Government the relations were stra to a breaking point.

That religion is a conservative tendency society cannot be denied. That it is opp to any kind of innovation even though innovation may be manifestly for the better, also not untrue. Nearer home those of us who are engaged in the struggle for political betterment of their country know well enough how the cry of 'religion in danger' often procures an unholy alliance of men and parties and thwarts progress.

---

* Presidential Address at the Section of Ethics and Social Philosophy, Indian Philosophical Congress, Nagpur, December, 1937.

In the world today, in more countries than one, social progress is synonymous with economic welfare and political power. A society is considered progressive if political power in it lies in the hands of a majority and if economic poverty is reduced to a minimum. Even in countries more or less free from the influence of Marxian economics, this is the usual idea of progress. In countries dominated by Marx's theories—in a country like Russia, for instance, "dialectic materialism" is the creed of progressive thinkers. In any case, the leading tendency among political and economical thinkers of the day is to dissociate religion from social progress.

It is not for its alleged opposition to social and political progress only that religion has been condemned. It has been attacked on other grounds, too. We have an excellent summary of the modern challenge to religion in Sir S. Radhakrishnan's book *An Idealist View of Life*. Religion today is being attacked on all fronts. By the new psychologies—especially psycho-analysis—religion is being exposed as at best an 'unhealthy' condition of the mind. By science it is being shown to be founded on unproved premises. And by socio-political reformers it is being attacked as the last citadel of reactionary conservatism.

The antagonism between science and religion is an old anecdote. But during the last century attempts at reconciliation have been made chiefly through the mediation of philosophy. The result perhaps has not been quite happy. Philosophy by this gratuitious act of mediation has often incurred the displeasure of both science as well as religion. Both look upon it as meddlesome and needlessly interfering in other peoples' business. And the result is that with all this, science and religion are still at loggerheads.

The attempt at reconciliation between the two, was further implemented by the advent of natural theology, which threw revelation into the background and depended mainly on the labours of science for its belief in God and its knowledge of divine nature.

But inspite of its proffered friendship for science-religion is faring little better in the hands of science than before. An offshoot of philosophy's alliance with science has been the new psychologies. And psychology today professes to probe deep into the mysteries of religious consciousness and thinks it has found out the sources of man's religious life. Religion is after all a kind of neurosis—a kind of physical unhealth.

Religion is dependent on a view of man's place in the cosmos and his destiny which science has seldom condescended to support. When science is interpreted by philosophy, the facts of science seem to yield better results; for instance, the facts of biological and cosmic evolution have been supposed by philosophy to prove the existence of a Designer behind the world-process. But left to itself, science would not accept the conclusions of which philosophy is so fond.

Philosophers generally believe that there is a purpose behind the world-processes and that that purpose may even be traced in the general scheme of things. The vast inorganic world is adapted to the appearance of life on earth—and life came on earth in order that man might appear on the scene; and in man we find a further unfolding of the scheme;—from mind we pass to morality and morality is destined to lead to a fuller spiritual life. Religion is founded on some such world-view and on a belief in a world beyond this. But this world-view is challenged by science. Science is not inclined to see purpose where religion thinks there is one. And the scheme of things is interpreted by science in a way which may fill the mind with wonder, yet does not always lead to a belief in God.

Astronomers, who claim to be more conversant with the vastness of the universe than philosophers, are inclined to think that, although life and mind and morality have actually appeared on the stage of the earth; it cannot be said that the universe happened to exist *in order that* life might come and life did not happen to begin in order that mind might come and so on. That is to say, according to astronomy, the teleological interpretation of the universe is not borne out by facts. The universe was not intended to be only a means to an end and that end was never intended to be man's spiritual life.

Sir James Jeans in his book *The Mysterious Universe* compares the vastness of the universe with the earth.

> "The total number of stars in the universe is probably something like the total number of grains of sand on all the sea-shores of the world" (p. 1).

And the majority of them are at such great distance from the earth that light from them takes 50 million years to reach us and light travels at the rate of 1,86,000 miles per second.

And some of these stars are so large that hundreds of thousands of earths could be packed inside each and leave room to spare! Compared to the vastness of space, and to the total mass of the universe, the earth we inhabit is absolutely insignificant. Was this vast universe designed to produce life and life only on this insignificant earth? For,

> "Life of the kind we know on earth could only originate on planets like the earth" (p. 4). "It seems incredible that the universe can have been designed primarily to produce life like our own; had it been so, surely we might have expected to find a better proportion between the magnitude of the machanism and the amount of the product. At first glance at least, life seems to be an utterly unimportant by-product; we living things are somehow off the main line."

It was an accident that life came upon the earth and an accident may again sweep it off into nothingness.

What is true of life, must be more true of morality and spirituality. For these things we come across only as we ascend the scale of life.

The proposition implied here is that life was no doubt *caused* by the world-process at a particular point of time in a particular portion of space, but it was not the *end* for which the rest of the universe came into being. Of course, the controversy between causality and finality is still alive. Science wants to explain the universe according to the principle of causality —or, what is the same thing, it explains the present by the past, what is by what has gone before; whereas philosophy and theology tends to explain things according to finality,—the present by the future, or what it will lead to. And we have yet to decide which is the right view. Until thought is definitely in favour of the doctrine of finality, religion cannot regard itself as out of danger.

Religion is thus considered an unwanted, hostile element both by science as well as social philosophy. Perhaps religion is here being made to pay for the past. Since the execution of Socrates till the time of Kant and Fichte, the champions and pioneers of thought have often been oppressed and persecuted by the custodians of traditional religion. And the tendency of religion to dominate thought and activity is not dead even now. No wonder, therefore, that free thought and progressive activity smells in it a perennial enemy. Will religion survive this attack?

Idealism of course thinks that no substitute for religion can be found. Says Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

> "The different attempts to accommodate God to the needs of the modern mind are not quite successful in their ambition. Their one lesson is that, notwithstanding the transformation of life, the shifting of moral v and the pre-occupations of the times, the primal cra for the eternal and the abiding remains inextinguish Unbelief is impossible. Along with a deep discon with the standard forms of religion there is a grow seriousness about it. The forms are dissolving but needs persist."[1]

That the standard forms of religion dissolving is an admitted fact. But whether needs of a religion are felt by all is not equ certain. Statistics collected some time ago an American writer shewed that among educa people the percentage of those who believed God and in immortality and allied ideas religion was rather small. And in the post- literature of Europe the challenge to relig is more marked than before. One recent wr calls it an intellectual crime to say what we not know and hastens to add that God is s an unknown entity. God is not known, and is an intellectual crime to make any statem about Him.[2]

In India, relics of mediaevalism are perh still there. Both within Hinduism as well outside there has been what some are plea to call a religious revival but what at best religion untouched by science and unimprov by philosophy. There has grown a stupend literature in English and in the vernacul describing the lives and doings of Saints a *Avatars*. Almost every other district has messiah and a multitude dogging his steps. best this is rank mediaevalism and cannot l long. Social and political workers know to th cost how such recrudescence of faith in forms retard what many of us call progress. the world of today, nowhere outside In perhaps, do we find grouping of men on religi basis alone. In India, even political parties formed with religious profession as the c cementing force. Outside India, nationality independent of religious persuasion. No nat is formed on the basis of religion and no politi party is formed on the same principle. Even the unchanging east, even in immobile Chi recent times have seen a Christian leading country to freedom and Mahomedans hold important positions in the State,—and this spite of the fact that China is pre-eminently Buddhist country.

If the Christian countries of Europe a America could combine on the grounds of common religion, white domination of the wo would have been a settled fact. Nations Europe are not one politically, even though th are all Christians. Being a Hindu or

---

1. *An Idealist View, of Life*, p. 82.
2. Janet Chance: *Intellectual Crime*.

Christian is not an agreement in essentails but in the form of religious worship and observance. This is much less fundamental than many other things of our life. Hence a grouping of men on this ground alone obviously implies a mediaevalism, against which progressive political thinkers have a right to raise their voice.

We could speak of a 'growing seriousness' about religion only if it were the fact that these forms were found dissolving. But the contrary is the case here. The forms are being tightened. And to the extent they are being emphasised, the essence of religion, one feels inclined to think, is being stifled out of existence. Seriousness about religion does not grow *in spite* of the dissolution of the standard forms: but it is rather the dissolution of the forms that makes a seriousness about religion possible. So long as man concentrates attention on the form, the content escapes.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan says :

> "The philosophical fashions of naturalism, atheism, agnosticism, scepticism, humanism and authoritarianism are obvious and easy, but they do not show an adequate appreciation of the natural profundity of the human soul."[3]

But neither is an adequate appreciation of the profundity of the human soul shown by the stubborn resistance to all innovations that established religions always offer. And the mushroom growth of religious institutions and the appearance of prophets and saviours like the prophet's Gourd, is not a sign of health in any society. Can we really say that the world of stars and planets—from the milky way to the solar system—will dwindle into a chaotic mass of aimlessly moving electrons and protons, once we give up our belief in the prophethood of X or the messiahship of Y; and that they will at once acquire a new significance as soon as such belief is restored? Yet religion for most men mean nothing more than this.

As against the mediaevalism of some countries especially those of the East, there is progressive movement in others. Any one who observes the array of forces against religion today cannot but think that the old forms of religion are bound to disappear. And perhaps they ought to disappear. In most cases, the forms have been more important,—more obtrusive than the matter. And the forms have, therefore, to go. But that does not mean that we shall be left with a blank in its place. Civilization must needs have a religion. But it must be the religion of philosophy, the religion of reason, the religion that takes account of the changed conditions of our life, the religion that is shorn of its dilapidated forms, and the religion that will not be a clog to the wheel of progress.

The mind that looks behind but not before, is a stagnant mind. And a religion that takes its cue from the dead past and cannot adapt itself to the present and shape itself according to the future, is approaching death. Science 1300 years old is not science today. Can religion of antiquity be so? Religion formulated centuries ago, must allow itself to be remodelled or it must be extinct. We must remember that stabilisation of belief is stagnation of intellect. A religion also like other social institutions must be judged morally. And if so judged, will not many of the existing forms of religion be found wanting? Can we support morally all that is practised everywhere in the name of religion?

Of course, we are discussing here religion as a social institution. This institution is based on an ideology which is admittedly undergoing rapid transformation. As the individuals' convictions about it are altered, its form must either be adapted to new ideas or be no more. Most of the old forms of religion have been shorn of their value; and men must find satisfaction of their spiritual needs in religion which philosophy alone can provide. To quote Sir Sarvapalli again :

> "It is the function of philosophy to provide us with a spiritual rallying centre, a synoptic vision, as Plato loved to call it, a samanvaya as the Hindu thinkers put it, a philosophy which will serve as a spiritual concordat, which will free the spirit of religion from the disintegrations of doubt and make the warfare of creeds and sects a thing of the past."[4]

Yes, the warfare of the creeds and sects must be a thing of the past!

A modern war is not a war of religion. It is neither a crusade nor a *jehad;* but a clash of economic and political ambitions. Yet, a warfare of religious creeds and sects is not altogether a thing of the past. There are still countries and communities for which the old forms of religion have supreme value and which are yet prepared to fight for their continuance. In such countries and with such communities a religious war is not yet a thing of the past. The spectacle of men fighting each other for the sake of religious observances and customs which to the philosophers have no special significance, may yet be seen. But if philosophy functions properly, it ought to be a thing of the past.

Philosophy must instil courage into the mind of humanity to shake off the obsession of the fossilized past—and not to feel forlorn when it sees the dilapidated relics of antiquity swept away by the hurricane of time.

---

[3] *Ibid*, page 82.

[4] *Ibid*, page 83.

But when this happens, what of the existing religions will be left to mankind? The customs associated with religion—however deep the allegory behind them may be—are unessential. The slaughter of one animal rather than another—a fast on the tenth day of the moon rather than on the twelfth—sabbath on the first day of the week rather than on the last—does not imply more of religion. If religion is ever rationalized these accretions must cease to have any importance. In rational religion, not o will the beliefs be adjusted to science, but t acts also will be harmonised with social a political welfare and peace and progress.

A picture of the future religion of mank cannot be drawn except perhaps negatively. can definitely say that the observances o which religious sects quarrel with each oth must not be there. And if a religion can exist without some form or other, it will h such rites and observances which are offensive to others or to good taste and decen

RELATIVE READINESS OF HINDUS AND MUHAMMADANS TO DEFEND INDIA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

SOME Muhammadan politicians claim that their weightage (*i.e.*, over-representation) in the various legislatures is justified by the fact that in the Indian Army the proportion of Muhammadans is greater than their population quota. The Hindus retort that recruits are not taken in the Indian Army from so-called non-martial races (mainly Hindus) for political reasons. Just as the British Imperialist have given weightage to them in the Councils and Assemblies, so they have preferred them in the Army.

A measure of the relative readiness of the Hindus and the Muhammadans to shoulder the responsibilities of defence can be estimated from the respective number of candidates (*i.e.*, those who in their own opinion are fit for the posts) for entry to the Indian Military Academy who presented themselves before the Interview and Record Boards in 1936-37. We give below the relevant statistics :

Candidates by Communities	Oct.-Nov. 1936	Mar.-April 1937	Total
Hindus ..	.. 73	39	112
Muslims ..	.. 21	15	36
Sikhs ..	.. 24	15	39
Parsis ..	.. 3	Nil	3
Anglo-Indians	.. 2	1	3
Europeans ..	.. 2	Nil	2
Indian Christian	.. 1	1	2
No Religion	.. Nil	1	1
Buddhist (Burmese)	.. 1	Nil	1
	127	72	199

Thus the Muhammadans furnished less than 18 per cent although on a population basis they should send some 24 per cent candidates.

Now it may be urged by the protagonis of the Muhammadans that perhaps among t so-called non-martial races the Muhammada form the majority; and as a consequence th Muhammadans supply a less than their 'pro portional to general population' quota.

Let us examine the facts, a little mor closely. We give in the table below the numb of candidates by Provinces and States an calculate what should be their quota.

Candidates by Provinces and States	Total No. of Candidates	Percentage of Muhammadans in the Provinces	Muhamm Quota
Punjab	.. 88	57	51
Madras	.. 7	6.7	0.5
N.-W. Frontier	.. 8	9.16	7
U. P	.. 31	14	4
Bengal	.. 5	55	2.6
Bombay	.. 16	9	1.5
Burma	.. 7	3.8	.2
C. P.	.. 5	4	.2
Bihar	.. 2	15	.3
Sind	.. 1	75	.75
Delhi	.. 3	29	1
Baluchistan	.. 1	88	1
Ajmer	.. 1	20	.2
Coorg	.. 2	8.	.1
States	.. 22	22	5.
			75.3

According to our above calculation there should have been 75 Muhammadan candidates but actually there were 36 *i. e.*, a number less than half their proper share.

[These facts are taken from the little booklet sup plied to the Members of the Council of State.]

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE EVALUATION OF PERMANENT INCAPACITY FOR WORK IN SOCIAL INSURANCE. *Studies and Reports, Series M (Social Insurance), No. 14, x+375 pp. Price: Paper cover, 10s. 6d. $2.75. International Labour Office (League of Nations), Indian Branch, Delhi.*

The evaluation of permanent incapacity affects the rights of millions of injured and disabled workers. Workmen's compensation and invalidity insurance require for their proper working a suitable definition of the incapacity for which benefit is payable and well-considered methods of evaluation.

The problems which arise in the evaluation of permanent incapacity are both numerous and difficult: they are especially so for countries which are just taking up social insurance.

The Office decided to undertake, in collaboration with its Committee of Experts for Social Insurance, a study of the chief problems involved in the evaluation of permanent incapacity. The work which the International Labour Office has just published sets forth the results of this study. It consists essentially of a comparison, and a critical analysis, of the methods widely used for the evaluation of incapacity in workmen's compensation on the one hand, and in invalidity insurance on the other. It does not purport to be a handy guide to the evaluation of incapacity, nor is it a sort of international schedule, the value of which would necessarily be questionable in view of the diversity of physical types, the different possibilities of rehabilitation, and the unequal duration of life, especially working life, in the various regions of the world.

The publication is of topical interest as several of the Indian provincial governments are now seriously considering the feasibility of introducing social insurance schemes in this country. The present publication makes available to those interested in the complex problems of social insurance a comparison and a critical analysis of the methods used in the leading industrial countries for the evaluation of workmen's incapacity on the one hand, and invalidity insurance on the other.

FINAL REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS MIXED COMMITTEE ON THE RELATION OF NUTRITION TO HEALTH, AGRICULTURE AND ECONOMIC POLICY. *League of Nations, Geneva. India: League of Nations (Indian Bureau), Improvement Trust Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay I. The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, 4/4A, Calcutta. 327 pages. Price: 7s. 6d. $2.00. Ser. L. O. N. P. 1937, II. A. 10.*

The Report is the result of two years' work by an international committee of agricultural, economic and health experts under the auspices of the League. It is concerned for the main part with the economic aspects of nutrition policy and with its relations to agriculture. To complete the picture, a chapter on the physiological side of the problem from the Interim Report of the Committee (The Problem of Nutrition, 4 Vols., 1936) has been included, modified in the light of recent nutrition research.

The Report is divided into three parts. The first part, which has three chapters, gives a general survey of the problem and of the work already carried out. The introductory chapter traces the activities of the Mixed Committee since its inception and of other international bodies working on the problem of nutrition. The second chapter outlines the development of the science of nutrition and indicates the role played by nutrition in the striking improvment in public health and in the increase in population which occurred in the course of the past century. The third chapter summarises the contents and conclusions of the Report and reproduces the recommendations published by the Committee in its Interim Report.

The second part of the Report is devoted exclusively to the health aspect of nutrition. It contains a clear account of the main principles of the "new knowledge of nutrition" as they have been developed by recent research; a description of the nature and functions of the most important vitamins and minerals and of the diseases resulting from their deficiency; an analysis of the nutritive qualities of various foods, and their classification as "energy-bearing" or "protective"; the dietary requirements of particular classs of persons, expectant and nursing mothers, infants, children of pre-school and school age, adolescents, recruits and adults; and a summary of the dietary standards adopted by the Technical Commission of the Health Organization of the League of Nations and of the valuation placed by this Commission on various important foodstuffs.

The third part of the Report contains a more detailed examination of the economic and agricultural considerations connected with nutrition policy. It begins by tracing the main changes which have occurred in food consumption habits during the last few decades and reaches the conclusion that average consumption in most countries of Western civilization has on the whole been tending in the direction of improved nutrition. The second chapter discusses the problem of the adaptation of agriculture to the desired changes in consumption. It is demonstrated that agriculture has shown considerable powers of adaptation in the past, in particular where no obstacles have prevented changes in demand from expressing themselves through changes in price. It is argued that an extension of the movement towards better nutrition should prove of benefit to national agricultural systems, calling both for an increased production of protective foods—fruit, vegetables and dairy products—and for an increased output of various cereals for fodder.

Chapter III is concerned with the relation of food prices to consumption and shows that the demand for most foodstuffs—particularly for the protective foods—is considerably sensitive to price changes. The effects of price movements on the mutual substitution of various foodstuffs, the significance of seasonal price movements, and the differences in elasticity of demand in various income groups are also discussed. The following chapter considers the main determinants of food prices on the supply side—technique and costs of production, commercial policy, marketing organizations and distribution costs. Particular reference is also made to the contribution of the co-operative movement in reducing retail food prices. The fifth and sixth chapters of Part III are devoted to the roles of income and of nutritional education in influencing consumption habits. The improvements in diet which accompany increased income are demonstrated from the results of family budget studies in various countries. A comparison between the existing distribution of incomes and the costs of minimum nutritionally adequate diets shows that malnutrition of important sections of the population, and particularly of families with many young children, even in such relatively prosperous countries as the United States and the United Kingdom, can be directly traced to the effects of poverty.

The Report concludes with a collection of evidence relating to the present state of nutrition in various parts of the world, demonstrating that in spite of the considerable progress that has taken place in recent decades, the problem is still an urgent one. "The malnutrition which exists in all countries is at once a challenge and an opportunity: a challenge to men's consciences and an opportunity to eradicate a social evil by methods which will increase economic prosperity."

This book is an authoritative and comprehensive study of the broader aspects of the problem of nutrition—a problem of world-wide importance. It is likely to form for years to come the basis of efforts by Governments and by private initiative to improve the nutrition of a very large part of the world's population. The book is eminently one for the general public as well as for the experts in the various fields covered by the study. Its simple style and comprehensive treatment of the subject make it easy to read.

S.

CREATIVE SEX: *By E. D. Hutchinson with an introduction by Canon C. E. Raven, D.D., London. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, pp. 122. Price 3s. 6d. Size 5 ins. by 7½ ins.*

It is a sign of the times that women in increasing numbers are coming forward to discuss sex. This little volume by Mrs. Hutchinson is an effort to harmonize the recent sex movement in the west with Christianity. Although the book is not altogether free from a tinge of mysticism and some amount of vagueness it is on the whole a creditable production and will certainly be appreciated by religiously inclined persons. The author is inclined to believe with the late Dr. Rivers that it is only 'when mental tension arises in the control of instincts and emotional energy is compressed that the best results are attained in artistic and intellectual work.' 'To such fine work the unmarried are called and in it can find satisfaction.' Unfortunately for the author such fine assertions appear to be mere pious wishes in the cold of statistics.

G. Bos

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTO Vol. III. The Allies' War with Tipu Sultan, 17 *edited by Prof. Nirod Bhushan Ray. (Pp. xlii+69 one portrait. Rs. 7-4-0.) Vol. IV.* Maratha-N Relations, 1792-95, *edited by V. G. Dighe. (Pp. xxx- two portraits and one map. Rs. 4.) Government Depot, Bombay.*

We are glad to note that this exceptionally imp series of historical records has been enriched by more volumes. Though edited by two younger sch they well maintain the high level of excellence exem by the preceding volumes of this series which cam of the hands of veteran historians like Sir Ja Sarkar and Rai Bahadur Sardesai. Each of these volumes breaks new ground for the Indian stude their subjects, *viz.*, the third Mysore War and the paign of Kharda, had never before been illustrated such a profusion of original despatches and other temporary records. Here our vague general know has been replaced by authentic information in the fi detail.

The Bombay Government and the honorary e alike deserve our warmest gratitude for making valuable records available to us. The low price i case of such admirably printed volumes deserves s recognition, and may well be imitated by certain provincial Governments, especially that of the Pa whose record publications are priced absurdly high

The introductions, including Sir Jadunath's Fore to the third volume, unfold in clear outline the features of the episodes treated, especially the dipl of which we here get the clearest inside view fo first time. Justice has been done to Tipu S military genius and also to Cornwallis's wonderful p of organization and his unfailing patience and fore In fact, Prof. Ray's volume will henceforth be a separable companion to Wilks' *Mysore*, the sta authority on the subject. The student must have a elbow a large atlas of Southern India, because i case of a war ranging over nearly the whole of peninsula, no single map can serve his purpose.

Mr. Dighe's volume will be a revelation to Mr readers even, because the much vaunted Kharda cam was hitherto known only in its general features, whi military movements and the diplomatic chess-play all come as new. The excellent map illustrates campaign most helpfully.

We should like to draw attention to two very va sections supplied to these volumes by Sir Jad Sarkar, namely, all the extant letters of the Nizam's F general Francois Raymond (in vol. 3) and Sir C Malet's most penetrating description and criticism of Maratha army (or rather armies) that assembled fo fight at Kharda. Full details are available in Vol. of the military organization of Raymond, "which be compared with that of De Boigne, given in Vo (edited by Sir Jadunath). The materials are the last before us for an accurate comparison of the tr of Indian troops by the English and the French r tively. It is a subject of enthralling interest.

Brajendra Nath Banerji

HINDI FOLK-SONGS: *By A. G. Shirreff, I. C Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1.*

Anatole France has rightly said that the works everybody admires are those that no one examines we receive them as a precious burden which we on to others without glancing at them. Of course, I could not do so when I got Mr. A. G. Shirreff's little book. A lover of Indian folk-songs, I read it now and again.

Almost all the 15 songs given here represnt, more or less, Eastern Hindi. Mr. Shirreff owes these songs to Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi's Hindi book, *Kavita Kaumudi*, Part V, *Gram Git.* We find Mr. Shirreff retelling the story of Tripathiji's love for Hindi folk-songs: a single line of a song, which the village women sang on the railway platform bidding adieu to their husbands who are leaving for Calcutta, was sufficient to bring a turning-point, so to say, in his life: with his umbrella he sits on the knife-edge boundary of a rice-field taking down hurriedly the notes of the songs which the womenfolk engaged in the work of weeding sang in chorus: Mr. Shirreff compares Tripathiji standing outside the hut of a Chamar, with Jonathan Oldbuck recording a ballad of love and chivalry: then we find the villagers suspecting Tripathiji to be a C. I. D. man, a fugitive from the court of justice, or a town Lothario bent on village intrigue.

Mr. Shirreff is, perhaps, a poet himself. He loves narrative songs of the villagers. He at once remembers the popular line of a Scottish song of Annie Laurie, "She's backit like the peacock; She's breistit like the swan," as soon as he hears the song of a U. P. village girl with her nose like a parrot's beak and her fingers like the bunches of the banana. He hears the echo of "Edward, Edward" in a tragic ballad of a brother's murder in some U. P. village. The Hindi song of the faithful doe calls to his mind "The three ravens" in which the fallow-deer bears home the body of the slain knight.

Now as regards the translation of the songs, one may find fault with Mr. Shirreff. "In the translations which follow," he writes in the introduction, "my aim has been to give as accurate a rendering as possible in a form which may remind English readers of folk-poetry with which they are very familiar." But he has not always been literal and strictly faithful to the original colour of the songs. And one cannot be possibly so while rendering the songs in verse, as Mr. Shirreff has done. I would omit the verse-scheme altogether where it is to be adopted at the cast of the originality and local colour of a particular song. The idea of rendering the songs in verse with the object that they should remind English readers of their own ballads is very dangerous. It is only for the sake of verse-scheme that Mr. Shirreff translates the refrain of a song, "त यहि रन बन में" as "under the greenwood tree." In song No. 8 he translates the Hindi word "सारी" (sari) as "gown." Such a licence should not be allowed for it kills the spirit of the Indian folk-song. I do not know if the sari of an Indian woman looks really less lovely and beautiful than an English woman's gown, but I would like to keep it as it is even in the English rendering. In song No. 2 the Hindi word "मचिया" is transformed into "Stool;" and again the name of the Dhak tree under which the sad doe is seen sighing for the deceased deer, is reduced to only a green tree in the fair forest. Simple prose translations in good English, as we find in the case of Verrier Elwin's Gond folk-songs, can do much more justice to the original references to life and local colour of a country to which the songs belong. "It was after adopting the lowland Scots dialect for some of these translations," says Mr. Shirreff at one place, "that I found good authority for so doing in Legge's translations from what is the oldest collection of folk-songs in the world, the Chinese Shiking." I do not know if all the English people can really follow the lowland Scots dialect. Even if some people may be able to follow it and enjoy it, what about the vast majority of international readers of books in English to whom the lowland Scots dialect cannot but be all Greek? Let us hope that in future Mr. Shirreff will be saved from such a dangerous attempt as it is in the present case. Mother India as well as the wide world of international literature will be more grateful to him if he offers more Hindi songs in good English prose, keeping in view the original local colour.

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

AN ENGLISH VERSION OF THE ARTHASANGRAHA OF LANGAKSI BHASKARA: *By R. V. Jahagirdar. Dharwar, 1932.*

This is not an ambitious but a useful work by a young scholar, meant chiefly for college students who want to study this well-known treatise on the elements of Mimamsa. The work has already found several translators both in English and German. The present translation is hardly an improvement on the previous attempts but it will evidently serve the purpose for which it is intended. An inclusion of the Sanskrit text would have facilitated the reading of the English translation.

S. K. DE

SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING: *By N. S. Subba Rao. Published in 1935.*

This book comprises the materials contained in six lectures delivered by the author at the Madras University during 1932 and 1933. The principles of economic planning and their application to Indian conditions are dealt with from the point of view of the scientist and the inter-action of controlled economy and *laissez faire* has been traced. Although the author does not encourage the adoption of planned economy by India alone, he believes that greater stabilisation will follow in our economic life, if India becomes an integral part of a World plan or an Empire plan.

The book, however, does not provide the material from which the nature of planned economy in India may be visualised.

INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OR THE WAY TO PROSPERITY: *By S. Lakshminarasiah, B.A. 1935.*

In this book the author deals with certain problems of Indian Economics and explains its methods on the back-ground of India's socio-economic life. The conservative manner of treatment of the various subjects and the uncalled for introduction of extraneous matters take away a good deal from the real usefulness of the book.

N. SANYAL

DID MADAME BLAVATSKY FORGE THE MAHATMA LETTERS: *By C. Jinarajadasa. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This book refers to a controversy about certain letters alleged to have been written by Mahatmas or Adepts, *i.e.*, minds of a superior order living in an invisible world. Many of the letters, in part or in whole, have been reproduced in this book. They are alleged to have been written to different persons in different countries and at different times and in different hand-writing. They were despatched to the addressees sometimes by post, sometimes through messengers who appeared and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, and sometimes no one knows how. Their contents always refer either to the Theosophical Movement or to the leaders and originators of the movement.

A section of the world's public naturally refused to believe that the letters were genuine. Madame Blavatsky was suspected of forgery. The opinion of a hand-writing expert, who examined some of these letters and declared them all to have been written by the same hand, was the chief argument for such a theory. The author of the present book challenges this opinion and declares that the letters were *not* forged. His main argument is that an examination of the scripts shows that they were *not* by the same hand. He has given facsimiles of the scripts and invites his readers to examine them and agree with him. He does not doubt—nor does he allow others to doubt—the *possibility* of such communication and the existence of such minds or persons as the Mahatmas.

The Theosophical Society has many good points in its favour; but when it asks a science-intoxicated world to believe such mysterious things as letters written on gross materials by the denizens of an invisible world and equally mysterious despatch of such letters to persons living here on this earth, perhaps it asks men to strain their will to believe a little too much.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

MEENAKSHI'S MEMOIRS: *By Miss H. Kaveri Bai, B.A., L.T.; published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a novel of Indian Christian life, as lived in Madras and South India generally. The home-life of Indian converts to Christianity and their hopes and aspirations as a social or political entity are delineated with perfect realism and fidelity. In the book under review the author takes the readers to the hearth and home of the Indian Christian Community and lays bare the real facts of their lives, their hopes and dreams, their frailties and new ideas. The author treats with sympathy the draw-backs of the Indian Christian Community and states that under favourable circumstances and proper guidance they are also showing signs of national consciousness. The author's style is simple and appealing. The printing leaves nothing to be desired. The get-up of the book is excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK AND WHO'S WHO, 1938: *By S. C. Sarkar. Sixth Year of Issue. M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 357. Rupee one only.*

The latest issue of this year book maintains its past standard, and will be useful to students and publicists. An important feature of this year book is a summary of the new constitution of India.

P. B. S.

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? *By J. C. Kumarappa. Hindustan Publishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry, S. India, 1936. Pp. 91. Price Annas eight.*

The book sets out the economic ideas underlying the All-India Village Industries Association. Instead of offering humanity more material comforts through centralised production and of more leisure to be filled in anyhow by cultural pursuits, the basic purpose of the Association is to distribute work more equitably, and make work itself a school for the unfoldment and proper fulfilment of the individual. It thus proposes to rescue work from its irksomeness as under centralisation; it stands not only for decentralisation but also for the replacement of the profit motive by that of service and human welfare.

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION, 1937: (*Handbook and Guide. Bangalore, 1937.*

This sumptuously illustrated volume is not me guide to the Dasara Exhibition of 1937, but also co a sufficiently detailed description of the industri cultural activities of the State. It will prove a guide to intending visitors to Mysore.

A GUIDE TO SERINGAPATAM: *By Dr. M Krishna, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond.). Published fo Government of Mysore. Bangalore, 1937. Price Annas. Pp. 25, plates 8 and 2 maps.*

This booklet forms the first of a series of books for the use of travellers in Mysore. It is written and well illustrated.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE IN MUSEUM. PART I. EARLY INDIAN SCHO *By N. G. Majumdar. Archæological Survey of Delhi, 1937. Price 1-2 or 2s. Pp. 106 and 12 pl*

The book deals with the Maurya and Sunga tures exhibited in portions of the Indian Museum. sculptures are described in a manner suitable for general reader, while a list of the inscriptions with lations is given at the end of the book. The are very well printed and are of a represe character.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MAHABRATA, IN ENGLISH, PART I taining the first Ten Parvas): *By Ramanadasa, Seshagiri, B.A., 138, Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Ma price annas ten.*

The writer has skilfully pieced together the of the main plot of the Mahabharata as occuring in first ten Parvas.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

SRI BHAGAVAD GITA EDITED WITH A "SIDDHIDATRI": *By Raj Vaidya Jivarama K Sastri, Gondala, Kathiawar. Pp. 153. Price not tioned.*

The editor claims that he has revised the Gi the light of a rare and ancient manuscript with readings incorporated therein.

The introduction supplies various information Gita, its nature and its history, etc., for which will be benefited to a great extent, though ther several points which require evidence or justification for instance, we can not take it as a settled fact the mere statement of the learned editor, that S charya flourished about 2,500 years ago. His ti believe, to be not before 686 A. D. *i.e.* 1251 years this day. (*Vide* "Acharya Sankar and Ramanuja Bengali.)

Then the learned editor enters into the disc as to the number of the slokas of Gita. In this nection he says that the number should be 745 acc to a statement by Vedavyasa himself in his Mahabh instead of 700, which is current since the ti Sankaracharya, whose commentary is the oldest extant.

However the present edition under review only of 719 slokas with different readings based up MSS., collected by him, the oldest of which dates up to 1392 A. D. and some printed editions of the with commentaries of much later period.

The learned editor is also writing a comment the name of "Chandraghanta" which he expects completed and published soon with the 26 slokas still wanting. He is confident that these 26 slokas will be found in some of the MSS. in libraries not yet explored and for which he invites the co-operation of the Sanskrit knowing Hindu public. He has already found out that in Persian translation of Gita, made in the time of the Mahomedan Emperors in the sixteenth century A. D., there were 745 slokas in the original, and thus it is not an impossible task for him to discover a MS. of the sacred book containing full 745 slokas. This is no doubt a very laudable attempt on the part of the learned editor in these days of research. We earnestly hope that his attempt may be crowned with success. But there is one thing to which we wish to draw the attention of the learned editor. How can we expect the authenticity of such a MS. of 745 slokas, which was not written before 2500 or 1300 years, *i.e.*, the time of Sankaracharya. How is it, that Sankaracharya with a host of his followers, and the other Acharyas of other schools, with their disciples and adherents, failed to notice this discrepancy of a book which is equally authoritative like the Upanishads. So it suggests in our mind, that there must have been a difference in the method of counting the slokas, as it is in the case of Durgasaptasate; or it may be said that, since many of our religious books were written down from memory after they were destroyed by the Buddhists, just after the reign of Bhajya Raja of Dhara, this discrepency has crept in. However, how far this latter fact will explain the difference in the reading of the book in MSS. of later date, is a thing, which requires a careful consideration of all of us. The tables supplied for the different readings are not quite intelligible and leave room for improvement. The English rendering of the gloss Siddhidatri is most interesting aspect of the book, the arguments therein in favour of correct readings require careful examination. However we may expect that the learned editor will soon complete his commentary "Chandraghanta" and publish an edition of 745 slokas of the sacred book at an early date.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

SANSKRIT

SRUTI KALPALATA, *with an annotation by Srimad Wamana Pandit. Published by Tikaram Pundalik Sekhia, Book-sellers and Publishers, Madhavbag, Bombay. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3/8/-.*

This is a Sanskrit commentary on the Vedastuti, the 87th Chapter of the 10th Book of Srimadbhagavata Purana, with a very valuable introduction by Pandit Ram Chandra Mahadeva Athavle of the council of Masurasharam, Nanpada, Thana, Bombay, both in Sanskrit and English.

The commentary is very exhaustive and illuminating and is written in a very lucid and simple Sanskrit. It contains innumerable quotations from Upanishads, and explains the most knotty points of Philosophy, with admirable accuracy. The quotations from Upanishads prove that Bhagavata Purana is nothing but a recapitulation of Vedanta, *i.e.*, the Upanishads, although technically Bhagavat doctrine was refuted by Vedavyasa in his Brahmasutras. The commentary was written by Pandit Wamana of Maharastra, who flourished in the 17th century of the Saka era, and who was celebrated for his profound scholastic learning and was possessed of unquestionable devotion with rare spiritual power. This brilliant commentary of Vedastuti will be found very much useful to those who want to make a comparative study of the book with the teachings of the Upanishads. The whole commentary is based on the Advaita Vedanta system, but perfectly in consonance with the philosophy of devotion, *i.e.*, the Bhakti cult. We are sure this book will attract the attention of a large section of intelligent public specially of the Pandits and savants in Sanskrit Philosophy. The editing is also commendable as also its printing which is elegant. We trust this publication will be well received by the public.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

HINDI

HITLER MAHAN: *By Acharya Chandra-sekhar Sastri. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Mandir, Delhi. Pp. 382. Price Rs. 3/-.*

The scheme of reorganization in Germany, and incidentally the part played by Hitler in bringing that about are delineated in this book. The writer has drawn his materials from such authoritative works as Hitler's *My Struggle* and General Goering's *Germany Reborn.* This is a welcome addition to Hindi literature in the branch of contemporary history. There are several illustrations.

BIMA-SANDES: *By Manibhai Gopalji Desai. Bombay. Pp. 70. Price -/6/-.*

Translated from the Gujarati edition. The author has put together in a nutshell all the various topics connected with the life insurance business.

KALA: *By Kaka Kalelkar. Translated by Hrishikes Sarma. The Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad. Delhi. Pp. 106. Price -/8/. 1937.*

This as a dissertation on Art and its place in the philosophy of life. Both Indian and Western theories of Art are discussed here. The Appendix treats of the theories about the *rasas.* The author deplores the ugliness of life in modern times because it is divorced from Art.

RAMES BASU

BENGALI

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH OR ENCYCLOPÆDIA BENGALENSIS: *Edited by Professor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, M.A., with many learned and competent assistant editors. Published by Syt. Satish Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Secretary, Indian Research Institute, 170, Manicktala Street, Calcutta. Price per number eight annas.*

We have noticed this excellent encyclopædia previously several times. The article on Ajanta covers pages 658-664 of No. 18 and pages 665-692 of No. 19. For an encyclopædia article it is fairly exhaustive and is profusely illustrated. It is written by Mr. Ajit Ghosh, who is known to possess adequate information on the subject. We notice two omissions in the bibliography. The editor of *Prabasi* wrote an illustrated article on the Ajanta cave paintings 37 years ago in the very first number of *Prabasi.* Perhaps Mr. Ghosh does not know this. Sister Nivedita wrote more than one article on Ajanta in *The Modern Review.* Mr. Ghosh does not mention these also. In the article on Akshay Kumar Maitra also in this encyclopædia his contributions to *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* were not mentioned.

BANGIYA SABDAKOSH: *By Pandit Haricharan Bandyopadhyaya of Santiniketan. Price per number, published monthly, eight annas.*

This lexicon, which will be the biggest Bengali dictionary when complete, has been reviewed and praised in *Prabasi* by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and by the editor several times. It has been reviewed in *The Modern Review* also favourably ere this. As the work of one man it is a remarkable achievement. It is noteworthy not merely on that account. It is scholarly, comprehensive and accurate. Forty-nine numbers have been published up to date, the last word in the 49th number.

being "Devadatta." All university, college, high school and town public libraries should include this meritorious work in their collections. Nearly half the work has been published. The entire manuscript was complete long ago and is being revised and re-written part by part.

PRANTIK, OR BORDERLAND POEMS: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price eight annas.*

Except a few all the poems in this little book were written by the poet after his recent serious illness. The last two were written on the 25th December, 1937. The last but one denounces predatory imperialism, such as is in evidence in the Sino-Japanese War, in words of prophetic indignation.

VISVA-PARICHAYA, OR AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UNIVERSE: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Second Edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price one rupee.*

We noticed this book, meant for boys and girls, when it was first published. That a second edition of a scientific work should be required in less than four months, is something new in Bengal. The excellence of the book perhaps supplies the explanation, and perhaps also the fact that it has been written by a great poet. In the present edition the author has subjected it to thorough revision. Though written for juvenile readers, old readers like us learn from it many things which we did not know before.

D.

SRI NIMBARKACHARYA O TANHAR DHARMAMAT: *By Pulin Bihari Bhattacharya, M.A. To be had of the author: Village Mahasahasra, P. O. Rajnagar, District Sylhet, Assam: Pp. 149. Price Rs. 1/8/-*

This is a little unpretentious work on Nimbarka the famous Vaishnava teacher and his doctrines, and incidentally it discusses a number of matters connected with Vaishnavism and the various Vaishnava sects and schools. It is a well-written book, although with an orthodox view-point. History and chronology are not its strong points as a number of mistakes of omission and commission would show; nor is the author's attitude that of the scientific student of history. Nevertheless, the average reader will find the book an useful introduction to the subject, and will obtain from it a clear expose of the philosophy of the sect.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TELUGU

MAHABHARATA KAURAVARANGAM: *By Umar Alisha, M. L. A. (Central), President, Vignana Vidya Peetam, Pithapur. Pp. 115. Price Re. 1/.*

A drama in seven acts. The subject of the work needs no introduction. Throughout the pages of the work, Mr. Alisha influences the reader and enlists his sympathy for Duryodhan. The treatment of the subject at the hands of this well-known Telugu Poet is commendable.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

VASUNDHARA NAN VAHALAN DAVLAN: *By Jhaverchand Meghani. Printed at the Swadhen Printing Press, Ranpur. Cloth bound. Pp. 256. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1937).*

This story, a realistic one, is a vivid representation of the life led by a certain class of society in Kathiawad; *viz.*, the class between the middle and the lower one. The tatoo woman Tejudi, the boy with a lip cut—a helping hand to the wandering Madari—the man who goes about with a monkey, and a bear, and gives street entertainments, and the blind, motherless chi four, form a trinity round which the story revolves homely language, studded with words and expres of Kathiawad's dialect—in the nature of a handica a reader of Gujarat. Mr. Meghani has successfully tempted to breathe life into them, and we feel as i were eye witnesses of the joy and the sorrow being by them as incident after incident is narrated by writer.

BUDDHA CHARIT: *By Dharmanand Ko Printed at the Utkrighta Printing Press, Ahmed Thick Cover Board. Pp. 360. Price Re. 1-4 (193*

When Acharya Dharmanand Kosambi writes thing on the life and times of Gautama Buddha, it guarantee of the fact that the reader gets everything is genuine and based on authority. This inter volume is the best life of Buddha till now to be in Gujarati. Its characteristic feature is that it the truth even at the risk of offending religious fe and pet theories of people; for instance, the author conclusively that Buddha did not inculcate *Ahimsa*, killing of cattle for food, in the sense underst present. What he preached was a prohibition of sacrifice of cattle, robbed from poor people by the man who performed a sacrifice (*yajna*). He also that in those times Jain *Shramanas* partook of flesh and that the revolt against it came later. The st told in a very engaging way and an excellent ind the end considerably helps the reader.

SHERATHA NI ARTHIK TAPAS: *By Vith M. Kothari and Jhawerbhai P. Patel. Printed a Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 45. Paper C Price annas four. (1937).*

A typical small village in North Gujarat selected for Economic Survey of its industries and mode of life of its inhabitants. The result is a va pamphlet which notices the difficulties of the w in this line, even in those days, due to the mi in consequence of the ignorance and illiteracy of villagers. It is a very useful record of facts interesting from several points of view.

K. M. J

THE STRIBODH SPECIAL, *edited by Mrs. Ma Nanubhai Desai.*

It is a handsome special number of a G monthly, *Stribodh*, which has rendered during its career of 82 years yeomen's services to the ca womanhood. The special feature that attracts our in this publication is that its contributors are all and that it has been edited also by a lady.

The subjects discussed cover a wide range, s political and literary, and the contributors are s the most eminent social and political workers of amongst them being women of renown like Mrs. Ram Nehru, Hon. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Dhar Nehru, Dr. Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy, Mrs. Dha Lal, Bar-at-Law, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopa Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Lilawatti Munshi and Their thoughtful articles all invite attention worth a perusal. Mrs. Mani Desai in an illu article discusses the relationship of Russian Wom Family and dispels the false notion that the new of things in that land without unemployment shattered the family life and has made its miserable. The number contains some entertaining stories, too, amongst which "Poor Em "Prayashchitta," "Parajaya" and "Madaganths" special mention.

R. K

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Anthropology Section

The proceedings of the Anthropology section began in the Ashutosh Building on January 4, under the presidency of Dr. B. S. Guha. The session was unique as besides the leading anthropologists of this country, a large number of distinguished members of the foreign delegation, such as Profs. H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., R. Ruggles Gates, F.R.S., H. Peake, (Ex-President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Great Britain), F. W. Thomas, Frhr von Eickstedt and H. Holosworth, was present. Dr. Mrs. E. W. Macfarlane, Research Associate of the University of Michigan and Drs. M. B. Emenau and D. G. Mandelbaum of the Yale University, who are carrying on anthropological investigations in this country also took part in the meetings. Besides the reading of papers, there were three sectional discussions on "Blood Grouping and Racial Classification," "The Importance of Anthropological Studies for India" and "A Programme of Archæological Excavations for India."

The papers read, dealt with both the general questions of the scope and functions of anthropology, methods of racial analysis, blood group distributions and particular items of interest.

Discussing the question of the proper scope of anthropology from the cultural standpoint, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi pleaded for the study of the higher and spiritual side of Man and deplored in this connection the action of the National Institute of Sciences of India for including Anthropology under zoology, for the science of Man was concerned not only with his zoological history, but should also study the outward manifestations of the Eternal Spirit which resides in man and lifts him above other animals. Frhr von Eickstedt on the other hand, considered that as a scientific discipline Anthropology could only deal with the biological study of Anthropos himself, and the modern idea of a holistic anthropology was the only logical and scientific conception of the subject. Prof. R. A. Fisher, Galton Professor of Eugenics of the London University, in a very suggestive paper on the functions of Physical Anthropology remarked that racial differences between two somatic types were due to selective modifications in which a number of genetic and environmental factors operated and slowly affected the evolutionary processes. The best means of studying these differences would be in living persons rather than in skeletal remains, specially the homozygotic twins. Prof. H. J. Fleure went more searchingly into the question and said that almost every population received contribution from several in-drifts which did not completely blend. The persistence of these diverse types side by side in a population is to be explained on Mendelian lines and the safest method in racial analysis is to study these bundling of physical characters in individuals and to see what are the more general bundlings in particular populations.

Among many interesting papers read on particular subjects that deserve special mention, are Dr. Mandelbaum's "Investigations on Polyandry in Kota Society"; Dr. M. B. Emenau's "Analysis of Kinship and Marriage Among the Coorgis"; Mr. K. P. Chattopadhya's paper on "Indian Oil Presses"; Prof. N. N. Sen Gupta's "Interpretation of Dancing as a Method of Inducing Ecstasy and Frenzy"; and Dr. P. C. Biswas' "Studies on the Heredity of Palmar Pattern".

Keen interest was taken in the three discussions, the first of which on blood groupings and racial classification was opened by Dr. Mrs. Macfarlane. Dealing with her own researches and as well as those of Mr. S. Sarkar of the Bose Institute, among the lower section of the Bengali population, she showed the preponderance of B over A as an essential Indian condition, to which Hirzfeld was the first to draw attention. In collecting the data the technique must first of all be well mastered and each caste and tribe be separately tested. Future investigations carried on in this way may be expected to throw light on the origin of the mutation to B.

Prof. R. Ruggles Gates remarked that blood groups were definite units and as their method of inheritance was known, they have an advantage over other physical characters in racial classification which should be interpreted in terms of isolation, migration and racial crossings. It is important that future blood group tests be combined with anthropometric studies, and in this connection attention was drawn to the close correspondence of the blood group tests carried on by Dr. Macfarlane with the Anthropometric studies of Dr. B. S. Guha.

The discussion on the importance of Anthropological studies for India was opened by Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur and Prof. H. J. Fleure, H. Peake, Frhr von Eickstedt and Mr. K. P. Chattopadhaya took part in it. As a result of the discussions a resolution was moved by Prof. H. J. Fleure :

> "that in view of the urgent necessity of Anthropological studies in India it is essential that the Universities should make adequate provisions for the teaching of and research in that subject. That in order to promote such work the Central Government be requested to give an independent status to Anthropology as a department of research."

The resolution was supported by Prof. Frhr von Eickstedt and carried unanimously.

The discussion on a programme of archæological excavations in India was opened by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology. Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Profs. H. J. Fleure and Peake participated in the discussion. Prof. F. W. Thomas suggested that,

> for the proper research in Archæology it is necessary to have a Central Institute of Archæology and Anthropology in India on the line of such institutions of Europe and America as problems of prehistoric Archæology and Anthropology are largely interdependent and common and should be studied together.

The Presidential Address of Dr. B. S. Guha was on "The Racial Composition of the Hindukush Tribes," among whom he carried on Anthropological investigations as a member of the Scientific Expedition sent by the Government of India in 1929.

THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE HINDUKUSH TRIBES

(Presidential Address of Dr. B. S. Guha)

"The region south of the Hindukush and Karakorum mountains occupied a strategic position in the racial geography of India, for in these difficult, high mountainous valleys were still sheltered some of the remnants of the northern steppe folks who invaded India in the second millennium B. C.

Linguistically the tribes living in this area could be classified under two heads, namely, Dardic and Burushaski, with Kaffiri occupying an intermediate position between Iranian and Indian. Burushaski was unrelated to any known language, but Morgenstierne's investigations had shown the essentially Indian character of the Dardic and even the Kaffiri languages.

The earliest investigations on the somatic characters of these interesting tribes were those of Ujfalvy, followed by Stein, Dainelli and author himself, who, as a member of scientific expedition sent by the Governmen India visited Kaffiristan and Chitral in 1929.

From a careful consideration of phys characters, it appeared that the basic racial in the entire region was a short, dark dolich phalic strain with prominent long nose, o aquiline, which might be regarded as a var of Eugen Fischer's Oriental race and the r characteristic type of the region.

Besides this principal type they had southern extension of a broad-headed closely allied to what was known as the Din Race of Eastern Europe. In its stron form it was found among the Khos of Chitral valley and the Burushos of Hunza Na though it occurred throughout the Dardic tri in varying degrees.

The skin colour in this race was prevailin of a rosy white tint but the eyes were m often hazel and green, and the colour of hair was brown.

The third main racial strain was a t dolichocephalic type with long and straight n It formed a very important layer among Kaffir and the upper stratum of the Buru and the Dadric tribes. The distribution of cephalic index in this type followed the sa trend as found by Ariens Kappers in the ra of the Aral-Caspian regions and very simi to that which formed the dominant element the North European population, with whom chief distinction lay in the integument colours.

Whereas in Sweden the blond type r presented 49 per cent of the population, am the Kaffirs it did not exceed 15 per ce Blondness, as was well known, was due to deficiency mutation which suppressed t appearance of pigment. It is certain that t deficiency mutation had occurred in this and least in another, namely, the East-Baltic ra at some time or other. It was probable t the mutations for skin, eye and hair colours h taken place separately. In the Baltic tribes t high rate of the deficiency mutation mi probably account for the larger percentage the blond as compared to the Hindukush trib among whom the activators were perh dominant over suppression causing the gene persistence of the more pigmented people.

Lastly an intruding Mongoloid elem must also be recognized which appeared to b responsible for the yellowish tint in the sk colour and broad flat nose found among ma individuals.

The proportions of these strains varied i different parts. The Dinaric and the proto-Nordic elements were stronger in the western valleys, whereas the basic Oriental and the Mongoloid elements were more conspicuous in the eastern valleys of the Upper Indus."

The session concluded with a formal resolution moved by Prof. H. J. Fleure, F. R. S., on behalf of the British Association, thanking Dr. B. S. Guha for the great work done by him in Indian Anthropology and for the very successful meeting of the Section.

GEOLOGY SECTION

The Geology Section proceedings began under the presidency of Professor D. N. Wadia, with a discussion of some of the results obtained by the geologists of the Burmah Oil Company, an instance of the way in which important scientific information may be obtained in the course of researches directed towards an economic end. Other papers followed covering almost every branch of geology, but perhaps the most interesting to the layman were those of several members of the Geological Survey of India which dealt with the structure and building of the Himalayas and showed how very youthful is this greatest of mountain ranges. D. N. Wadia, W. D. West and H. M. Lahiri brought forward evidence of the gradual creep of the older rocks of the mountain range over the newer rocks of the sub-Himalayan zone, and showed that the southward march of the mountains still continues. A. L. Coulson told the section of the evidence for the last ice age in the Punjab and Kashmir.

Dr. Krishnan's account of the geological structure of Peninsular India called forth most interesting comments from the overseas geologists and led to an emphasis on the comparative instability of even the apparently most stable parts of the Peninsula.

B. L. Rao and L. R. Rao from Mysore contributed papers on the ancient crystalline complex of the Deccan, and C. Mahadevan gave an interesting account of the salt concentrates in the Archaean terrain of Hyderabad. Prof. Frederick Morris of Cambridge, Mass., spoke on the Gobi Desert, aided by a magnificent collection of coloured lantern slides. Perhaps the most arresting photograph was the one showing a clutch of Dinosaur eggs laid in the sands of a hundred million years ago, buried by the wind-borne detritus and uncovered by the pick of the geologist.

The Geology Section has taken part in several joint discussions with Botany, Agriculture and Physics. Discussion dealing with questions of the interpretation of faults in the Himalayan region, and in this the evidence from the recent researches of the Geological Survey of India was discussed with the overseas geologists now visiting India.

Throughout the meetings the geologists of India had been fortunate in receiving the most valuable suggestions and assistance from the visitors, particularly from Profs. Boswell and Gordon of London, Prof. Fearnsides of Sheffield, Prof. Read of Liverpool, Prof. Morris, and Dr. du Toit of Johannesburg, and from Sir Lewis Fermor, the former Director of the Geological Survey of India, whom the section were glad to welcome back to the Science Congress and to Calcutta.

The Presidential Address by D. N. Wadia dealt with the "Structure of the Himalaya and of the North Indian Foreland." Geological work carried out during the last few years has thrown much light on the structure of Northern India, a region of extraordinary geotectonic interest, as much on account of the magnitude and intensity of the crustal deformations, involving the upwarp of the Himalayan chain and the formation at its foot of the deep parallel Indo-Gangetic depressions, as on account of the extreme youth of these world-transforming events. The region of Northern India resolves itself structurally into two broad belts, the folded chain of the Himalayas and the edge of the Indian peninsular mainland, that has acted as the resistant block and in the process sagged under the strain of the folding of the northern ranges. The structure of this foreland is revealed in four principal units : (1) The Rajputana plateau. (2) The Potwar trough. (3) The Gangetic trough, 1200 miles long and 200 miles wide, mostly filled up by late Pleistocene alluviation. (4) The Assam plateau.

In Kashmir the Himalayan system of earth-folds undergoes a deep loop-like bend round a pivotal point—a narrow promontory of the Punjab foreland hidden under the late Tertiary deposits. Four overthrusts have been noted in the Simla mountains, representing flat, recumbent folds. In the Garhwal area recent mapping has proved two superposed sheet-folds, composed of the older rock-formations over-riding the newer rocks of the Outer Himalayas.

Evidence of the extreme youth of Himalayan orogeny has multiplied in recent years; investigations in the Pleistocene, glacial and fluviatile deposits of the Kashmir valley suggest that between 5000-8000 ft. of uplift has taken place since the end of the Pliocene. A part of the address deals with the recently discovered gravity anomalies, both positive and negative, in the Himalayan region, which cannot be explained on the hypothesis of isostasy. On the whole, compensation is in excess in the Central Himalayan ranges, while the outer Himalaya is an area of overload and under-compensation.

The arcuate form of the Himalayas, presenting to the south three prominent festoons, is best explained as the result of three crustal pegs arresting the free movement of the plastic folds pressing against the Indian horst under pressures from the north. The Great Himalayan range, built mostly of granite or pre-Cambrian sediments, from the Brahmaputra gorge to Nanga Parbat on the Indus, thus denotes the Himalayan protaxis, the axis of original upwarp of the Tethyan geosyncline. At both its ends it has undergone sharp southward deflections to accommodate itself to the shape of the foreland.

ZOOLOGY SECTION

The Zoology Section was presided over by Professor G. Matthai, Sc.D. (Cantab), of Lahore, who in his Presidential Address, delivered on the 7th January, 1938, dealt with "Zoology and its Advancement in India." The greater part of the address was devoted to coral formation and oceanography, subjects in which Dr. Matthai has been himself interested for a number of years, but in the latter part of the address attention was directed to the various centres of Zoological research in India and the work accomplished at each centre.

The Sectional Meetings were well attended and practically all the leading Indian Zoologists from all over the country were present. From among the foreign delegates who attended the Sectional Meetings were Professor L. F. de Beaufort of Amsterdam (Holland), Mrs. de Beaufort; Lt.-Col. R. B. Seymour Sewell, F.R.S., the late Director, Zoological Survey of India and the leader of the John Murray Expedition, Cambridge, Professor W. M. Tattersal of Cardiff (Wales), Mrs. Tattersal, Professor F. A. E. Crew of Edinburgh (Scotland), Professor G. D. Hale Carpenter of Oxford, Professor P. A. Buxton of London, and others. Students and young workers were also present in appreciable numbers and presumably derived considerable benefit from the papers that were read and the discussions that were held on some very important subjects.

Of the fifty-two papers put down for reading there was sufficient time only for a few of them to be properly presented to the meeting, while the rest, irrespective of their merit, had to be guillotined. Though a great majority of the papers were of the usual type containing desc tions of new species or detailed account of s morphological features of an animal, there a few exceptions that lent themselves to discussed, but for want of time the discuss had to be greatly restricted, which, in a g measure, vitiated the very object of meetings. Special mention may here be of the cinematograph picture of the M Skippers shown by Professor B. K. Das Hyderabad-Deccan, in which the well-kn mode of life of these air-breathing fishes faithfully depicted and the whole film was instructive for the students and foreign deleg Dr. S. L. Hora's thought-provoking p regarding the probable mode of origin of a vision in fishes raised a storm of questions, unfortunately no discussion could be held lack of time. Special time had to be foun discuss Professor L. F. de Beaufort's views the geographical distribution of the fresh w fishes of South-eastern Asia; which proved be most instructive though the other for delegates took part in discussions, they did present any paper to the Section.

Much greater importance was rig attached to the discussions either held in section itself or jointly with other sections. the very first day, when the section met for reading of papers, two hours were devoted consideration of "Animal Ecology in Relati India", but the programme was so packed the articles accepted for reading could only dealt with and the discussion, which proved fruitful, had to be deferred to the next day. was fully realised by every one present that study of animal ecology is of the gre importance, both for pure and applied Zoo The most significant feature of the discus was the compliments paid by all the for delegates to the work hitherto done in India animal ecology. Another discussion to w the section devoted a couple of hours was "The Place of Systematics and Morpholog the Study of the Living Animal" and here the great value of the study of the animals was brought to the forefront. A fruitful afternoon was spent when this se jointly with the sections of Medical Res Veterinary Research, Entomology and A culture discussed the "Relation of Zoolog Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agricult Speaker after speaker stressed the great of strengthening Zoological research in India as to check effectively the spread of an borne diseases and to increase the pr supply of the masses by increasing animal such as fish, poultry, etc. Sections of Zoo and Entomology had a discussion on "The Position of Entomology in the Indian Universities". Although there seemed to be a concensus of opinion regarding the desirability of including Entomology and such other subjects of allied biology in the curricula, there was practically no support for the proposition that a special department of Entomology with separate staff should be started by the Indian Universities. Zoologists also took part in discussions, on the other subjects such as "Genetics" and "River Physics."

Among matters of general interest discussed by the Section mention may be made of the development of fishery in India and the advisability of continuing Entomology as a separate section. The present deplorable condition of Indian fishery was keenly felt by all members of the Section and Prof. W. M. Tattersal's resolution requesting the Science Congress Association to approach the Government of India for the establishment of a Central Bureau of Fishery Research was carried unanimously. Further a Committee of Indian Foreign delegates was formed to draw up concrete proposals for the consideration of the Government of India. As regards the second subject, it was felt that, as a first step towards separation, in the future meetings of the Congress the Zoology Section should give a day or two for the consideration of Entomology papers, but that the time had not yet come to separate Entomology, which after all was a branch of Zoology.

Some of the delegates paid a visit to an estuarine area near Uttarbhag on the Piali Nadi, while some others saw the well-kept aviaries of Dr. Satya Churn Law.

The Sectional Committee unanimously nominated Professor C. R. Narayan Rao of Bangalore as the President of the Zoology Section for 1939 and Professor S. G. M. Ramanujam of Madras as the Recorder of the Section.

The general impression which the meetings have left on one's mind is the utter futility of doing too much within a short time. The programme of meetings and discussions, coupled with the afternoon parties and the night entertainments provided by the Local Reception Committee, hardly left any time for private discussions by persons interested in the same type of investigations, and from this point of view this mammoth gathering of Indian Zoologists should be regarded as a complete failure. It is hoped that the lesson learnt this year will bear fruits in the future years when efforts should be directed to make the fullest use of such meetings from a broadly scientific point of view.

SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY

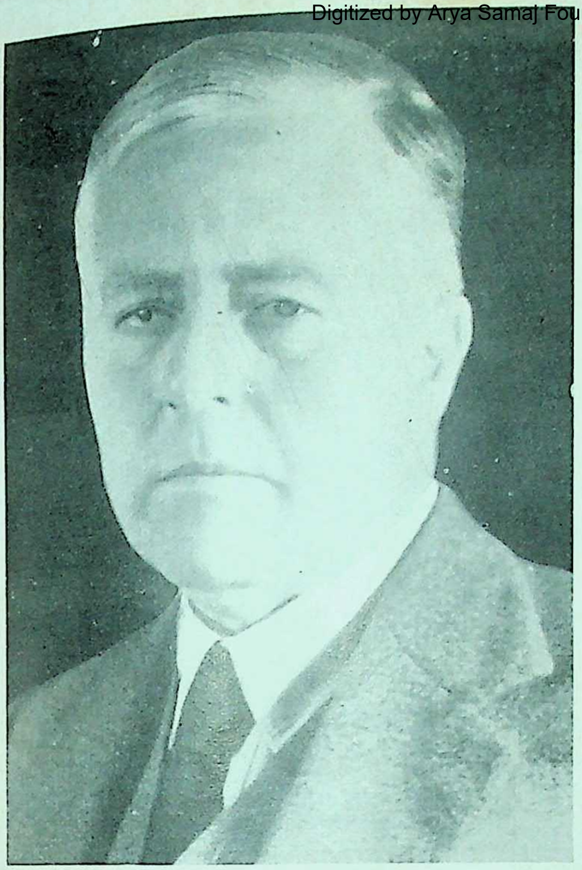
The Section of Psychology which met under the presidency of Dr. G. Bose, head of the department of Psychology of the Calcutta University, was a great success. Besides a large body of psychologists from every part of India several eminent psychologists from abroad attended the section and read papers before it. The well known author of the *Factor Theory*, Prof. C. Spearman of London in his illuminating paper on the *Examination of Intelligence* discussed the importance of the "General Factor" (G Factor) which enters, according to him, into all abilities and is the principal and most stable constituent of what is conceived as *intelligence*. Prof. Spearman analysed the personality into several factors and observed that though the list did not exhaust the whole personality the factors mentioned by him would go a long way toward making up our conception of intelligence. He further remarked that the intelligence of different races might be compared by subjecting these factors to measurement and defended the reliability and validity of such procedure. Dr. C. S. Myers, Principal of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology in England, read a very interesting paper on *Affective Influences in Mental Fatigue* in which he showed that the observed effects of prolonged mental activity are not so much due to fatigue as to the protective actions of affective mental processes. Prolonged attention on any mental work replaces the feeling of interest by boredom and weariness which exercise an inhibitory function on attention. This on the one hand protects against true fatigue and on the other hand lower conscious resistance to various "conflicting complex", thereby arousing feeling of irritation and anxiety and leading to disorderly mental and physical behaviour. Prof. C. G. Jung who had travelled all the way from Zurich unfortunately became ill on his arrival in Calcutta and could not attend the sectional meeting till the last day of the Congress. On that day he delivered an illustrated lecture on the *Concept of Collective Unconscious* before the section of psychology. The learned professor in course of his lecture defined his concept of the collective unconscious, discussed what such a concept meant for psychology and explained his method of proof by examples and illustrations. He said that the collective unconscious was a part of the psyche which could be distinguished from a personal subconscious by the fact that it did not owe its existence to personal experience and consequently was not a personal acquisition. The contents of this unconscious owe its existence, according to Prof. Jung, exclusively to heredity. Referring to the charge that his concept of the unconscious is of speculative character and savours of mysticism he said that there was no more mysticism in his concept of the unconscious than what might be discovered in the theory of instinct. He asserted that our fantasy, perception and thinking were influenced by inborn and universally present principles of *form* and demonstrated some of these forms in support of his contention. Other oversea delegates who attended the section of psychology were Dr. E. Mapother, the famous psychiatrist of Maudsley Hospital, England, Dr. W. Jones of Leeds University and Baron von Velthein from Germany. They did not read any paper. Dr. Mapother took part in the discussion following Dr. G. Bose's reading of a paper on *The Paranoid Ego* at a meeting of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society to which the delegates were invited.

The subject for symposium of the section was "Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology". Dr. S. C. Mitra of Calcutta opened the discussion and aroused considerable interest amongst all present. Dr. Mitra remarked that psychoanalysis was the most comprehensive of all the prevailing schools of abnormal psychology and narrated the contributions made by psychoanalysis to psychology. He said that psychoanalysis had given us not only a better and more thorough explanation of each of the psychological phenomena traditionally treated in the text books but also of other normal psychical experiences usually neglected in them. In addition it had supplied the psychologists with a method by following which they would be able to reach the innermost core of a person's psyche. Giving general outlines of the contributions of psychoanalysis to normal psychology Dr. Mitra observed in conclusion :

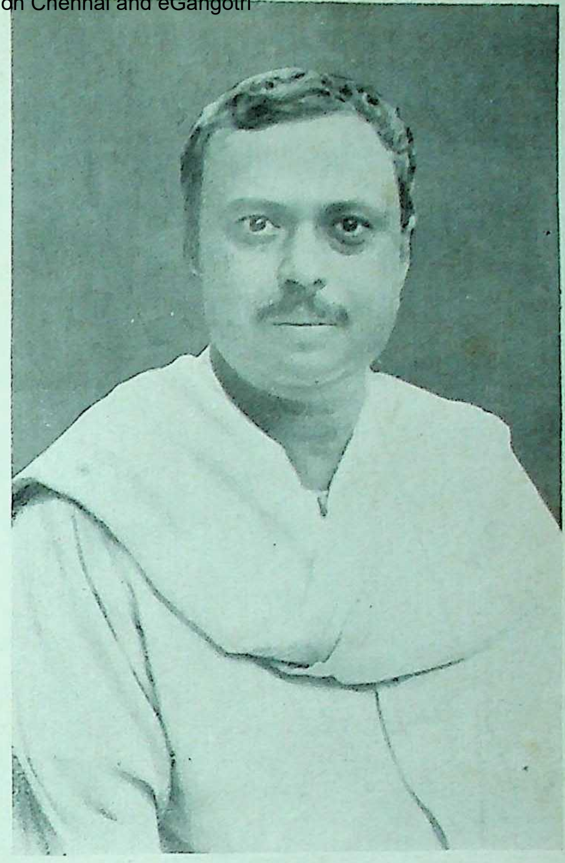
> "The virtues of perfection and completeness for psychoanalysis are not claimed. But it can safely be said that psychoanalysis has not only enriched both in quality and in quantity every topic of normal psychology but enlivened the whole science itself so that the latter pulsates now with the new vigour and boldly attacks the problems of life that only the other day it made it a point to evade."

Dr. Ernest Jones, President of the International Psychoanalytical Association had sent an article as his contribution to the symposium and it was read out in his absence by Lt.-Col. Berkeley-Hill. In the discussion that followed various points were brought out by Prof. N. N. Sengupta, Lt.-Col. Berkeley- Dr. T. Purusottam, Prof. H. D. Bhattachar Lt.-Col. Dhunjibhoy, Mr. N. S. N. Sa Dr. Indra Sen, Mr. H. P. Maiti, Mr. S. Aranya, Mr. U. S. Gheba, Mr. M. N. Ba and Mr. Jugal Singh. After Dr. Mitra replied the president, Dr. G. Bose, summed the discussion. Dr. Bose informed that he sent the original article of Dr. Mitra to Freud for his views. In his reply to Dr. Prof. Freud wrote that he had very appreciated the article of Dr. Mitra and th was not possible for him (Freud) to add thing to what had been so clearly and with definiteness put forward by Dr. Mitra.

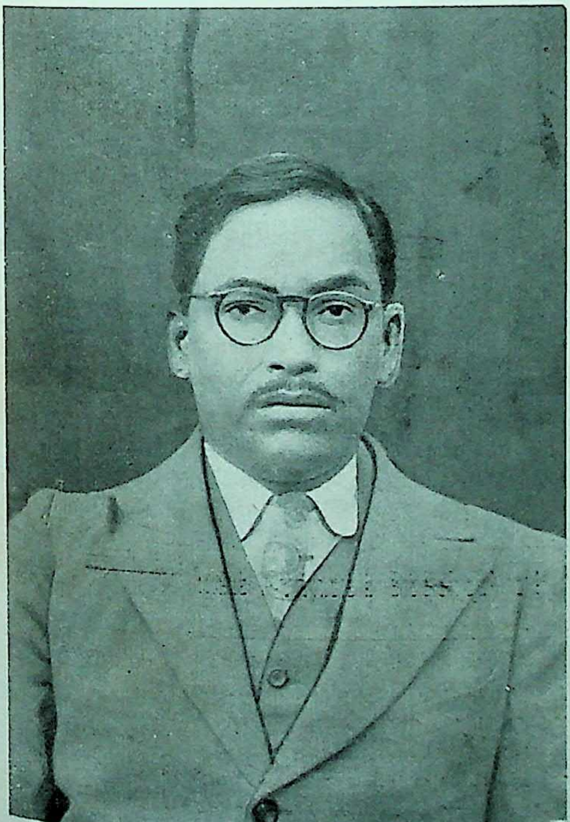
Some of the papers contributed by In scientists to the section of psychology this were of high merit. As it should be, prefer was given to the outsiders by the president so many of the papers of the Calcutta labora reporting results of original experiments not be read for want of time. Of the p read and discussed mention may be made the following. Mr. G. Pal who had perfor a series of experiments on weight-lifting wi specially devised apparatus reported that in determination of *Differential Limen* for li weight increasing continuously, he had f that values varied according as the rate change in the standard weight differed. offered an explanation for this in terms attention and muscular adjustment. N. S. N. Sastry reported that he had car out investigations on judgment of emoti expressions and emphasised the importance situation element in the case of emoti expression. Dr. I. Latif traced the ætiolog factors in the onset of stammering from clinical studies and pointed out that the c varied from individual to individual. Miss Ghosh discussed the importance of handwri as a school subject and referred to cer factors that would affect the writing ability children. Prof. N. N. Sengupta classified conditions of psychic disorder in mystic life said that the symptoms of disorder seemed serve a certain definite purpose in the econ of mystic life as they broke up the old h pattern and contact with the objects of environment. Mr. M. N. Banerji discussed principles of Hindu physiological psycholog given in the ancient Indian literature. H. P. Maiti dealt with the question of norm and abnormality and after reviewing the current concepts of the normal—social, natu istic and statistical—suggested a dyn criterion. Mr. R. Haldar attempted to pr the presence of Oedipus wish in Hindu le



Sir James Jeans, General President

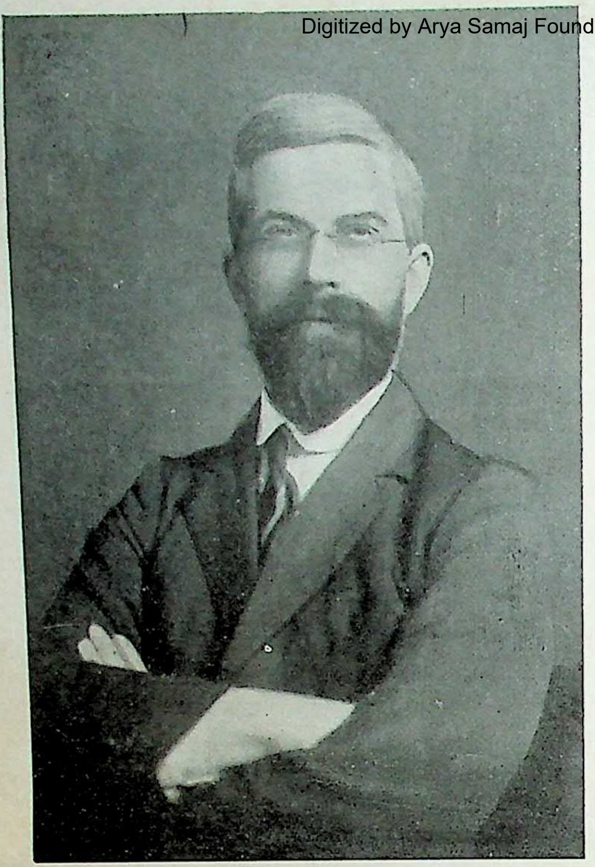


Dr. G. Bose, President, Psychology Section

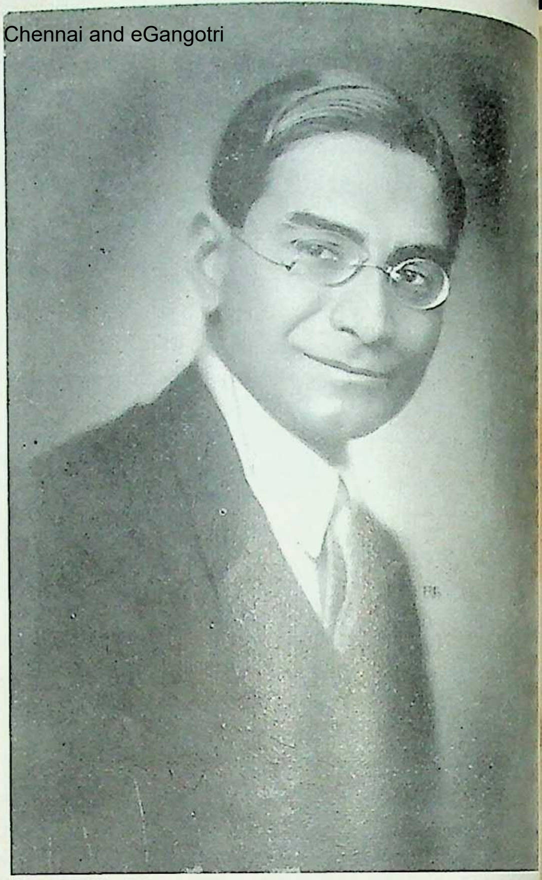


Dr. M. N. Saha

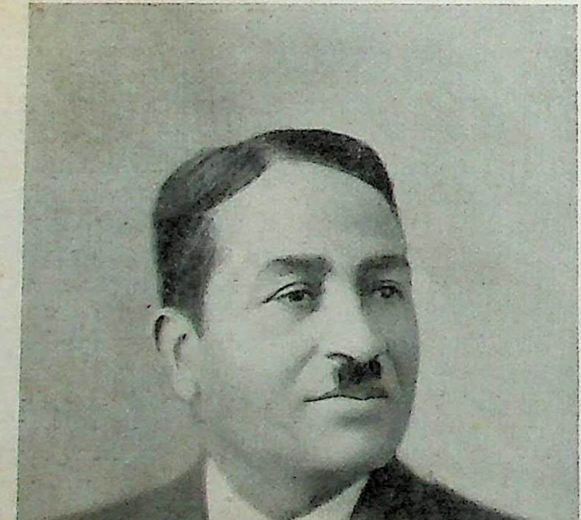
Dr. B. S. Guha, President, Anthropology Section



Prof. R. A. Fisher, General President,
Indian Statistical Conference



Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis
Founder-Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute



Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar, President, Chemistry Section

Sir L. L. Fermor

His researches, he said, offered important corroborative materials in support of Dr. G. Bose's theory of the genesis and adjustment of the Oedipus wish. Mr. S. C. Laha presented a new theory of the time sense. He showed that the sense of time depended on the capacity of the libido to attach itself to external objects. Mr. D. Ganguli read a joint paper (by G. Bose, Sailendra Krishna Law and D. Ganguli) on the *Psychological Study of Language*, reporting a series of interesting findings regarding the acquiring of abstract ideas by human minds, the syntax of language as reflecting racial character and the peculiar behaviour of the ego in projecting its experiences into the outer world.

Dr. G. Bose delivered his presidential address on *Ambivalence* before a large gathering of distinguished people including many medical men. The subject of his address was technical but Dr. Bose's lucid manner of presentation helped the audience to grasp his main ideas and kept up their interest to the last.

Dr. Bose's conception of ambivalence is original. Negativism in various spheres of action (*i.e.*, doing exactly the opposite of what is demanded) by normal people and mental patients is explained by Bleuler by suggesting that ambivalence is a fundamental mental trait of human beings. From his observation in various fields and analysis of numerous case-records Dr. Bose has come to the conclusion that ambivalence is not a fundamental trait of mental life but a derivative of some other psychical process. He points out that opposite types of behaviour under different situations or at different times are quite common among normal people and have never been sought to be explained by the theory of ambivalence. It is only when opposite tendencies are observed working simultaneously and affecting behaviour that some explanation like that of ambivalence becomes necessary. In true ambivalence, says Dr. Bose, opposite tendencies are supposed to be present but one of the contending elements at any particular moment must necessarily be unconscious. Dr. Bose therefore defines ambivalence "as a simultaneous working of opposite tendencies, one of which remains unconscious".

Proving that opposition is not in action, nor in emotion, but in wish, Dr. Bose argues that the genesis of ambivalence is to be looked for in the mechanism of opposition of wishes and the process by which one of the contending pair becomes unconscious. From his analysis Dr. Bose has discovered that pairs of opposite wishes (active and passive) exist within the psyche and they are the most fundamental traits of human minds. According to his theory,

> "these contradictory wishes inhibit each other and a state of equilibrium is maintained. Under certain conditions one of the pair becomes prominent and appears as a conscious wish with reference to a special object. As soon as this conscious element of the pair finds satisfaction its inhibiting force is removed and its opposite counterpart springs to consciousness as an urge for a reciprocal or retaliatory act directed against the object."

All the important papers contributed to the Section of Psychology together with the presidential address will be published in a special issue of the *Indian Journal of Psychology*.

SECTION OF MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICS

The Section of Mathematics and Physics met on the 4th January under the presidency of Dr. C. W. B. Normand, Director of Meteorological department to the Government of India. The president most enthusiastically welcomed the delegates and especially our oversea friends for the trouble and sacrifice they made to attend the Silver Jubilee Session of the Congress. In view of the variety of subject in the papers to be read before the section, the president submitted a programme including titles and approximate times of lecture or of reading papers by oversea delegates. It was divided into different subjects and the papers should be read in the following order :

(1) Atomic Physics, (2) Astrophysics, (3) Relativity and Geophysics, (4) Mathematics and Statistics, (5) The Structure of Matter, Spectroscopy and Molecular Physics, (6) Ionosphere, (7) General Physics.

The first speaker was Dr. Aston, who spoke on "Isotopic Weights by the Doublet Method." In his lecture he explained that for the most reliable comparison of masses by mass-spectra, the particles concerned should be nearly equal when the lines they produced, were resolved by a mass-spectrograph of sufficient power, form a natural doublet. A typical example was the oxygen-methane doublet. Other examples were also dealt with and in conclusion Dr. Aston showed that about 20 isotopic weights had already been determined by this doublet method with an accuracy approaching 1 part in 100,000.

Robinson spoke on the values of Atomic Constants *i.e.*, the values of the electron charge (E) and the velocity of light (C), the Planck's constant (H). He points out that though the values of E and H were first measured by Millikan about a quarter of a century ago, recently investigators have begun to suspect the accuracy of the accepted values of the atomic constants, especially that of E. They have remeasured the value of E and have pointed out the mistakes of the previous works. Since then the measurement of the atomic constants were seriously taken by other investigators and to our great surprise, none of them agreed with each other. Robinson humorously pointed out that in order that the physicists might be more respectable in the eyes of others, the values of the atomic constants should be remeasured and we should begin where we were, about 25 years ago.

Taylor spoke of the rédioactivity of Samarium. He gave an account of the experiments which he and his collaborators had done in this connection, using the direct method of direct registration of tracks in a photographic emulsion. He took about 5000 expansion-chamber photographs and found about 50 tracks which were due to the particles omitted by Samarium.

Sir Arthur Eddington spoke on subatomic energy in the stars. This paper was of a sort of speculative nature, in which he was interested for a long time.

Dr. F. J. M. Stratton of Cambridge, first stated the normal course of development of the series of spectra shown by a Nova in the course of its bright outburst. He illustrated his lecture by showing some beautiful slides which he had taken at Cambridge. He found: At first the spectrum changes form an earlier (or hotter) to a later (or cooler type) and the absorption lines show a diminishing displacement while the bright bands narrow. Then a succession of absorption spectra generally with a larger displacement and successively of earlier type emerge and in turn fade away, two such spectra are commonly present together and occasionally three such spectra can be identified as simultaneously present. As many as eight or nine such spectra can be traced before the fading away of the continuous spectrum of star leaves behind a spectrum of isolated bright bands. These pass from the A and B type corresponding to the white and blue stars, to the P type corresponding to the planetary nebulæ and later to the O type corresponding to the Wolf-Rayet stars, the hottest known stars. Dr. Stratton then discussed various theories in connection with the nature of spectra.

Sir Arthur Eddington opened a discussion on the theory of scattering of protons by protons and though the paper was extremely technical, he deduced from scattering experiments that at very close encounters, the force between the two protons became attractive instead of repulsive so that there was a "well" of negati potential immediately surrounding a proton. was also found that the existence of the "pote tial well" was a necessary consequence of t theory and formulæ for its extent and intens obtained.

In the corresponding problem of the encou ter of two electrons one of the constant (A) smaller in the ratio $\frac{1}{1847}$ so that the "potent well" is much less important in comparis with the Coulemb potential. He further show that this problem had a special interest furnishing a connecting link between ex nuclear and nuclear physics.

Von Kate Sachar dealt with on t measurement of the ratio of the magne moments of Iridium isotopes from the hyperf structure. He showed: Iridium consists two odd isotopes of mass number 191 and 19 the latter being twice as abundant as the form From the hyperfine level separations of t isotopes, the author concludes that the ra of the nuclear magnetic moments of Iridi 191 and 193 is —0·92.

Kothari explained his recent theoretic investigation on the pressure-ionisation in wh dwarf stars and planets. His results are qu interesting and he predicts that the stell material in the interior of the white dw stars should be almost fully ionised. He al predicts the existence of a maximum rad for a cold body which is of about the sa size as the planet Jupiter. There can not a cold body (planet or white dwarf) big (from the point of size) than Jupiter. H theory shows that Jupiter and Saturn ha cores composed of metallic hydrogen. T terrestrial planets have cores of much heav metal, possibly iron.

Sulaiman ably but humbly submitted new theory of the law of gravitation and t dual character of light. His paper is extrem mathematical but Sulaiman has ably put theory and predicts a larger deflection of lig particle from a star past the Sun than Einste and he also gives a formula for the spect shift of light from any part of the Sun. Tho recent experiments during total eclipse ha shown a larger deflection than Einstein's the predicts still, according to Stratton, the res cannot be taken seriously as different obser has obtained different results. We are asked wait for some years, as accurate value c only be obtained when we have collected larger number of observations from vari parts of the globe.

At this stage, the only lady-dele Mrs. Biva Mazumder wanted to read her pa on the theory of absorption in ionised gas where she showed a rather interesting method for calculating the opacity coefficient in the interior of the stars, and for estimating the absorption coefficient of liquid metals which were perhaps akin in some sense to dwarf stars. But the president could not afford time to accommodate her in the programme.

Prof. Stratton then delivered a lengthy address on the "Recent Eclipse Results." He at first stresses the necessity of international co-operation in the study of the physical nature and conditions of those outer layers of the Sun's atmosphere which are accessible to instrumental observation at short periods of an occasional Solar eclipse. The programmes and the eclipse camps of different expeditions are chosen so as to avoid undue overlapping of common observations at near-by stations and so as to secure where possible the repetition of the more important observations at stations far apart from each other. The problem for the observers are rich in variety such as structure of the corona, exact measurements of the total luminosity of the corona, polarisation of the continuous spectrum of the corona, continuous spectrum of the corona, rotation of the corona, relative intensity and width of the lines in the corona, the transition from the absorption to the emission spectrum of the chromo-sphere, and so on. But the most important observations made with the deflection of a ray of light with its confirmation of Einstein's "Generalised Theory of Relativity" has been observed by British, American and German astronomers. It is only probable that there is a small deflection in excess of that predicted by Einstein and if so, the cause of this excess has not yet been clearly understood. Though it may be mentioned here that Sulaiman's theory predicts this excess.

Darwin gave a summary of the work done on the dielectric constants of solid bodies. He points out how the older theory fails miserably when we come down to low temperatures. Darwin in his new theory based on wave-mechanics, shows that though we can understand the observed values in a general way, we cannot as yet explain fully the behaviour of matter at very low temperature. Perhaps we have neglected some factors which are quite negligible at ordinary temperature, but comes into play prominently at very low temperature.

Normand showed a film on the formation of clouds and bursting of storms. Evidently the film was taken by German meteorologists, and there should have been some one to explain the parts of the films. That was the great defect for the show. The film showed clearly the formation of thunderstorms, the gathering of clouds, the bursting of rains, etc.

The mathematical papers were of extremely technical character and the following gentlemen read their papers. C. W. Levi of Calcutta, M. R. Siddiqui of Hyderabad, A. N. Rao of Annamalinagar, R. N. Sen of Calcutta, N. Chaterjee and P. N. Das Gupta of Calcutta, S. Mitra and D. N. Sen of Patna, S. C. Dhar of Nagpur, A. N. Singh of Lucknow, C. Racine of Trichinopoly, A. A. K. Ayyangar of Mysore and others.

These papers dealt with some solutions of problems of pure mathematics and from the sense of the delegates who were mostly physicists, it was clearly evident that they did not appreciate the beauty of solutions and integrations ! The small number of mathematicians did not feel quite happy in this section which was physicist in character. The mathematicians had to finish all the papers in less than two hours. It is high-time that the Science Congress Association should seriously consider whether a separate section in Mathematics would be more profitable to the mathematicians.

S. Dutta described his recent experiments on the intensity fluctuations in the continuous absorption spectra of some gaseous molecules. The nature of binding of hydrogen halides was studied at various pressures and from the nature of the shift and intensity fluctuations on the long wave length limit of the continuous absorption spectra, some light was thrown on the subject.

Ghosh read two very interesting and important papers on the band spectra of aluminium oxide and antimony oxide. The experiments were rather tedious and difficult and he thoroughly examined the vibrational analysis of aluminium oxide and he also reported of a new band system in the ultra-violet region for antimony oxide.

Das and Ray read a very interesting paper on the allotropes of sulphur. Das showed that the similarity and difference between the various modifications of sulphur, such as roll-sulphur, flower of sulphur, milk of sulphur, colloidal sulphur, plastic and hardened sulphur and white sulphur. Their investigations were carried out at temperatures ranging between -183·c to -130·c. Some peculiarly new phenomena were also reported. Sarkar read a paper on "Raman Effect" at low temperatures on solid toluene and solid ethylene dichloride. His experiments threw some light on the inter-molecular oscillations in polymerised groups in the substance.

A discussion on Ionosphere was opened by Prof. S. K. Mitra, where he gave a short account of the layers in the upper atmosphere. His own contribution towards the subject is well known and he has recently calculated the distribution of gases in the upper atmosphere. The upper limit is calculated after Epstin for two atmospheres one consisting of nitrogen and oxygen molecules and other of nitrogen molecule and oxygen atoms, taking into consideration the disturbing effect due to heating and cooling. The mixing of two gases extend up to heights of 500 k.m. and 350 k.m. respectively. Calculations are also made of the pressures and masses of the two constituents existing above different levels in the upper atmosphere. The values of both of these are higher than those obtained by previous workers.

Saha read a very interesting paper on Pannekock's theory of the upper atmospheric ionization. After dealing with the various theories on the subject he suggested that a complete solution of the problem could not be obtained unless the spectra of Nitrogen and Oxygen molecules were thoroughly investigated in the far Schuman region. He, however, proposed a new theory on the subject but the difficulty in the solution of the mathematical expression was not yet overcome. However making certain plausible assumptions, he drew a vivid picture in the ionisation phenomena in the F1, F2 and E layers in the upper atmosphere.

Prof. R. V. Southwell delivered a general discourse on the relaxation of constraints, and dealt with a general method of attack in the problems of mathematical physics. He explained by charts and maps, the problem confronting an engineer in the construction of sky-scrapers, and calculated in a typical case, the forces acting on the different parts of the building. His method was quite original and the limit of application of this method was also discussed in the modern engineering works.

Henderson gave a very short discourse on "Units". He appealed to the members to adopt one single system for all theoretical and practical purposes. He humourously pointed out that the engineers all over the world adopted one system while the physicists another, and when they talked together, they could hardly follow each other even when they were dealing with the same problem.

N. Ahmed gave an account of the works done in Bombay with his collaborators (a) on the variation in fibre strength and fibre weight per inch with the group length of fibres in Indian cotton, (b) on the effect of twist on the strength and length of cotton fibre (c) on the clinging power of cotton in relation to its other physical properties and so on.

A large number of papers (over 70 in number) were taken as read for want of time.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The Sources of Energy of Storms" formed the subject-matter of the presidential address by Dr. C. W. B. Normand. He first of all gave a short summary of works done before, to investigate the cause of storms. The data was meagre but according to the president, the collection of data of the upper air introduced a gradual revolution in the study and practice of meteorology in India and also on the rest of the world. After dealing with the various causes of instability of energy in the atmosphere which caused the storms of all kinds such as cyclones, thunderstorms, dust-storms etc., the president dealt at length on the contribution towards the problem by himself and his collaborators in the department. Naturally they followed Margules who was the pioneer in the field and whose works were regarded as standard in this direction. But the well-known examples of Margules involved very lengthy computations. The Indian meteorological department showed that approximate results sufficient for our practical purposes in forecasting the storm and its centre could be obtained by simple means of the adiabatic diagram, i.e., a temperature entropy diagram. This method could be easily extended, according to the speaker, to examples of a much more general type than those worked out by Margules. Examples, in which condensation of water vapour took place, could be computed graphically and it showed how great a factor the latent instability of water vapour might be in the development of kinetic energy.

SECTION OF AGRICULTURE

The scientific work of the section in the shape of reading of original papers and holding discussions on them was transacted in the following subsections for the purpose of dealing separately with different groups of papers submitted to the section : "General; Plant Breeding and Genetics"; "Study of Crops and Crop Products"; "Statistics and Plot Technique"; "Crop Enemies"; "Soils"; "Manures and Fertilisers". Altogether fifty-six papers were accepted for reading at the different subsections of which thirty were actually read. The British Association Delegates who took active part in the discussions were Dr. Salaman, Dr. Crowther

Professor Comber and Dr. Ogg. Dr. Salaman read a very interesting paper on "Plant Genetics" with special reference to Potato Breeding. He emphasised the need of a careful selection of varieties for use as parents in plant breeding work as also for marketing purposes.

The section held discussions on the following topics jointly with other section and societies: "The Application of Statistics in Agriculture"; "Biological Control of Insects"; "The Species Concept in the Light of Cytology and Genetics"; "River Physics in India"; "Colloids in Biology", "Medicine and Agriculture"; "Relation of Zoology to Medicine, Veterinary Science and Agriculture."

In his address as president of the section Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman deals with the various aspects of the scientific work that has been carried out during the past quarter of a century at Coimbatore which has been responsible for converting India from a major sugar importing country to the present position where she is looking out for possible export markets. In India, conditions for sugar-cane growth are extremely unfavourable. The growth period is very short and secondly, during its life cycle, the crop has to pass through extreme variations of climatic conditions from very high temperatures and severe drought in summer to comparatively low temperatures, including frost, towards harvest. These difficult conditions have been overcome at Coimbatore by the successful carrying out of a complicated hybridization programme involving the use of various types of sugar-canes including certain wild species. At Coimbatore it has been possible also to cross a sugar-cane with other genera like Sorghum and even with an altogether different subfamily of grass, *viz.*, the bamboo.

The office-bearers of the section were: *President*: Rao Bahadur T. S. Venkatraman, C.I.E., B.A., I.A.S., F.N.I., Imperial Sugarcane Expert, Coimbatore; *Recorder*: Dr. A. N. Puri, Ph.D., D.Sc., A.I.C., M.A., Punjab Irrigation Research Institute, Lahore; *Sectional correspondent*: Professor S. P. Agharkar, M.A., Ph.D., F.N.I., Ghosh Professor of Botany, University of Calcutta; *Local Sectional Secretary*: Mr. R. P. Mitra, M.Sc., Research Assistant, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India.

The following members of the British Association took active interest in the scientific deliberations of the section: Professor N. M. Comber, D.Sc., A.R.C.S., F.I.C., Professor of Agricultural Chemistry and Head of the Department of Agriculture in the University of Leeds; Dr. E. M. Crowther, D.Sc., Head of the Department of Chemistry, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Harpenden; Professor J. Hendrick, B.Sc., Strathcona-Fondyce Professor of Agriculture, University of Aberdeen and Director of Studies and Research, North of Scotland College of Agriculture; Dr. W. G. Ogg, Ph.D., Director, Macaulay Institute of Soil Research, Aberdeen; Dr. R. N. Salaman, M.D., F.R.S., Director Potato Virus Research Station, School of Agriculture, Cambridge; Dr. J. A. Venn, Litt.D., President of Queen's College and Lecturer in the History and Economics of Agriculture in the University of Cambridge.

SECTION OF CHEMISTRY

The Section of Chemistry was enlivened this year by the presence of some distinguished foreign scientists, notably Sir Henry Tizard, Dr. F. W. Aston, Prof. J. Lennard-Jones, Prof. J. L. Simonsen and Prof. E. C. C. Baly. Recent trend in the Indian Science Congress has been more in the line of having symposia, in which many investigators can take part in the discussion of a common problem, than in reading individual papers, different from one another. Considerably more time was, therefore, devoted this year to discussions, some of which were held in co-operation with other Sections of the Science Congress and with the Indian Chemical Society.

Prof. S. S. Bhatnagar of Lahore was the President of the Chemistry Section and Mr. H. Sassan, Dr. B. C. Guha and Dr. A. C. Sircar were the Recorder, Sectional Correspondent and Local Sectional Secretary respectively. Prof. Bhatnagar delivered his presidential address on "A Survey of Recent Advances in Magnetism Relating to Chemistry", which was a brilliant, comprehensive and critical presentation of a subject, that may be called magneto-chemistry, to which Prof. Bhatnagar's own school along with some other Indian investigators have made very notable contributions. This up-to-date survey is bound to be of great benefit to all workers throughout the world, who are interested in this highly interesting field of investigation.

A discussion on "Recent Advances in our Knowledge of the Structure of Alkaloids" was opened by Prof. J. N. Ray of Lahore, who discussed recent methods for determining the chemical constitution of alkaloids with special reference to vasicine, on which he and his collaborators have worked extensively. Dr. S. Siddiqui of Delhi referred to his work on conessine, ajamaline and related alkaloids.

Prof. J. L. Simonsen delivered an address dealing mainly with his researches on sesquiterpene ketones, which was followed by a discussion in which Dr. P. C. Mitter, Dr. U. Basu and others took part.

A very illuminating address was delivered by Prof. J. Lennard-Jones, Professor of Theoretical Chemistry at Cambridge University, on resonance in relation to molecular structure and on the application of wave-mechanics to the problem of valency—a line of work on which hardly any work is now being carried out in India.

Prof. E. C. C. Baly of Liverpool University spoke on his prolonged researches on the photochemical synthesis of sugar *in vitro* in the presence of inorganic catalysts, mainly nickel salts. Dr. P. Niyogi took part in the discussion, which followed.

A symposium on "Colloids in Biology, Medicine and Agriculture" was opened by Prof. J. N. Mukherjee, who stressed the importance of research in colloids in relation to Agriculture and Biology and referred to the researches on soil-colloids proceeding at the University of Calcutta and the application of the theory of double layer to this problem. Dr. V. Subrahmanyan of Bangalore and others joined in the discussion.

A symposium on "Chemistry in Relation to Industrial Development in India" was held with Sir Henry Tizard, Rector of the Imperial Institute of Technology, London, in the chair. Dr. T. S. Wheeler of Bombay referred to the role that Chemistry plays in the development of national resources. Dr. B. C. Guha said that in this country the requisite contact between scientists on the one hand and industrialists on the other has been lacking. He suggested that organizations should be set up which would represent University Science Departments, the Industries Departments of the Central and Provincial Governments and the industrial interests like the Chambers of Commerce. Establishment of such contacts would help to infuse a greater sense of reality into the work of the University Science Departments and make them more responsive to industrial needs. Industrialists would, at the same time, realize what help science is capable of rendering to industry. Dr. Guha also referred to the researches on the low temperature carbonization of coal going on in the Department of Applied Chemistry, Calcutta University. The possibility of the production of things like motor spirit from even second and third grade coals, which are practically wasted in India, was a problem of supreme national importance, particul India where natural petroleum resour very limited. Dr. Guha also referred fermentative production of citric acid molasses, which also had industrial possi Dr. H. K. Sen stressed the need of the de ment of machine sense in students a importance of researches on the utiliza coal and jute. Dr. R. B. Forster, D Venkataraman, Dr. K. G. Naik, Dr. Du and others joined the discussion. Sir Tizard, in summing up, said that it was de that the Science Congress itself should s organizations to go into the questions ra the symposium in greater detail, so tha organizations may have authoritative o to give and may formulate the steps to be by the Governments concerned. He said the present Fuel Research Board of Britain was formed as a result of the fi of a Committee set up by the British As tion. He observed that the present dis served as a pointer and could be taken basis for further development.

A joint symposium on "Recent Adva our Knowledge of Molecular Structure fro Physico-chemical Standpoint" was held i operation with the Sections of Physics, Ch try and Mathematics with Prof. J. Len Jones in the chair. Dr. Rao, Dr. D. M. Dr. K. S. Krishnan and others joined discussion.

A number of papers dealing with p cally all branches of Chemistry were read, some of them of very consid importance.

A social feature was a luncheon org by the Indian Chemical Society to meet of the distinguished foreign delegates at Dr. F. W. Aston was the chief guest. were received by Prof. J. C. Ghosh, Pre and Prof. B. C. Guha, Secretary of the S Prof. J. C. Ghosh made a speech welcomi guests and Dr. Aston made a suitable referring to India as a "land of contr where primitive as well as highly sc methods exist side by side.

On the whole, the Chemistry Section success affording as it did opportunities b intellectual and social contact among the I and foreign chemists.

We publish an account of the proceedings of of the sections of the Indian Science Congress, he January, 1938, and hope to publish further acco the next issue.—Ed. *M. R.*

THE FIRST INDIAN STATISTICAL CONFERENCE

By AN ONLOOKER

While the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta was drawing much attention of the general public, an important event, *viz.*, the First Session of the Indian Statistical Conference, took place in this city. Another brilliant feather to the cap of Calcutta was thus added.

In its old sense Statistics is an ancient subject. The counting of the people and the collection of information regarding the resources of the country had been in existence from the earliest times. The ancient Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Romans prepared and preserved records of the resources of the State.

In India we have clear evidence that administrative statistics had reached a high stage of organization even before 300 B.C. In the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya it is enjoined that villages shall be brought under one or another of the following heads :

> Villages which are exempted from taxation; those that supply soldiers; those that pay their taxes in the form of grain, cattle, gold or raw material; and those that supply free labour and dairy produce in lieu of taxes.

Among the duties of the Gopa—the village accountant, it is distinctly mentioned that

> "by setting up boundaries to villages, by numbering plots of ground as cultivated, uncultivated, plains, wet lands, gardens, vegetable gardens, fences, forests, altars, temples of gods, irrigation works, cremation grounds, feeding-houses, places where water is freely supplied to travellers, places of pilgrimage, pasture grounds and roads, and thereby fixing the boundaries of various villages, of fields, of forests, and of roads, he shall register gifts, sales, charities, and remission of taxes regarding fields."
>
> "Also having numbered the houses as tax-paying or non-paying, he shall not only register the total number of inhabitants of all the four castes in each village, but also keep an account of the exact number of cultivators, cow-heads, merchants, artizans, labourers, slaves, and biped and quadruped animals, fixing at the same time the amount of gold, free labour, toll and fines that can be collected from it (each house)."

The curious reader is referred to the translation by R. Shamasastry of *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, Ch. XXXV, for such and further details.

In the classic period of Sanskrit culture there are numerous references to detailed statistics of various kinds in inscriptions as well as in technical treatises.

In more recent times under the Muhammadan rulers of India, we find descriptive statistics occupying a very important place. The best known compilation of this period is the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the great administrative and statistical survey of India under Emperor Akbar, which was completed by his friend and minister Abul Fazl in 1596-97 A.D. It contains a wealth of information regarding the Moghul Empire

> "faithfully and minutely recorded in their smallest detail, with such an array of facts illustrative of its extent, resources, condition, population, industry and wealth as the abundant material from official sources could furnish."

It is no wonder that speaking of Abul Fazl, his translator H. S. Jarret remarks that,

> "regarded as a statistician, no details from the revenues of a province to the cost of a pineapple, from the organization of an army and the grades and duties of nobility to the shape of a candlestick and the price of currycomb, are beyond his microscopic and patient investigation."

In Europe statistics had vague beginnings in the Middle Ages, but it became a serious subject of study with the growth and rise of the modern States in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. The growth of Economics gave it added importance; in fact, until recently, statistics continued to be almost exclusively associated with economic studies. Slowly statistics came to be regarded as the eyes and ears of the Government. It could tell the Prince how many able-bodied men might be mobilized and how many would be needed for the essentials of civil life; how numerous or how wealthy are the house-owners whom he may tax to provide for his well-trained and well-equipped armies; and so on. This aspect of statistical information seems to have been long neglected in England as well as in India. We should have to look to Italy for a centralized statistical service capable of informing and enlightening Mussolini with the latest and most accurate information and tendencies to which they are subject, so that Il Duce is the best informed potentate in Europe.

In India the official statistics are often inaccurate and misleading; and as one speaker at the Conference pointed out, for example, that :

> **According to the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the municipalities in Bengal for 1930-31, there were ten Chairmen for the Panihati Municipality in a**

single year, of whom 3 were nominated, and 7 elected, etc. etc.; that according to the Bengal Census of 1931 there was not a single literate in English in the Kishoreganj Municipality, although Kishoreganj is a Sub-Divisional town with its S. D. O. and Deputy and Sub-Deputy Magistrates, Pleaders, Mukhtears, Head-masters, Chairman, Vice-Chairman and including the Charge Superintendent who wrote out the report for the town; that according to the Diagram printed in the Bengal Public Health Report there were no small-pox deaths in December-January, as if King Yama had taken a Christmas Holiday.

The Calcutta Corporation Statistics are equally full of similar errors.

But in recent years important developments in the theory and application of statistical methods have taken place, which have far transcended its old objects. In fact, the statistical studies have, at the present time, bifurcated into two almost distinct branches, one chiefly descriptive and enumerative (generally connected with administration and economics), and the other primarily analytical, which is as much a branch of positive science as applied mathematics or physics.

In descriptive statistics we are usually satisfied with the total or average number or quantity of any particular entity for the group as a whole. Such knowledge of the total or average is adequate for many purposes of commerce and trade and for administrative purposes. But for other purposes the average may not be adequate. Insurance offers a classical example. Fifty persons of age 35 and fifty persons of age 45 will have an average age of 40. Fifty persons of age 20 and fifty persons of age 60 will also have the same average age of 40. But the insurance propositions are, however, entirely different. No insurance company will insure the latter group for the same premium as the former group. It is the distribution of age within the group which is important in this connection.

In analytical statistics the emphasis is on the study of variation. The fundamental importance of the study of variation arises, however, from the fact that complete enumeration is almost always impossible in practice; and statistical estimates have to be based on samples. The information obtained from such samples is bound to be incomplete and uncertain to the extent of its smallness; and it is the object of statistical analysis to give us reliable estimates for the whole, together with the probable margin of error associated with such estimates. Given the range of variation of a particular estimate, we can obviously decide upon our actual procedure with much greater confidence and less chance of failure in the long run than without it. It is this practical aspect which has made the modern statistical m indispensable for the analysis of data i mass, and has given it its immense impor in agricultural, biological, educational, indu medical and meteorological investigations o kinds. How far the percentage of succe past experience can be made the basis of casting future expectation is the fundam problem of statistics. It is by the use of these methods that the development of range forecasting of the monsoon has b possible in India.

Nature and Nurture, which is the stro The question is much more easily asked answered. Experiments with seedlings guinea pigs have provided an answer;—a a qualified answer. Does the same answer good for Man? The science of statistics furnished the answer. It has shown th correlation between the parents and offspr about +0.5 for a large number of both phy and mental characters, *i.e.*, of the two he (nature) is the more important factor. It been observed that as a matter of fact th a close relation between mental defectiven children and extreme alcoholism in a Whom to segregate, the adult alcoholists or mentally defective children? Statistical an has furnished the answer—the mentally de tive tended to become extreme alcoholists, so the remedy is the segregation of the men defective. Modern statistical analysis can used for a variety of purposes; from calcul the average duration of the reign of sover and average length of a generation in re structing historical or Puranic chronology; the duration of pregnancy in calculating the of litters in bitches, from the variation in wear and tear of coins in calculating their to how fast a species can spread in an un pied area; to how far special defects inherited in Man; to the chances of dea various ages.

In its mathematical aspect statistics ca and has been usefully employed in orga research, and conducting agricultural ex ments. Prof. R. A. Fisher, the President of Conference, has revolutionised agricu research in England by his statistical me and obtained quick and reliable results fro Rothamstead Experimental Station.

Here in India the importance of sta and statistical research are realised by Sir Brojendra Nath Seal did some wor connection with the analysis of marks obt by students at the various examinations of Calcutta University in 1914-1916; but he the field early. The reorganization of Agr tural Research following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926-1928) gave a great impetus to the study of analytical statistics. A statistical department was created at the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute. The statistical method is being increasingly used in meteorological work in India; and a statistical section has been recently opened at Poona. The Forest Research Institute at Dehra-Dun; the Hydrological Laboratory in the Punjab; the Cotton Technological Laboratory at Matunga (Bombay); the Tocklai Experimental Station in Assam under the auspices of the Indian Tea Association are all using statistical analysis for their respective purposes.

It was left to Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis of the Presidency College, Calcutta, himself a Physics man, to conduct and organize statistical research at Calcutta. After the disastrous floods in Northern Bengal in 1922, the Government of Bengal asked him to find out the causes; and he prepared a comprehensive Report on Rainfall and Floods in North Bengal during the period 1872-1922. In 1928 the Bihar and Orissa Government entrusted him with a similar task in connection with the Orissa floods. In course of these investigations 3 or 4 computers became trained in Statistical work. Books and Journals, calculating machines and other equipments, worth about Rs. 25,000 had also been purchased by him at his *own* expense; and in this way the nucleus of a statistical Laboratory was gradually built up. Statistical work was done by individual workers in other parts of India. To name only a few, Prof. Madhava of the Mysore University, Professors D. G. Karve and V. G. Kale at Poona, and Dr. Ghurye were carrying on statistical researches independently. To organize statistical research and bring together workers in different fields of statistics, the establishment of a Central Institute was felt necessary. The Statistical Laboratory naturally became the centre for all such workers. The Laboratory was fortunate in attracting from the very beginning a number of devoted and often brilliant workers. The work of the Laboratory developed rapidly; and on its initiative the Indian Statistical Institute was founded in December 1931 and registered under the Societies Registration Act XXI of 1860. To promote research, *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, was started in 1933; and it is on the exchange list of *all* the important statistical societies and journals in the world. In welcoming its foundation *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* observed that "mere enumeration without proper criticism and interpretention does not complete our knowledge". The number of statistical and other journals received in exchange exceed 300; and the number of books on statistics and books requiring statistical treatment, collected at the Laboratory, exceed 4,000 volumes. The Indian Statistical Institute under Prof. Mahalanobis is responsible for (1) Courses of Training in Statistics and granting Certificates and Diplomas and (2) for various Statistical enquiries entrusted by Governments and Native States.

The Laboratory has prepared a new type of apparatus—the Profiloscope—by which a profile photo of the human subject can be taken in a few minutes. And from the measurements on the photo anthropometric data can be collected with sufficient accuracy. The writer's profiloscope photograph is given here on a reduced scale; and from measurements on it it can be safely asserted to which province or caste he belongs.

From the very beginning the Institute was taking a keen interest in the Indian Official Statistics. The need for an Advisory Committee for the proper scrutiny of Official Statistical publications was stressed by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta in the pages of the *Sankhya;* and as the result of the deliberations of a strong committee consequently appointed, there has been considerable improvement in some of the official statistical publications; such as the Trade Returns; the Statistical Abstract for British India, etc.

The question of organizing an Indian Statistical Conference was in the mind of the statistical workers for some time. In September, 1934, Prof. Mahalanobis had discussed this question with Dr. (afterwards Sir) D. B. Meek, then Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, who strongly supported the idea. The Hon'ble Sir James Grigg, Finance Member to the Government of India, supported the idea. Dr. John Matthai, the new Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, suggested that the first Conference might be held in 1936. The Indian Statistical Institute took up the idea; and circularised it among the different universities and other learned bodies. The general opinion was in favour of organizing a Statistical Conference. The volume of statistical work has increased rapidly in recent years in India; and in case a Statistical Conference is started it was expected there will be no dearth of papers and the standard will be as high as that of papers presented before the Indian Science Congress or the Indian Economic Conference.

The Indian Statistical Conference will not only give opportunities for the presentation and discussion of scientific and technical papers, and of methods of standardisation and improvement in the collection of primary statistics, but will also be useful in other ways. People from different parts of India, different Provinces and States, both official and non-official, will be brought together in such a Conference, which will enable personal contacts being established between statistical workers in different parts of the country. In the present unorganized condition of statistical studies in India, there is scarcely any stimulus to research outside 2 or 3 big centres; and Annual or Biennial Conference was expected to give encouragement to workers in isolated centres by bringing them in touch with other workers. A Conference will also help in focussing public attention on the scope and importance of statistics; in securing grant from Government Departments and public bodies; and also in opening channels for the support of statistical studies and research.

The idea was strongly supported by the Calcutta University, which agreed to invite the President of the Conference to give a course of lectures. Advantage was also taken of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress in Calcutta; and Calcutta was selected as the venue of the First Statistical Conference in India.

As Sj. Syamaprasad Mookerjee in welcoming the delegates said :

> "The responsibility of convening the presen ference rests with the Indian Statistical Institute, has its headquarters in this city. In spite of its resources, the Institute has succeeded in establi proud record of work during its short period of ence; it has given ample evidence of vitality and zation, for which thanks are due to the devotio enthusiasm of the scholars and workers associated I cannot but publicly acknowledge the remarkab and earnestness brought to bear upon its affair Founder-Secretary, Prof. Prasanta Chandra Mahala

This sentiment was echoed by His E lency the Chancellor of the University, wh said that the Statistical Laboratory has re its present stage of development under the guidance of Prof. Mahalanobis; and re-e by Prof. R. A. Fisher in his Presidential Ad that he looks with every confidence tha statistical work will be carried forward the intellectual integrity that such a requires by the brilliant school of workers Prof. Mahalanobis has gathered round hi this University.

The Conference was a great succes was attended by, besides the delegates t Statistical Conference, the almost entire S Congress. It was fortunate in having Fisher as its General President. The Chancellor observed :

> "We are fortunate in having as the Presid the first session of the Conference a scholar o eminence of Professor Ronald Fisher, the second to the most important chair in Statistics in the whole the first occupant having been Karl Pearson himse

The Mathematical Section was pre over by Prof. Fisher himself; the Medical Public Health Section was presided over b less a person than Col. Russell, the P Health Commissioner with the Governme India; and the Economic Section by the H Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, at present Finance Member of the Government of B The Conference elicited as many as f papers from different parts of India; Prof. Madhava of Mysore University Mr. Srivastava of Cawnpore; from Maclean of Bombay to Mr. Guha Thakur Delhi; and from subjects as abstruse as hyper-space geometry of Mr. Raj Chandra to the funny mistakes in the official public by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Datta. The number exceed or nearly equalled the nu of papers read in 5 or 6 sections of the J Session of the Science Congress. More th these it had induced a feeling of brother among the statistical workers in the diff fields and has led to exchange of many val ideas.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

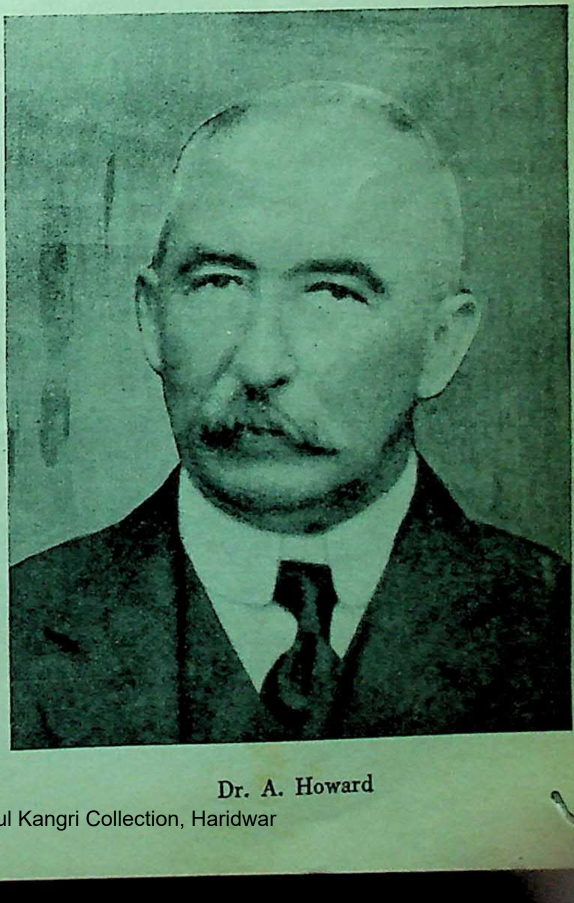
"Prof. Dhirendra Nath Sen on the 'Royal Veto'."

I have read with pleasure Dr. Sen's admirable exposition of the constitutional implications of the Royal veto, and I am glad to find that unlike Prof. Dhar he has duly stressed the latest constitutional developments. In one place he has, however, been misled by Prof. Dhar's unduly exaggerated attention to my use of the obviously popular expression "after a year" in course of my criticisms, and has, probably to show for once his sympathy for Prof. Dhar, has assumed "*an error*," where really speaking no error had been committed! If he reads my article again, he will find that in the course of the article while explaining the constitution I have duly and more than once referred to "*within 12 months*," and have myself cited Sections 77 and 32 which Dr. Sen has needlessly quoted. It was only when making a general reflection that I intentionally used the expression "a year" for "within 12 months," because after all "within twelve months" legally comprehends almost the last hour of the twelvth month, and is therefore, popularly speaking, tantamount to a year. As for certain other points raised by him in the course of his article Dr. Sen will himself admit that there may be scope for difference of opinion. Even reputed jurists are not unanimous in their interpretation of constitutional provisions. Any pompous attempt to dogmatise in such matters is bound to appear ridiculous to a sober student of constitutional history.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

Dr. J. L. Simonsen



Dr. A. Howard

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal, M.A., D.Sc., Sugarcane Geneticist, Imperial Sugarcane Breeding Station, Coimbatore. She acted as the Chairman of the Cytology and Genetics section of the Science Congress.

Miss E. K. Janaki Ammal

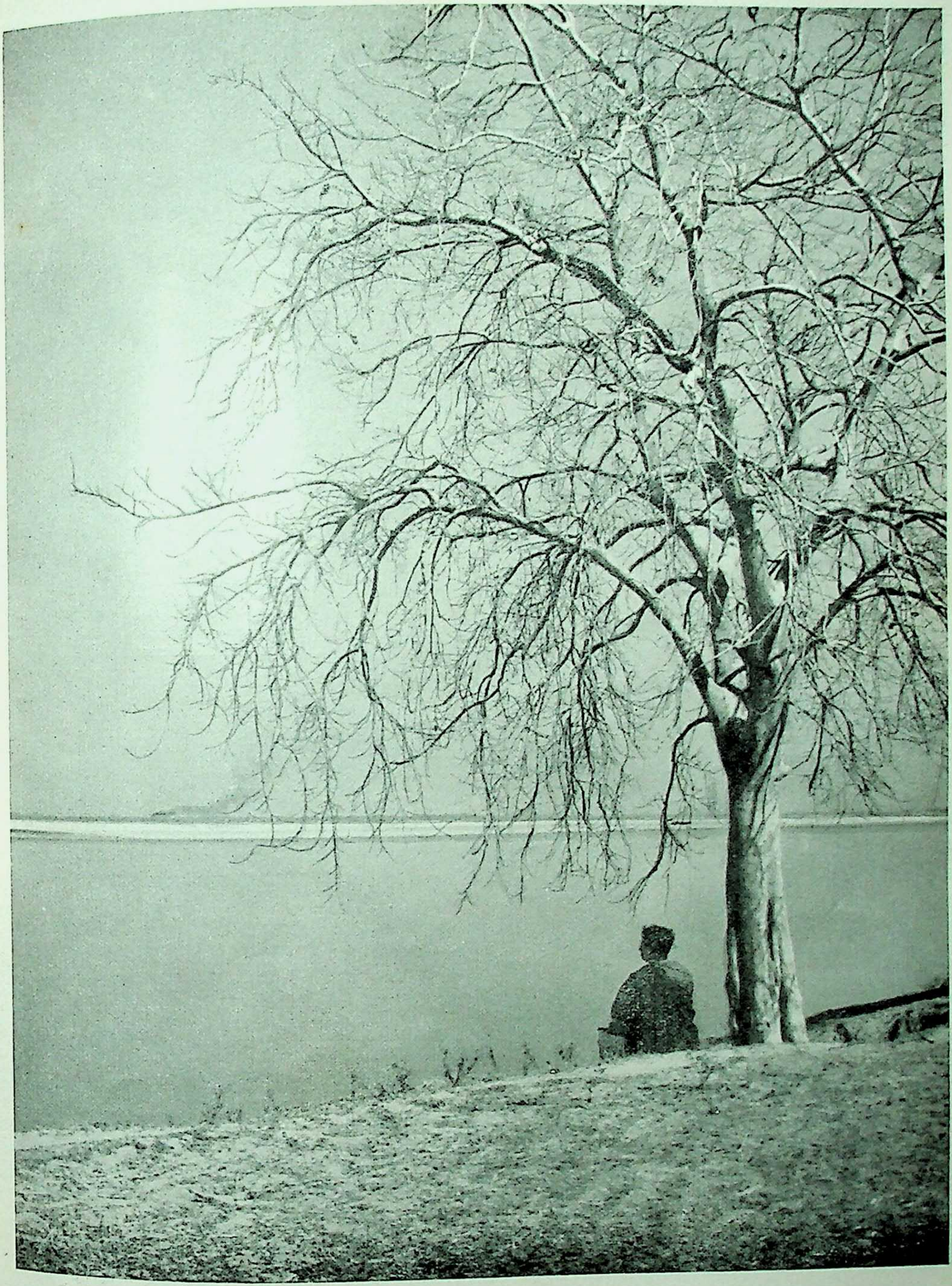
Dr. Miss Maina Paranjpe, is the daughter of Prof. M. R. Paranjpe, the famous educationist. She took the B.Sc. degree in Physics and mathematics in 1931 and M.Sc. degree of the University of Bombay, in Metereology, in 1933. In the September of 1935, she sailed for England to prosecute her studies further in the subject of Metereology and joined the Imperial College of London. There under the able guidence of Dr. Brunt, she finished her thesis within a course of two years and was honoured with Ph.D. and D.I.C. degrees of the London University.

She is at present a Professor of Physics in the Shet Sitaldas College, Shikarpur (Sind).

Dr. Miss Maina Paranjpe

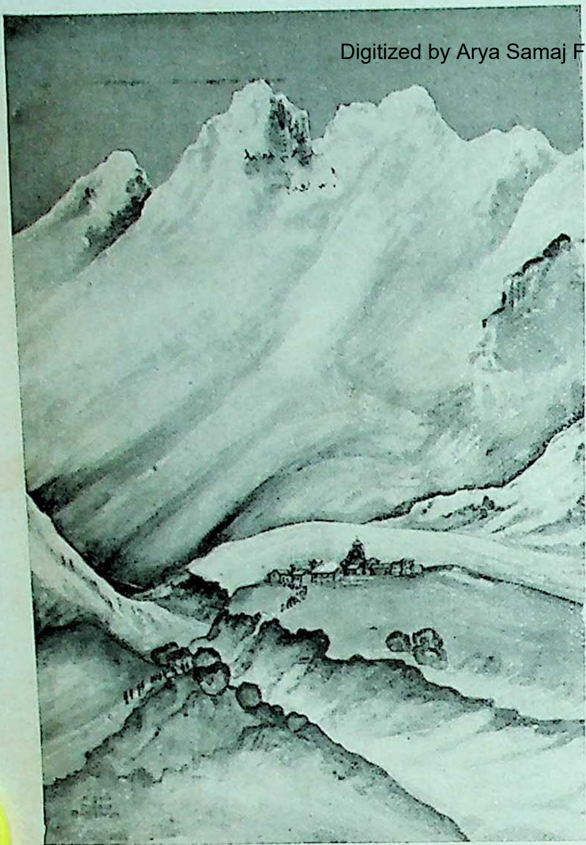
Mrs. Maniben Nanubhai Desai

Mrs. Mani Desai, is the talented edi the Gujarati Monthly, *Stribodh*, Lady-wr special number.

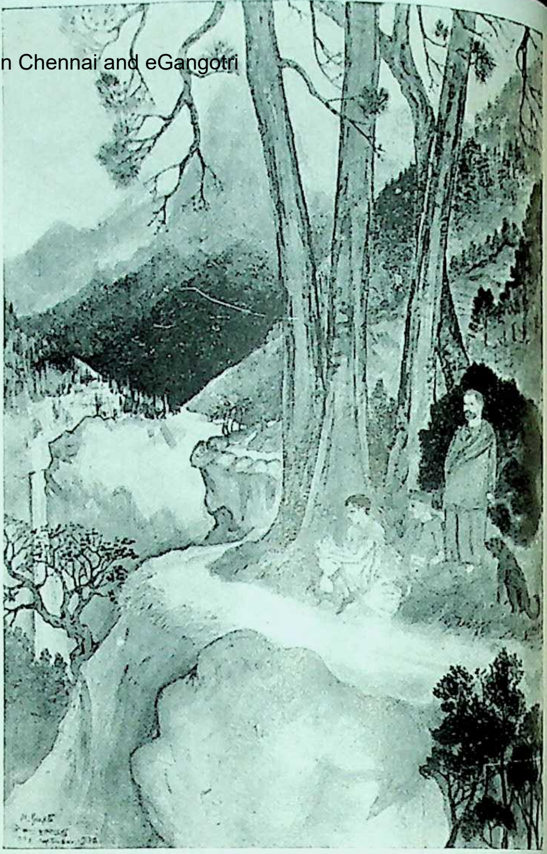


"Thy branches ne'er remember their green felicity"

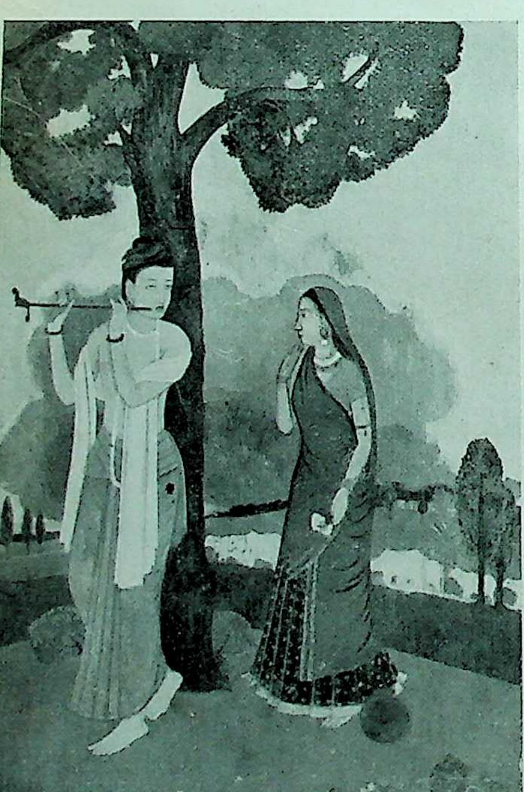
[Photo : Parimal Goswami



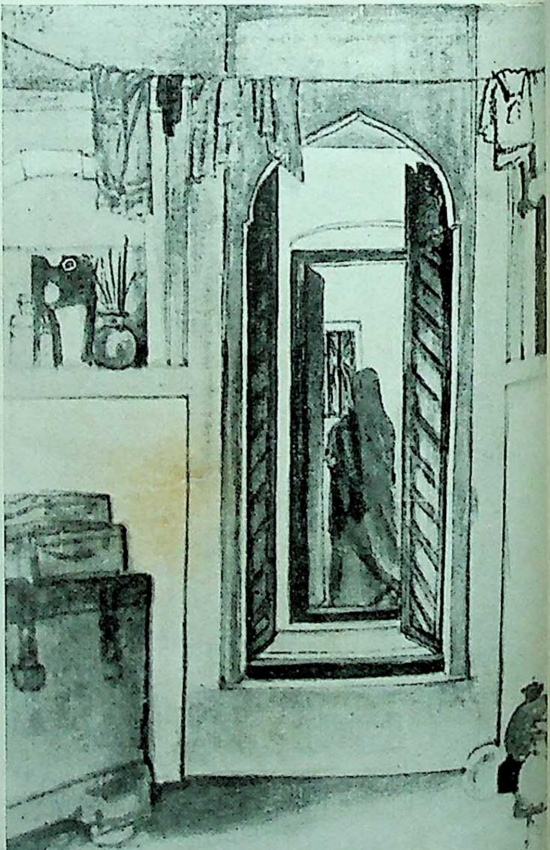
Badrinath



Pilgrims of Kedarnath



Godhuli Ragini



The Interior

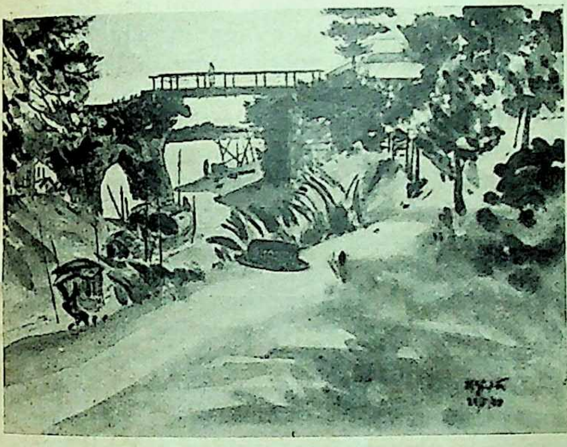
To thos
Indian
Manind
the roo
though
in Cal
perhaps
work is
modern

readers
newed
tion o
afforde
classifi
special
develop
an awa
school
they ha
St
toward
primar
matter
It has
his bl
style i
the in
enviro
reshap
no gre

AN EXHIBITION OF THE PAINTINGS OF MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

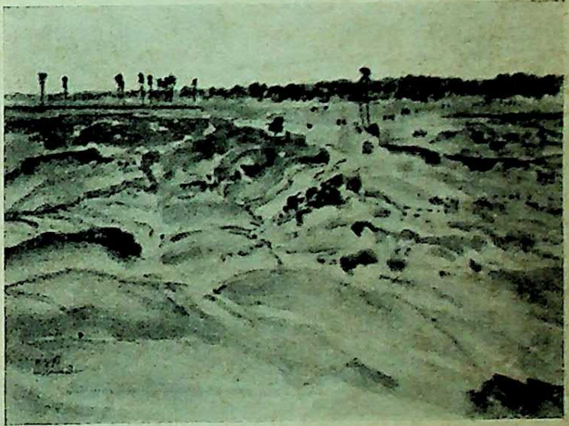
To those who are alive to the trends of modern Indian art, the exhibition of the paintings of Manindra Bhushan Gupta held last month in the rooms of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, though not the most showy of the 'art events' in Calcutta during the winter season, was perhaps the most interesting. Mr. Gupta's work is familiar enough to the lovers of the modern Indian school, and, particularly, the readers of *The Modern Review*, to render renewed introduction superfluous. But the collection of a number of his works at one place afforded a good opportunity for comparison, classification, and appraisement, which is of special value as indicative of certain new developments in modern Indian painting and of an awakening of the painters who belong to this school to certain aspects of their work to which they had been more or less blind.



An Old Bridge, Dacca
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

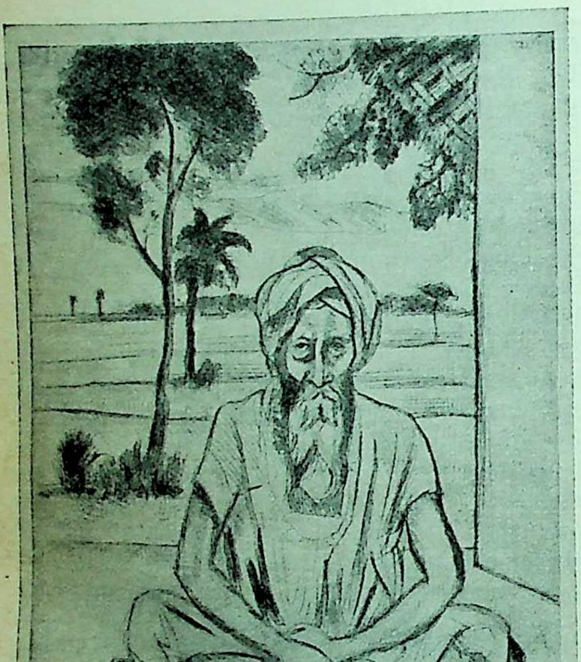
Strange as it may seem, this blindness was towards what is universally considered to be the primary condition of the painter's, or for that matter any artist's, craft—first-hand experience. It has been said that every painter paints "with his blood." This is equivalent to saying that style in painting is organically interwoven with the innermost being of the artist and with the environment which is perpetually shaping and reshaping his consciousness. Thus there can be no great art based upon imitation and second-hand inspiration, and it can hardly be denied that these two constitute the fundamental weakness of the modern Indian school.

Let us consider in the first instance the subject-matter of the works of the modern school—the endless series of Radhas and Krishnas, Ramas and Sitas, and other legendary and mythical heroes which have already begun to pall on the artist and his patron alike. Some people seem to imagine that there is special merit in depicting these incidents and in searching for increasingly recondite and obscure legends; that the Indianness of the modern Indian school lies in its choice of these particular themes. It does not, however, require a too profound acquaintance with the history of art to realize that the subject-matter of a painting is the least significant part of the artist's work, and one which should least encumber his thoughts. The palæolithic painter drew mammoth and bison and boar and reindeer not out of regard for the 'palæolithicness' of his art, but because these animals occupied the foreground of the palæolithic man's vision and imagination. The Rajput painter drew Krishnas and Radhas because his patrons were familiar with these stories and wanted visible mementos of them. The Mogul painters drew scenes in which people about the court were interested. The painters



Santiniketan
By Manindrabhushan Gupta

of the Renaissance turned out madonnas and saints not out of a pre-raphaelite weakness for the sentimental and the far off but because the monasteries and churches were always commissioning these subjects from practical considerations. The fact of the matter is the painter has to take the subject given him by the world in which he lives. He has no choice over it.


The Village Musician
Drypoint By Manindrabhushan Gupta

But the thing which is his very own is his vision. It depends on the painter's genius alone whether his picture will be banal or have the light that never was on land and sea.

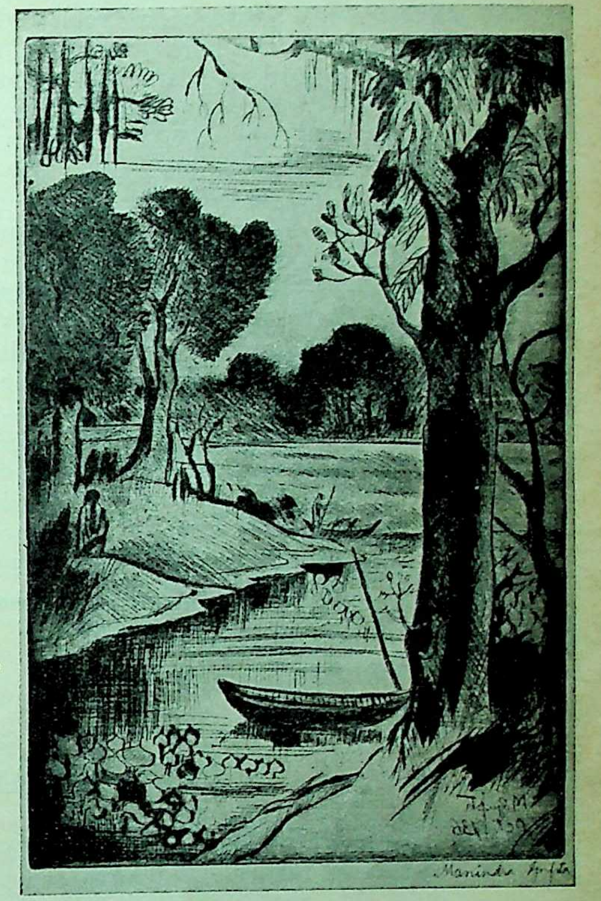
The technical and formal side of painting may now be considered. It has long been a moot question among art critics and historians of art whether one age can paint just like another, or, to put the question in a concrete form, whether Rembrandt could paint like Michelangelo or whether Impressionists could paint like the masters of the Quattrocento. And the almost unanimous answer of art critics is that they could not; that not everything is possible in every age; that every age has its mode of vision and concept of beautiful form which never tallies with the mod vision and concept of beautiful form of a age. The moral sought to be drawn from principle of art history in the case of the m Indian school must be obvious to the r As in the case of inspiration, so in the sph execution the modern Indian school has b the habit of playing the sedulous ape t style of by-gone ages, pre-eminently R and Ajanta, and at times Japanese and C and Muhammadan, with fatal results o own vitality. If, as Heinrich Woelfflin style in painting is primarily expression, ex sion of the temper of an age and a nati well as expression of the individual tem ment, modern India has not yet discovered evolved a style of its own. To leave exceptions which prove the rule, the pain which have been turned out in recent ye India embody neither the vision nor the a tic individuality of the age in which we Perhaps in fairness to the new school it s be said that art tradition had sunk too l the end of the nineteenth century for it to r the heights expected from great art. It also to be admitted that in art as in life i tion precedes independent creation. Still all has been said and done the fact remains the modern Indian school is not growing a pace it should. After the first burst of covery, experimentation, creation, and ach ment under the lead of Abanindranath T and Nandalal Bose a singular sterility seem have set in. The school seems to have s down to a preconceived notion of Indianne content and form. This prolonged nonage untinged with a suspicion of unnatural inf lism, has certainly been a source of se misgiving to many lovers of the new I school.

Pastiche, conscious archaism, and s mentality are the three marks of decaden art. If the modern Indian school of pai is to be a robust growth, if it is to take ro our life, its exponents must be prepar revise its basic ideology. Translated concrete suggestion, this would mean the r tion of a large proportion of the themes n vogue in the school, a recasting of its techn and greater contact with actuality, not n sarily in the sense that modern Indian art s be realistic or purely representational, but it should have greater directness of inspir

It would not be correct to say Mr. Gupta is the first painter of the m Indian school to feel the need of this re-ori tion. Not all the work of the new scho taken up with mythological subjects, and Mr. Gupta himself is a fairly assiduous practitioner of the legendary cult. But as one surveys the paintings brought together in the exhibition, it becomes clear that there is a more deliberate intention, or rather urge, and a more sustained purpose in his break-away from the accepted tradition. He is not like some other painters of the new Indian school who have been moved strongly enough by their direct visual experience to depict scenes of every-day life and landscapes, but have at the same time been so ashamed of this heterodoxy that they have tried to remove all traces of actuality till their pictures of rural Bengali life became converted into excerpts from folk-tales. Mr. Gupta's approach to the actual is more straightforward. When a scene of Bengali life has moved his artistic consciousness he has translated it into a pictorial composition without regard for preconceived canons of execution. Take for example his drawing of a Bengali interior (No. 57 in the catalogue). This may justly be regarded as a masterly drawing, with a strong rhythm of line and faultless distribution of masses. But it is likely to shock the conventional admirer of modern Indian painting, if indeed so small a work ever receives the attention it deserves, as much as Manet's "Dejeuner sur l'herbe" shocked his contemporaries. Perhaps our reactions to artistic events and trends are not strong enough for us to pursue the object of our dislike with the same fury of invective as was showered on Manet's head. But if we were alive to the implication of things we should certainly stop before this work and take stock. It introduces, certainly for the first time, a clothes line with hanging *lingerie* into modern Indian art. This is not only bold; it also achieves the distinction of being successfully brought in, successfully from the point of view of aesthetic significance.

This little drawing is singled out for special mention on account of its value as evidence of a sensibility towards the painter's raw material untrammelled by preconceptions. But there are other paintings in the exhibition which indicate the same yearning for freedom. The whole collection of Mr. Gupta's exhibited work falls easily into two halves, one of which is conventional and the other experimental. Mr. Gupta seems to be a painter standing on the threshold of a room with period furniture, not quite sure about the propriety of leaving its respectable and recognized precincts, yet casting a very wistful glance at the open spaces before him. But the impact of the real is too strong upon him to be resisted. That is why there is an obvious dichotomy in him. Mr. Gupta might well have shown his paintings in two rooms, one bearing the inscription "I paint as I please" and the other "Take what you expect."

From the point of view of spontaneity, gusto, and live quality there is, however, no doubt as to which group bears the palm. It is no accident that Mr. Gupta's landscapes sparkle and speak. The raw material for these were supplied by three of his most vital and fruitful experiences, the environment of his native village in the first instance; next, westernmost Bengal where he served his apprenticeship as painter; and, lastly, the Kumaon Himalayas, an excursion into which was a great inspiration to him. It will be found that all his landscape work depicts one or other of those three regions and catches their spirit with a truthfulness rarely achieved in contemporary Indian painting. Among these again, one is inclined to assign a decided superiority in intuitive perception and artistic transformation to the landscapes of Bolpur and Dacca. These scenes, from which Mr. Gupta's vision must have drawn its nurture



A Village in Bengal
Drypoint By Manindrabhushan Gupta

in the formative years of youth and early manhood, show his work at its most lyrical and eloquent. In actual fact, the outward aspect of neither Birbhum nor Dacca is deeply stirring, though both have a quiet beauty that grows on one. But in Mr. Gupta's drawings they are transfigured, not into pretty and far-fetched fancies but into real works of art. In art as in literature, the difference between the real and the clever counterfeit is very hard to define in terms of rational exposition. But the mind fastens on the one and rejects the other all the same. The test here is too subtle for words. But it nevertheless has an indubitable existence.

The emphasis laid in this short note on only one aspect of Mr. Gupta's work has not been dictated by caprice nor by accident. The larger works of Mr. Gupta shown in the exhibition are in the style now made familiar to all and recognized as *comme il faut* even by the crowd. They do not require much interpretation. But the case is different with the paintings in which Mr. Gupta makes a departure from the established convention. They have puzzled many serious and sincere lovers of the new school and led them to wonder whether they would be right in admiring them. Ju thirty years ago there was a strong predi tion against the work of the nascent I school, today the very success and vogue school has created a counter-inhibition Indians claiming to be cultured against creations which do not follow this set pa Perhaps even Mr. Gupta is not quite sure himself whether this new type of picture he is turning out is to be included i corpus of his serious work, and whether th not just freaks or at best the private intimate wanderings by the way of an who is in duty bound to throw himself into another attitude when the public gaze is upon him. For this reason, it is necessar insist that nothing would be so fatal t growth of a genuine and vigorous art trad in modern India than a surrender to conve The pioneers of the new school declared Indian painting will not find its soul th imitation of the academic work of the They were right. It is time for their dis to proclaim that nor will it attain salv through an equally lifeless imitation of Aj and the Rajput school. And they too be right.

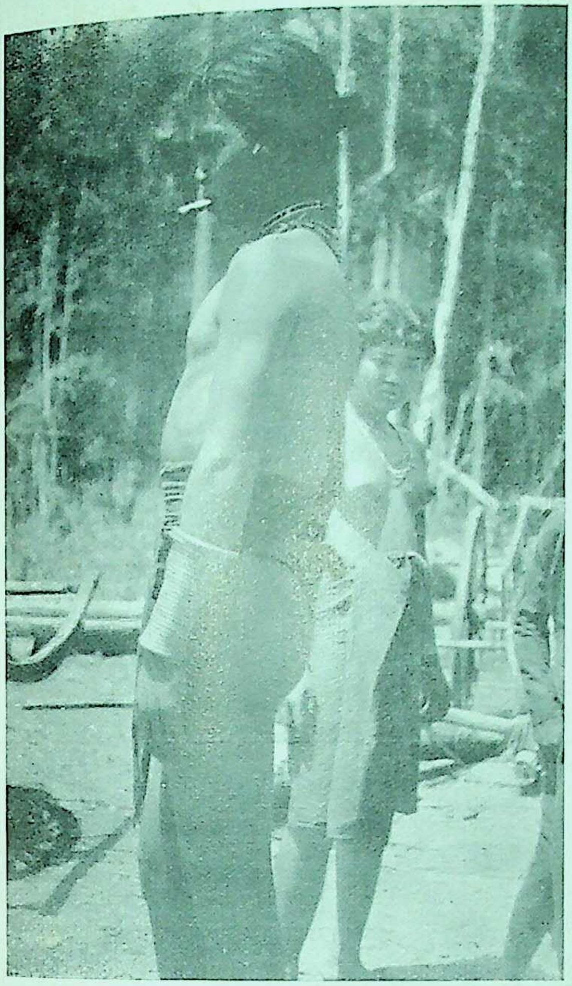
PRESENT-DAY CAMBODGE

Indo-China is more or less terra incognita to the average Indian reader. We have some knowledge about the contacts of the Hindu civilization with the pre-existing "Oceanic" cultures in that region and the brilliant results thereof. But so far as the inhabitants of the country are concerned and their present-day environments, we have little or no knowledge.

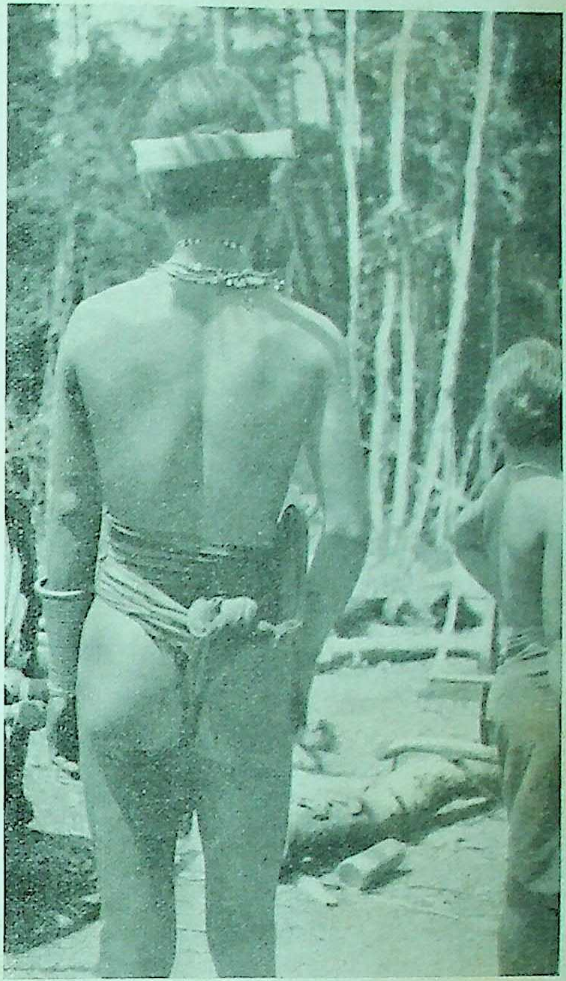
In this issue we give some illustra which will be no doubt of great interest to who are interested in such lore. It will be that there is a great deal in common wit from the point of view of the continuit cultural trends.

We are indebted for these photograp the Royal Library of Cambodge.

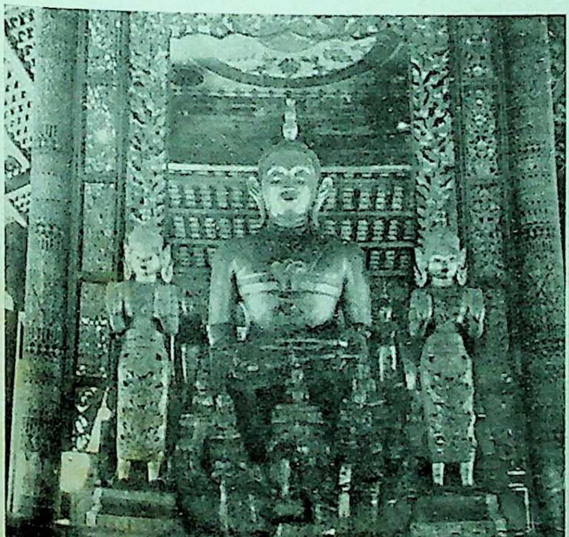
CAMBODIA



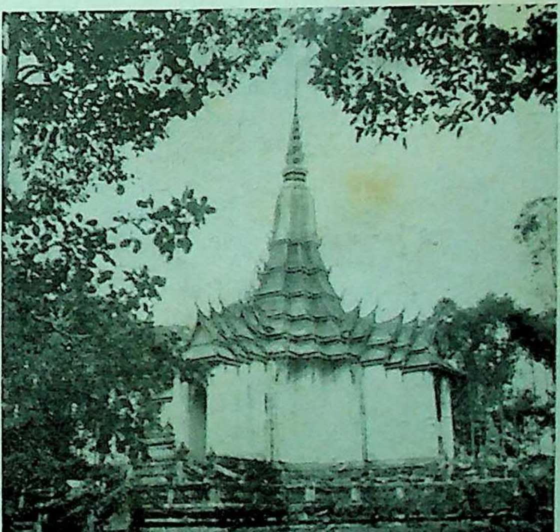
Young Phnong of Cambodian hinterland



Hair-dressing of Cambodian hinterland women

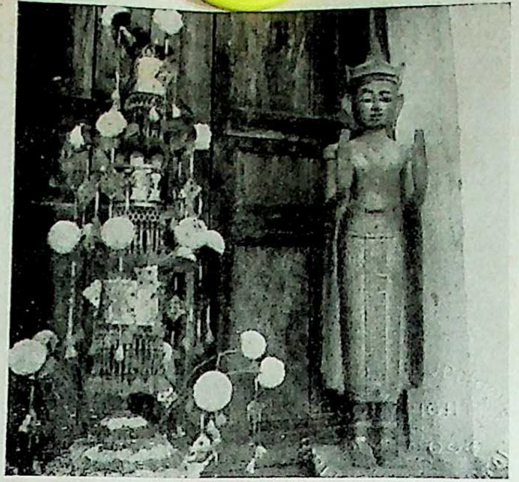


Shrine of a Cambodian temple

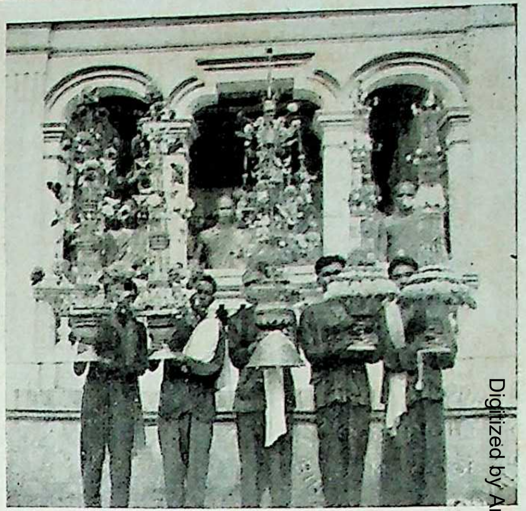


The burning place of a Cambodian pagoda

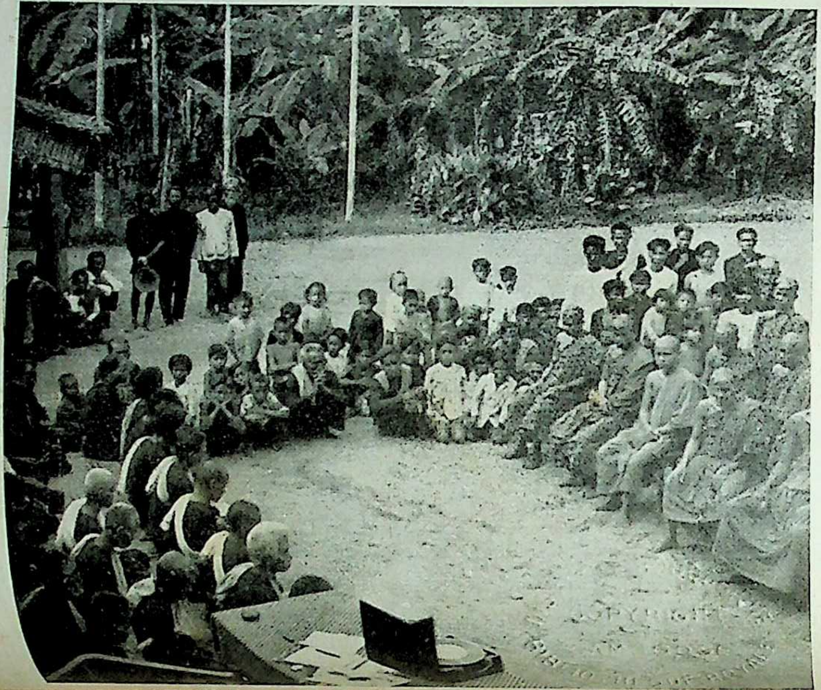
An old sala in a Cambodian Pagoda



Wooden statue of Buddha



Typical flower offerings in the Cambodian pagodas of Cochinchina



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Soviet Press

The one country where newspaper circulation approximates that of the U. S. A. is the U. S. S. R. (points out Lawrence Martin in the *Current History*) where, from a Tsarist circulation (1913) of 2,700,000, it has grown to forty millions. Within this year, the writer expects, the Soviet Union will take first place in the world for number of copies of newspapers consumed. The writer concludes :

> The task of the Soviet newspaperman is unique because Soviet journalism is unique. Long ago its purpose was defined by Lenin as being that of the scaffolding on a building in process of construction. It is to help build the new society and the new type of citizen. The Soviets inherited from Tsarist Russia 150,000,000 people, the vast majority "dark" and backward by any civilized standard. It had to give these a sense of social responsibility, some kind of vision, and a day by day program of effort. It had to make them want to read, want to be clean, to be on time, not to beat the children, not to desert the little ones, not to cheat one another. It had to teach them manners we have forgotten must be learned : not to tolerate bugs and mud; to change the underwear and brush the teeth, care for the sick, and rely on irrigation and not on holy water when drouth threatens.
>
> It has been the job of the press in that exciting country to spur on 180,000,000 people in their trek into a socialist future.
>
> In this situation, and with this perspective, it can be seen how beside the mark it is to insist that the Soviet press is muzzled, that it does not tolerate anti-communist propaganda, and that the Government has its grip on every paragraph of it. It is true that the *Peasants Gazette* will not print a debate in the spirit of the *Forum* magazine : "Which is superior : Soviet or capitalist agriculture?" It may run an article on the fate of the Arkansas share-cropper, but although it will confess that the Iowa farmer produces three times as much to the acre as the Soviet farmer, it will hardly intimate that therefore individual farming may be better than collective. When you have settled on a plan, when you have a blueprint, when you are building your house, it is not the part of common sense or of the building of a state to quit laying bricks and consider whether you oughtn't be putting up a number of tents instead.
>
> They may be wrong, but they are working out their destiny along the line they marked down. They have increased the circulation of their newspapers by fifteen times over the best Tsarist year, and it is only a beginning. They are fitting the movie, radio, and television in with the press into a comprehensive journalism. The results, in the future, will be bound to influence other journalisms.

Nobel Prize Novel ✓

Malcolm Cowley, in the course of a review of "Summer of 1914" the novel by Roger Martin du Gard, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature, tells us how the award reacted on the novelist :

> Both in his own country and abroad, Roger Martin du Gard was as little known as any writer who ever won the Nobel Prize. It was not that his career had been unsuccessful. His older books had been kept in print; his newer ones were favorably reviewed and were even sold in fair-sized editions. But the author himself had a positive taste and talent for remaining obscure. Once he had said, "As for literature, write it if you must, but for God's sake don't talk about it." Acting on this principle, he refused to give lectures or statements or get involved in literary quarrels or raise his voice at public meetings; and except for the few weeks that followed the publication of a novel, he managed to efface himself completely from the public mind.
>
> When the good news came over the wire from Sweden, his apartment in Nice was besieged by a small army of journalists and camera men, local, Parisian and foreign. There was nobody at home. Having been notified about an hour before the newspapers, Martin du Gard had taken a travelling bag and vanished, after telling the concierge that he was leaving for a trip. A search began that soon extended over all France. Trains were inspected, hotel registers paged through, the police were on guard, there was a special watch at the frontier. In Paris the rumor spread that Martin du Gard had been assassinated—by whom, nobody knew, for he had no enemies.
>
> Meanwhile the object of the search had stolen back to his own apartment, very late at night, and was sitting there alone with the shutters closed, exactly like John Dillinger in a Chicago hideout. Telegrams, cablegrams, letters of congratulation, publishers' offers, radio contracts, all were piling up unread in the concierge's office. For two days the Nobel prizeman lived on ham and eggs, and trembled at every shuffle of feet outside the barred door.

The reviewer then gives us some facts about the novelist's earlier career :

> His first novel, "Devenir!" was published in 1908. It made no great stir in the world, but it led to his becoming acquainted with the group surrounding the Nouvelle Revue Francaise—Gide, Riviere, Copeau, Schlumberger and others—serious writers concerned with ethics and esthetics and corresponding roughly to the Bloomsbury group in London; these have remained his closest friends. In 1913 he published a second novel, "Jean Barois," dealing with the Dreyfus case and with an unbeliever who returns to the Church. I am told that it exercised a considerable influence on the pre-war generation, among whom questions of religious faith seemed all-important.
>
> At this point the novelist's career, like so many others, was interrupted by the War. Martin du Gard served in the military transport, commanding a section of thirty-six trucks on all the fronts from Alsace to the Somme. When he returned to civilian life it was with the project for a new novel, longer and more ambitious

than anything he had done before. "Les Thibault" was to deal with the fortunes of two Paris families, one Catholic and the other Protestant, during the years before 1914. It was to appear in a whole series of volumes, which the author hoped to publish at intervals of about six months.

"Summer of 1914" is the final section (an epilogue, however, is still to be published) of this project. It continues the story of the brothers Thibault; their personal story is, however, 'transformed into the story of how Europe drifted into war':

> On this subject, Martin du Gard writes impressively. With his archæological training, he seems to have studied all the available documents; and he has reduced them to as simple a narrative, as clear a statement, as any honest student could achieve. He neglects the ~~munitions~~ trust, but everything else is included and everyone receives his share of blame—in the front rank, the deliberate war-makers like Berchtold and Isvolsky, who knew just what they were doing; then the Austrian and German and Russian general staffs; then, on a second plane of guilt, the cold legalists like Poincare who did nothing to hold Russia back (indeed they encouraged her to mobilize) and the noble souls like Sir Edward Grey who might have discouraged either side simply by saying frankly what they proposed to do.

The Realities in Palestine

Pierre Van Paassen, a non-Jew sympathetic to the Zionist cause, presents the Zionist point of view in an article published in the *Asia*:

> The anti-Jewish agitation in the Holy Land has been made to appear as a case of the poor Arab rising against the Jewish usurper: of the underdog biting back at last. The suggestion has even been thrown out that the Arab Higher Committee, which directs the opposition to Jewish immigration, was following in the footsteps of the non-cooperationists in India, and the Mufti of Jerusalem has been compared with the holy personality of Gandhi—as if the Mahatma has not always insisted upon non-violence as one of the essential provisions of civil disobedience. But what has generally escaped attention abroad in the midst of false slogans and deliberate muddling of the situation, is that in the course of the disturbances the Arab peasants never for a day interrupted their work on the land and that the so-called general strikes in the cities were kept going only by means of a bloody terror not only against the Jews but chiefly against Arabic citizens. The mass of the *fellaheen* did not participate in the strikes. They harvested and threshed, tended their truck-gardens and watered the orange groves as if no Higher Committee existed. Every day they brought their produce to the cities, and it was there that they were set upon, beaten, robbed and often killed by terrorists and gangsters. This is the plain simple truth about that "phenomenal explosion of Arabic nationalist sentiment" which filled the British press, and part of the American, with amazement. The Arab village was subjected to a constant bombardment of anti-Jewish propaganda, the local *muftis*, on the model of their spiritual leader in Jerusalem, Friday upon Friday, delivered the most inflammatory harangues in the mosques, and still the fellah refused to budge.
>
> What Zionism envisaged with the establishm the Jewish National Home in Palestine was to c haven of refuge for the Jewish masses of Eastern E who live under conditions that can scarcely be de as human. There was nothing Utopian in this taking; for it answered to the age-old Jewish asp for a return to Zion. The new Palestine is the p of existing realities in Jewish life. This point is ge overlooked by those who are concerned lest the in Palestine suffer by reason of what is sometimes the Jewish "invasion." They have no regard fo background of unutterable Jewish woe in Eastern E and seldom see the Jewish world problem as o indivisible. What will happen to the Arab, it is if the Jews are permitted to buy up the land? of course, an excellent thing that oppressed Jews find a breathing space in Palestine, but what original inhabitants, where are they to go? It be distressing if so fine a scheme of relief as Z sponsors were to prove an encroachment on the of the Arab people to lead their own life and b civilization on their own traditions and character.
>
> That the Arab middle classes have been imm enriched by the Jewish influx and the developm the country, that the standard of living even fo humblest Arab peasants, who were so mercilessly ploited by their own landlords, has gone up con so that today they stand shoulder high above the *heen* of neighbouring countries, that for every Jew Arabs have entered the country, that the Arab p tion has virtually doubled in the past twenty years, w in the course of the preceding century it had rem stationary—these things are left out of considerati

---

Alien Antipathy in Europe

Tito Frate writes in *La Rassegna Ital*

> The peoples of Europe can be divided into the f ing groups, (1) Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, of Belgium and of Switzerland and a few smaller re occupied by the neo-Latin races, (2) Balkan (Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugo-slavia, G Albania), (3) The Czecho-polish races (part of Czec vakia, Poland and Lithuania), (4) German races many, Austria, Holland, Lettland, part of Switzerla Czechoslovakia, of Belgium and of Poland), (5) S navian races (Sweden, Norway and Denmark), Finnish-ugrish northern races (Finland, Esthonia), British Islands. Now, a parting line runs on the of the first three groups, dividing the European into two characteristic halves, each distinguishable the other, not only ethnologically, but also psycholog and intellectually. As between the northern and southern parts, there exists an antipathy, which curious combination of contempt, hatred and lac understanding. The "Nordopathy," as I may ca makes people, living below 45° lat. feel inspired wi mission of "northernising" those living below 45 In France, which lies in the centre, this phenomen been observed long ago and has found expression i proverb: "Chaque pays a son midi (each land ha south)." For the Englishman, the black and the races stand on the lowest rung of the social ladder Levantines and the Balkan races are almost on the level; the Latin peoples come somewhat higher u the Germans and the Scandinavians stand much hig
>
> The Southerner is characteristically hospitable frank and can speak to a stranger without an int

ion. The Northerner is a proud individualist and distrustful. It is especially in Holland, that they have the cleanest houses in the world, but not so clean streets and public areas, because the latter are "anonymous." He has "the superiority complex," which, in fact, is the sign of a sense of inferiority, which induces them to make friends more readily with animals. The Northerner holds himself fast to whatever is strict and regular, because he feels himself secure within the limits of a law of general application and hesitates to take the initiative and give scope to the spirit of independence. The sense of uniformity is predominant especially in the English character. This is more or less true of the American, the Scandinavian and the Dutch, although much less of the German character . . . . With Sir W. Scott, all rogues and swindlers are Italian . . . This is rather a form of foreign hatred than a case of widespread Chauvinism. The Northerners coming to the South are delighted and enchanted with the blue sea and the warm sunshine, but they always nourish a feeling of distrust towards the Southerners, implying that the latter, culturally backward as they are, are, indeed, an agreeable, harmless and picturesque but after all a faithless people. . . . The Southerners regard the Latin culture as centrifugal, whereas the northern races conceive the modern culture as centripetal . . . There is race-feeling in the South and race-pride in the North.

[Trs. Dr. V. V. Gokhale]

Manchuria Now

Writing in the *Spectator,* Ralph Morton makes a survey of the condition of Manchuria after six years of Japanese control.

The most obvious development is in the increase and improvement of communications and in the new buildings and greatly increased Japanese population of some of the larger towns. The railway system has been unified, extended and modernized. Motor roads, built by forced labor, extend all over the country. They are built too slightly to last long, but will probably soon be macadamized and are primarily for military purposes. Air service between the main towns is also well developed. The cities are becoming more and more Japanese, but though the Japanese on giving up extra-territorial rights gained among other benefits the right to own land anywhere, not many are to be found in the country places. The currency has also been unified and nickel takes the place of the old small notes.

Security of life and property is no better, and the standard of living has not improved. Japanese efficiency has dealt, as foreign efficiency is liable anywhere to deal, with the externals of living alone. The streets are cleaner, there is some attempt at public health and dogs and bicycles must be registered. To the people such efficiency is a matter of irritation and of suspicion. They give more serious thought to the large tracts of land which are now abandoned. For in many parts, from fear of bandits, the Japanese have forced the peasants to destroy their houses and to live in towns far from their fields. In some of the more settled places their land has been given to Koreans.

The Chinese inhabitant of Manchukuo finds the present dark for himself. He sees the future darker for his children. He sees the best jobs going increasingly to Japanese. Jobs are few so he keeps his children at school as long as he can, but he finds that the door of the school is not opening any wider. There has always been a strong desire for education in Manchuria, and the proportion of illiterates has been fairly low. Each village managed to have a school of sorts. Now the Japanese have raised the standard of efficiency in the schools, and the effect has been to close a great many schools which were certainly not up to standard but which were doing very useful work in the villages.

The Japanese ideal is to make what schools there are efficient in the work of turning out the kind of citizen they want. Many primary schools have been closed, and secondary education is now restricted to four years. Great attention is paid to sport and physical training and to manual work. In many schools the pupils do all the cleaning. Along this line of physical and manual education the schools show a great improvement.

But the authorities would see in physical training the only outlet for the pupils' vitality. Intellectual education is carefully standardized and curtailed. Reading is discouraged and discussion forbidden. The textbooks are few and inadequate and, of course, propagandist, and the teachers are forbidden to give any instruction outside them. More time is always devoted to the study of Japanese than to the study of the pupils' own language. English is taught only in boys' secondary schools and there only for two hours a week. In opposition to the ideal of sex equality in Chinese education and in line with Japanese practice, intellectual education is even more severely curtailed in girls' schools.

Indian Music

Margaret E. Cousins, author of *The Music of Orient and Occident*, observes in the course of an article contributed to *Inner Culture* :

Western musicians do not know that India is a musical nation, or that it has developed its own musical science and instruments. But what do we actually find? That since the earliest days music has been studied and venerated in India. Musical research proves more and more that if Greek and Egyptian music were not derived from the root stock of Indian music, then there must have been some forgotten race which acted as musical parent to all three. The old Greek modes are all found in common use among Indian musicians.

Both East and West have twelve divisions of the octave as their common stock of sound material within an octave. The Indian system alone, however, further divides these into the twenty-two *shrutis* and uses, though not frequently, these delightfully fine sub-divisions called quarter-tones. The sense of hearing of the average musician of the West, or of the non-musician, simply cannot distinguish these minute variations from its well-known sound.

The contrast between East and West in the use of the twelve semitones or *swarams* is most remarkable and from a study of it India emerges far and away superior to Europe. Every form of permutation and combination of these twelve *swarams* in arrangements of seven has been scientifically classified ages ago and, as the seventy-two *melakartas* (scales), form what Westerners would call seventy-two complete different scales. These again have been selected from to form ~~derived~~ partial scales or *ragams*.

What do we find in the West? Only *three* out of the seventy-two are used. Only to three combinations of the twelve sounds taken seven at a time does the Western ear respond with keen pleasure or understanding; only to three scale foundations has it become accustomed. The Greeks chose seven out of the possible combinations and used them for some centuries; but since about 1500 A. D., four have fallen entirely into disuse either through Western prejudice or its limited æsthetic psychology.

Thus the fact remains that all Western music is formed from *Dhira Sankarabharana*, *Kiravani*, and *Gaurimanohari ragams*, according to South India terminology; in other words, from the major scale, the harmonic minor scale and the melodic minor scale. Nothing of the beauty of *Mayamalavagaula*, the sweetness of *Kalyanai*, the pensiveness of *Bhairavi*, the strength of *Todi*, are known to the Western world.

The Western ear is accustomed only to rhythmic divisions of two, three, four, six, nine, and twelve units. The Indian musician delights in those composed of five, seven, ten, fourteen, and the intermediate numbers right up to twenty-nine, in addition to the few common in the West. It is this Eastern peculiarity of rhythm that often causes the Western listener so much æsthetic discomfort. He cannot find his rhythmic bearings and feels entirely at sea. He tries to fit Western times into these complicated *talams* and of course it cannot be done. In disgust, he exclaims, "There's no method in their madness!" whereas the fault lies in his own ignorance of what is being worked out.

There is a final aspect in which the East differs very much from the West in musical matters, namely, its sensitiveness to an æsthetic of hour, season, mood, with the mode in which the song is sung.

We Need a Vision

The following extract from *This Publishing Business* is reproduced here from *The Catholic World* :

The Communist who matters is a man who has seen a vision. If you want to know the essence of his vision, Our Lady said it two thousand years ago :

"He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and
hath exalted the humble.
He hath filled the hungry with good things :
And the rich he hath sent empty away."

It will go ill with us if we fail to see its splendour. For we shall go on meeting the Communist with our solemn arguments, showing this fact by statisti that fact by psychology, confronting this state Marx with that statement of Stalin and both wi rigmarole from tne local Communists' party p destroying all his foundations with the ruthless our common sense—and leaving him as firmly g as before, but angry with us and more passiona love with his vision than ever. You cannot de vision by nibbling at it or laying violent hands or throwing stones at it. You cannot meet the with arguments at all. You can meet a vision o a vision. . . . We scarcely think in terms of vision visions are visionary and we are as sensible as any tic . . . . With all the Sun for our birthright we a and they are aflame with their small ray . . . . be in God's providence, that the mission of the munist with his flame was to remind us that o fire is burning low.

The Moslem World In Transition

Pauls Simpson McElroy, who spent time as a teacher in a college in the Near where he had ample opportunity to observ effect of the modern thought on Islam, c butes a paper on the Moslem world in tran to *The Moslem World*. The following ex are taken from the abridged version publis the *World Christianity* :

Moslems themselves are now asking if the is literally inspired. Such questions challenge the embarrasingly.

It means that the Koran must undergo criticism just as the Bible has done. Higher c of the Koran can be postponed no longer.

Within a very few years the enrolment in the and conservative theological school, El Azhar Uni is reported to have dropped from about ten th to less than five thousand. So significant a d hardly be attributed to the depression, when tu virtually free, and when many have chosen gove or foreign schools instead. Modern Mohammedan refuse to attend this orthodox institution, revered is, many of whose teachings are now regarded as o

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Problems for Haripura

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes in the *Triveni* :

The problem still remains whether the decision to break the Federation, or to use the moderate language of the Congress, to 'combat and end' it, would permit the Congress to enter the Federation. that is to say, to take part in the elections to the Central Legislatures and thus try to fight from within. It should be clearly understood that there will be ten Ministers' appointments at the Centre. There will be a keen struggle for the Ministerships amongst the members, and as the Ministers are co-opted by the Chief Minister they are apt to be obsessed by a sense of beholdenness and obligation to their Chief and would not be powerful factors in shaping the political destiny of the country under a scheme of dyarchy. It is unnecessary to analyse or appraise the situation in the Provinces on these lines, for we know the exact state of things. Responsible Government may be a splendid institution for carrying out a settled programme of work in the country. But to ensure unity ot design as well as of execution in implementing this programme, it is requisite that the Ministers should engineer the fight from within. Human temperaments vary considerably. It serves no purpose to say that we shall go into the house of a dancing girl only to hear music or exchange amenities or appreciate beauty and not to tarnish ourselves or our character by more intimate contacts. The dangers are inherent in the very nature of things. The provision of ten Ministerships is a terrible temptation that lies in the way of our politicians. We are not sure that the problem has not been exercising the minds of Congressmen in odd quarters as to how to capture power in the Centre. We shall not take long to discover that we shall not be capturing power but we shall be captured by power. The story of catching a Tartar is bound to be illustrated in all its grim and gruesome details. In the Centre at least, therefore, it should be our concern and our decision not to form a Ministry.

Art and the Artist

Art is subjective. Its objectivity is a weakness inseparable from its practical necessity to project beyond itself and appeal to a public status. It should be free to express itself. Writes F. G. Bailur in *The Hindustan Review* :

Art must needs be free from arbitrary restraints, taboos and cults calculated to keep it under straight-lace and the cultivated disciplines of regional loyalties. But art owes it to its freedom to be loyal to its creative impulse and traditions, to surrender itself magnificently to the conditions of its origin. It is one of the conditions that it does not wear hoofs and horns for a merely meretricious display of escapades. A poem, for instance, is good both by virtue of its inner content and the vehicle through which it is expressed. Its beauty and intrinsic worth are related both to the manner and matter of its presentation. To that extent, it shares some of the restraints imposed by syntax, meter (in so far as that is allowed!) and several other recognised canons of form. Within the limits thus set, there is scope for the wildest creative freedom. The fact that it does not give way all at once to the free use of foreign words and expletives, of absurd intonations and a hundred other proclivities of cultivated insouciance, cannot by any means detract from its freedom.

Every art is a rebel against its predecessor.

If not for some gleam of novelty, some freshness of vision, some variant of accumulated experience, no new art could really be art properly so-called. But are human measurements so impeccable that artistic creation can be the subject of passionate creed wars in which both parties assume canons of values so rigidly maintained that one or the other of them must be lunatics or imposters? It is true that in the history of man's collective rise in the scale of evolution, there have been ups and downs, that art has enjoyed spells of extraordinary exhuberance followed by relapse into grey immobility over long stretches of time. It is certainly possible for art not only to cease to be vitally creative, but also to become a parasitic strangle-hold upon creative possibilities. In science as well as in art, there exists the dominating sense of restraint from some ultimate frame of reference which cannot be betrayed, something which both artists and scientists must needs take for granted as a naive faith, like Causality or, as I showed with reference to poetry, the laws of literary composition or the characteristic ethos of particular cultures. The alternative is a paralysing scepticism suitable for philosophic contemplation, but seldom conducive to constructive achievements.

Examinations—Values and Dangers ✓

The examination system has to be overhauled and the questions should be based more on the tests of intelligence and grasp of the subjects than on mere memory, D. Purushotham arrives at this conclusion by estimating the values of examinations in*The Indian Journal of Education* :

The Chinese were the first to introduce the system of examinations in 4000 B.C. The Emperor Antonius Pias of Athens selected teachers from a competitive examination and the teachers in their turn used this system for their pupils. In Greece, people got on for nearly 600 years without any examination. England copied this system of examination from China, and we, from them.

The first written examination was conducted in Cambridge in 1702 and in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay in 1857.

In the Madras Presidency, before the eighties of the last century, there were comparative examinations at the end of the Upper Fourth Class. In 1880 the Middle School examination was introduced for Third Form. Then came the Lower Secondary examination and the Primary examinations. So, there were, practically, three public examinations before one entered the University.

Examinations like all other human instruments depend upon human behaviour. When the legitimate position of the examination is that of a servant, it is aspiring to the status of a master or even a tyrant.

There are two schools of thought, one school favouring it, and the other condemning it downright. The first school considers it as indispensible and justifiable. It may be valuable both to the pupil, the teacher and the employer. It encourages better mastery. It is no doubt useful in elevating the pupil's work and for measuring his progress. It stimulates their learning. For the teachers, they know the result of their work and the level of the pupils in general. The educational authorities know the efficiency of teaching. There is also much demand for some examination by the parents, to educate their pupils to a certain standard of efficiency; so that, the employing agency may appoint persons, with the required standard of education for respective posts. According to some, it may be considered to be the best measurer of their achievement as far as it goes. The value of examinations, they think, outweighs their manifest defects.

The present-day external examination is not entirely successful in discovering the culture which the pupils gain, by their contact with all aspects of life in school and outside; and many of the so-called failures show by their ~~subsequent~~ careers that they were far from being educable at school. They are successful in life. How can this English system, with the fixed number of lectures, the prescribed text-books and the exclusively written examination, work happily? Examinations by their very nature are not sure tests. One of the reasons that ~~crippled~~ the elementary school pupil's activities in the last century, was the tight and tyrannical grip of the rigid system of examination. Now the Secondary schools are having their turn.

The examinations consume much of the pupil's precious time and make them unreasonably industrious.

The examinations cause undue and unnecessary strain upon the poor children besides the unwholesome influences on class instructions and they naturally encourage cheating. Such is the unhealthy physical, moral and mental effect.

The practical, the executive and the artistic elements latent in the pupils receive little or no recognition. They do not test any *fitness*, except perhaps the fitness to pass the examination, which is closely associated with promotions, which ought not to be.

The Magic of Words

There are cases where a crisis has been averted or a situation improved or a difficult problem solved by eloquence or persuasion. N. S. Srinivasa Aiyar cites some instances *The Mount Magazine* :

Lord Birkenhead once pointed out that distinction between a man of words and a man of de was artificial and misleading; and in many insta words themselves have been deeds

It is well therefore to consider some instances w the magic of words and phrases has exercised a po ful and practical effect on the course of events.

"We will not put on the brow of labour a cr of thorns, we will not crucify humanity on a cros gold" declared William Jennings Bryan, member of democratic party in the United States of America, a conference held to discuss the silver standard for rency. These observations led to a nation-wide pr against the abandonment of silver.

The case of Calvin Coolidge is even more interes He was the head of the State Government of Massachu and there was a police strike. The strike was put d and the strikers were dismissed from the service.

"There is no right to strike against the public s anywhere, at any time, in any place" said Coolidge. the atmosphere of reaction in which the idealism President Wilson had been swallowed up after the w Coolidge was hailed as the deliverer of his country. was a period when the nightmare of Bolshevism h thrown its baleful shadows across the land. The sile epigrammatic Coolidge found himself in the White Ho not long after he had enunciated his unilluminating i dictment against strikes.

"In a climate soft as a mother's smile, on a s fruitful as God's love, the Irish peasant mourns," s an Irish poet Davis. The tragedy of Ireland found e expression in these mournful lines. To Irishmen the constitute a stirring call to duty and an incentive t patriotic work. Like the biblical column of smoke b day, pillar of fire by night, the haunting melody of the words inspired the fight for freedom of Ireland. . . .

In the sphere of literature. too, instances are n wanting of the effect of words. After the battle o Blenhim, Addison, then little known to fame and occ pant of a garret over a small shop in the Hay-mar was officially requisitioned to commemorate the victory i verse. The poem "Campaign" which produced a gre effect on the country and gave Addison fame and of was produced accordingly. The unexpected success of t poem was due, not to its intrinsic poetic merit, but single line, which occurs in the course of a simile com paring Malborough to an angel guiding the whirlwind

Poetry of Iqbal

In the course of a broadcast talk reproduc here from *The Civil and Military Gaze* Dr. Amiya C. Chakravarti observes :

There are elements in Iqbal's poetry which can yi their full ~~savour~~ only to those who are familiar with t intangible atmosphere of his language and ideol But the power of his thought has reached far and w The dynamic quality of his appeal to selfhood, t challenge he has offered to modern man to achieve harmony of ideas and reality in his spiritual, social a national life reveal the universal in his message.

His philosophy of self-expression is an antidote the doctrine of emotional luxuriance and introspe ecstacies, which so many of us are apt to accept as t reality of a spiritual life. "Do not scatter thy han of dust", Iqbal has said in a poem—a memorable phr

Conservation of energy, then, and along with it a rugged determination to face the ardours of life, to use one's spirit to harness the material world for our good.

As he says in *Asrar-i-Khudi* :

"It behoves thee to go back to the Arabs :
Thou hast gathered roses from the garden of Persia
And seen the springtide of India and Iran :
Now taste a little of the heat of the desert
Drink the old wine of the date !
How long make thine abode in gardens?
Build a nest on the high mountains,
A nest embosomed in lightning and thunder,
Loftier than eagle's eyrie,
That thou mayst be fit for Life's battle,
That thy body and soul may burn in Life's fire !"

His deepest utterances show a blend of contemplation and the urge for action toward the freedom of man. Iqbal's lyrics have transcended the frontier of community, sect and nation : they have entered the inner shrine of literature.

Ancient Power to Create a New World ✓

There is a greater hope of India's being able to stem the tide running so fast towards the self-destruction of modern civilization than of its being checked in the West. India still retains a deep inner conviction of the non-material values. F. G. Pearce in his article in *The Twentieth Century* discusses the importance of Yoga—a term which he has chosen to signify the technique of mastery over man's inner world of consciousness :

> If you *know* that Life is One and indivisible, and that the separate 'I' is but a figment of the mind, can you moreover help to maintain, can you tolerate, a system under which three-fourths of mankind groan beneath a burden placed on them by the remaining fourth? Can you tolerate slavery, exploitation, cruelty of any kind? True, you cannot hate the slave-driver, the exploiter, the torturer, but you strive to release him from his devil's work. Is this an arm-chair creed?
>
> All do not feel that it is theirs to try to reform the world, to effect political and economic revolutions, or even to teach. "They also serve who only stand and wait." One might add that it is not impossible that they also serve who only sit and think. One of the arts that the West has largely forgotten, to its great loss, and the East is in danger of undervaluing through imitation of the West, is that of contemplation. And when, as in the case we are considering here, contemplation is not merely an end in itself, but a means to an end, and that end is the dissolution of the illusion of the 'I', it becomes both an art and a science of the highest importance.
>
> The poet who wrote about the East being plunged in thought while the legions thundered by, might have been surprised if he had lived to read Mr. Heard's book, and to know that a western writer on modern science would actually foretell the speedy end of western civilization through the thunder of those very legions and their instruments of scientific destruction, and still more if he had heard that the same writer and a good many others of his time, believe that the only way to save the civilization, if it be not too late already, is a re-discovery of those very things concerning which the East was 'plunged in thought,' while the West, as he imagined, rushed victoriously ahead.

He concludes :

> We in India, have certain definite advantages for that re-discovery. The traditions of that very technique which enabled the Indus Civilization to outlast by a long period of time the parallel civilizations of the Sumerian and Egyptian peoples are still among us. Added to them, we have the traditions of at least three other outstanding techniques of the kind, the psychological system of the Buddhists, the 'Yoga' of Patanjali, and the mysticism of the Sufis. Because these are all usually associated with religion and religious organizations, they are mostly attractive to the type of mind that wishes to escape from the world of hard facts and are often anathema to the mind anxious to face the world and to change it. But, as I have tried to show, it is just to the latter type of mind that this technique should be most valuable, since, if rightly comprehended, it has an effect the very reverse of enervating, distracting, or side-tracking from the practical problems of modern life. It is the very reverse of that 'opiate of the people' which Marx, perhaps justly, accused orthodox religion of being. It gives a new integration of heart and mind, new health of body, new confidence in the future of mankind, in brotherhood and in freedom, new certainty of the power of the Life within to create, in its own way and its own time, the new forms necessary for its fullest expression,—forms which must arise, and which cannot fail to arise, in spite of failures, even on the scale of the dinosaur and the mammoth, because the energy of Life, that 'inherent capacity of the living cell' has steadily wrought out its forms in the past, and *must* as surely create them ever anew through all the ages that are to come.

The Inspired Lead

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi makes the following comment on the presidential address that Vinayak Damodar Savarkar delivered at the Ahmedabad Session of the Hindu Mahasabha :

> Mr. Savarkar is no mere dreamer. He has his foot firmly planted on earth and is never afraid of looking at the facts full in the face.
>
> To him the independence of India means the independence of our people, our race, our nation.
>
> "*To the Hindus the independence of Hindusthan can only be worth having if that ensures their Hindutva their religious, racial and cultural identity. We are not out to die for a Swarajya which could only be had at the cost of our Swatwa our Hindutwa itself.*"
>
> "When will our unity-hankerers understand" exclaims the Mahasabha President "that the real question at the root of the Muslim displeasure is not a word here or a song there?" He utters a much ignored psychological truth when he says that "when an overwhelming majority in the country goes on its knees before a minority so antagonistic as the Mahomedans, imploring them to lend a helping hand and assures it that otherwise their major community is doomed to death, it would be a wonder if that minor community does not sell its assistance at the highest bidding possible, does not hasten the doom of the major community and aim to establish their own political suzerainty in the land."
>
> At a time when in the rivalry between the Congress and the Government to buy Muslim support Hindusthan is being made over to Muslim communalism, the Swatantra-Vir's address comes to us as the Message of Hope. With the authority of his position as the President

of the Hindu Mahasabha, he assures the minorities that "the Hindus are willing to form a common united Indian nation and do not advance any special claims, privileges or rights reserved only for themselves over and above the non-Hindu sections of Hindusthan."

"If you come, with you, if you don't, without you, and if you oppose, in spite of you, the Hindus will continue to fight for their national freedom as best as they can." Thus succinctly and truly he lays down the position of Hindu Nationalism in its struggle for independence.

The Dance in India

Sreemati Pratima Tagore writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Long ago, in India, the art of dancing had fully developed and could express the highest reaches of human thought and feeling. This can be seen in many ancient paintings and especially in the cave frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh. Moreover, dancing held a large and important place in the cultural life of India.

We have three kinds of representative Indian dance which still exist: the South Indian dance, the Manipuri dance, and the North Indian dance. The South Indian dance is very ancient in origin and its influence has spread even to the Far-East; it is to be seen in Java, Indo-China, Burma, Ceylon, and even in China and Japan. In the same way the influence of Indian fresco-painting can be seen in Boro Budur, in Anuradhapura, in Sigiria, all of which date from the Buddhist era.

The classical dance of the South expresses six kinds of human emotion; in Sanskrit we call them 'Rasa,' a word which is as untranslatable as the German word 'stimmung.' The different 'Rasas' in the art of the dance represent the following: parental feeling, friendship, conjugal love, strength, heroism and humour.

In our ancient scripture, *Natosastra,* there are numerous descriptions of the various forms of feeling that have a universal aspect. We also find therein a list of the qualities an artist should possess if he wants to dedicate his life to the art of dancing. The most necessary among them are: a good figure, sense of rhythm, grace of expression and of repose. This word 'repose' implies that the artist or dancer must not think of the outside world; that he must avoid the temptation to attract his audience; it also means that he must merge himself into his art, into what he is creating for the moment, in order to detach himself entirely from the sense of the outer world.

In the South Indian dance the different movements or poses of the hands suggest the inner meaning of the drama and represent in visual form the language of dance. The symbolical name given to these movements is 'Mudra.' The Southern dance, which is probably the most ancient, takes its themes from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana.* One can witness this dancing still in the 'Katha-Kali' dance in Malabar. This art developed certain dramatic qualities, and expressed them in a shape that might be called cubic in conception, in which the movements of the arms and hands are at right angles, and not in the swelling and curving motions of other Indian dances.

The writer deals with the other two schools of Indian dancing also—the Manipuri dance and the North Indian dance. She then observes :

These movements express great strength and offer a fascinating display of rhythm; through them movements become as expressive as a spoken language. I have seen a South Indian dancer acting the part of a deer a same time as he was representing the character o hunter. When taking the part of the deer he ha only transformed his soul into that of a gazelle even his ears, his eyes, until every movement of his b reflected the inner tragedy of the poor creature threa by the hunter in the forest. The impersonation was r marvellous. The same thing was true of the Danc Shiva. It carried the mind away far above the e to a supernormal world, and made us feel the dy force of creation in a way that is impossible to desc

At our Dance School at Santiniketan we have trying to revive all the indigenous forms of dancing w were seriously in danger of dying out for wan patronage.

From our studies a new art is evolving; a syn of all the forms handed down by tradition. In words, our artists, musicians and dancers, in giving pression to their own feeling and emotion, are crea new forms on the foundation of the old.

At Santiniketan we have made dance a part of education and an important subject in the art-life training of our pupils. Not only are the students tr to adapt the classical rhythms and poses to newer th and more complex emotions, but participation in seasonal festivals, which are a regular feature of life in Santiniketan, makes it possible for them to re the basic relationship of dance to Nature's rhythm.

To The Painter

You maker of pictures, a ceaseless traveller
among men and things,
rounding them up in your net of vision
and bringing them out in lines
far above their social value and market pri
Yonder colony of the outcaste,
its crowd of rustic roofs,
and an empty field in the background
scorched by the angry April sun
are hurriedly passed by and never miss
till your wayfaring lines spoke out, they are th
and we started up and said, indeed they are.

Those nameless tramps fading away every moment
into sha
were rescued from their nothingness
and compelled us to acknowledge
a greater appeal of the real in them
than is possessed by the rajahs
who lavish money on their portraits of dubious w
for fools to gape at in wonder.

You ignored the mythological stead of paradise
when your eyes were caught by a goat
who is only noticed with our expostulation
when straying on our brinjal plot.
You brought out its own majesty of goatliness
in your

and our mind woke up into a surprise.
The poor goat-seller remains ignorant of the fact
that the picture does not represent
the commonplace
that is his own,
but it is a discovery.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in *The Visva-Bharati Qua*

—This poem, translated by the Poet from his ori Bengali, was inspired by certain sketches by the Nandalal Bose.

76396

Notes

"A Great Indian Scientist"

Under the above caption, the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, editor of the Chicago *Unity*, who many years ago hailed Mahatma Gandhi as "the greatest man in the world," writes as follows editorially in his paper :

> The death last month of India's foremost scientist, Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, reminds us anew of the amazing genius of the people of India who, according to standard English doctrine, are incapable of self-government. Dr. Bose was one of the supreme scientific thinkers and researchers of the contemporary world. His studies of plant life, as poetically beautiful as they were scientifically accurate and profound, caught the attention of mankind, and made his name as famous in the West as in the East. In any list of the ten or twelve most distinguished scientists of the last generation, Jagadis Bose's name would not only be included but ranked high. Nor was Bose the only Indian who enjoyed this unique kind of eminence among the world's great men. To him must be added Mahatma Gandhi, whom we still believe to be what we hailed him many years ago—"the greatest man in the world." Then, as a third in a trinity of famous men, stands Rabindranath Tagore, poet, educator, sage and seer. Many would expand this group of three to include a fourth—Jawaharlal Nehru, surely one of the outstanding political leaders of modern times, a statesman as well as an heroic advocate of the people's rights. Where today can be found a nation to match India in four such men as these? Must not such towering peaks leap from an Himalayan range of intellectual and spiritual attainment which covers the length and breadth of this continental land? And note the variety in these men—Gandhi a saint, Tagore a poet, Bose a scientist, Nehru a statesman! But their qualities are shared as well as distributed, for Gandhi is a statesman as well as a saint, Nehru a martyr and saint as well as a statesman, Tagore an educator and philosopher as well as a poet, and Bose used much of his scientific lore to reaffirm and glorify religion. The Indian genius is as varied as it is intense, and as lofty as it is pure. That the race which can produce such men, and has always produced them in its history, should lie in bondage to a military and commercial empire is an irony supremely characteristic of a world founded on materialistic ideas and violent methods.

It is not generally known in India that Mr. Holmes is not an ordinary journalist and minister of religion. He is one of the most eminent scholars in the United States of America.

Calcutta Public Meeting Against "Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Pact"

On the 25th January last a public meeting of Hindu citizens was held in Calcutta to protest against the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to it. This was in addition to similar meetings in the mofussil. There were Congressmen among its conveners and speakers. In spite of other public engagements it was a crowded meeting. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee presided over it. The following resolution was passed unanimously :

> This meeting of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta records its considered opinion that the solution of the communal problem on the lines proposed in what is called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Agreement is against the best interests of the country and is entirely unacceptable to us in that,
>
> (*i*) it retains the existing proportion of seats between the two communities in the Legislatures and denies to the Hindu minority in Bengal even the minimum number of seats to whch it is entitled according to the population ratio,
>
> (*ii*) it proposes different franchise qualifications for the two communities and deliberately reduces the proportion of Hindu voters with a view to place the majority community in Bengal in a position of special advantage, and
>
> (*iii*) generally it ignores the just and legitimate rights of the Hindu minority in Bengal and seeks to perpetuate the rule of an inflexile communal majority by an artificial system of reservations.
>
> This meting, therefore, dissociates itself from the proposed agreement and strongly protests against the attempt to impose it on Bengal, as it will permanently cripple the political life of the people of this province and records its firm resolve not to accept any such agreement in case the Congress should ultimately decide to confirm the same."

There has never been a diplomatic document of British origin which has dealt a more deadly blow to the causes of Indian national solidarity and freedom than the so-called Communal Award. It has been correctly described by Congressmen and others as anti-national and anti-democratic. That anybody should expect any Hindu-Moslem unity on the basis of acceptance of this Communal Decision is very surprising. Is the Congress president, are other Congressmen, not aware that this Decision was intended and manufactured by British imperialists to make Hindu-Moslem unity and the winning of independence by means of such unity impossible?

The Congress at first neither accepted nor rejected it. Later it grew bolder and, through its president, rejected it. It even allowed Bengal Congressmen to agitate against it on national grounds. But now the Congress president says:

> "In regard to certain political rights, the Communal Award stands for the present and we have stated repeatedly that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned. We have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which was arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad, acting as Congress President, and Mr. Jinnah."

The Communal Award may stand not only "for the present" but permanently as a monument of British imperialistic statecraft and Indian National Congress unwisdom, weakness and lack of statesmanship, but Bengal Hindus will not accept it or be reconciled to it.

Mr. Nehru says, "We seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned." But he can declare that the Decision "stands for the present" without obtaining the concurrence of or even consulting the Bengal Hindus, who *are* among those concerned!

As regards "the provisional agreement" referred to, many Bengal Congressmen objected to it when negotiations were going on about it in Delhi and subsequently also. It is unnecessary to repeat what Mr. Jinnah has said about it. He has said in effect that he had nothing to do with its drafting.

In relation to Panditji's declaration in his statement "that we seek no change except with the concurrence of those concerned," he and other Congressmen may find the following passages from *Sir N. N. Sircar's Speeches and Pamphlets*, pp. 260-262 and pp. 263-264, interesting:

> The [Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald's] warning referred to a *provisional temporary arrangement*. When one turns to the decision, if he is unwary, he will believe that nothing more has been done—because the decision purports to be for ten years only.
>
> The decision, however, provided that "modification might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned."

Mr. Nehru's assurance that no change will be sought except with the concurrence of those concerned, is in other words, MacDonald's proviso that "modifications might be made after ten years with the assent of the communities concerned."

With regard to the latter the follow occurs in Sir N. N. Sircar's pamphlet, named him "A 'Temporary' Permanent Arrang ment":

> I put a question to the Secretary of State (Q. 72 p. 818 of the Reports of the Proceedings of Committee):
>
> *Q.* "I was going to ask the Secretary of State, he will permit me: As the communal decision stands means this: Assuming for the sake of argument party has got more than it ought to have, it must as to that being given away *before there can be any ch at any time. You have got to get the assent of some who has got more than he ought to have.*
>
> *Ans.* If Sir N. Sircar makes that hypothesis, it is

After quoting this question and answer his pamphlet Sir N. N. Sircar observes in pamphlet:

> In Bengal the Muslims will have an immov majority—a majority sent in by votes of a partic community. They have got more than what can be ju fied on any logic,—and unless they are guilty of expected generosity in giving up their undeser advantage, "there cannot be any change at any time."
>
> Purporting to make a decision, which holds g for ten years only, the authors have shown remark ingenuity in making it in effect, and in fact, good f all times.

Sir N. N. Sircar concludes his pamph thus:

> If I were told that I was giving a temporary le I would object to the expression, if it was a condi that the lease could not be terminated at any time un the tenant agreed.
>
> But then I am merely a lawyer and not a statesm having the destiny of 22 millions in my hands.
>
> Some British statesmen have succeeded in draft a lease of Bengal for ten years to a community insist on special electorates—and after ten years the lease c not be terminated without magnanimous renunciation their part.
>
> Who can say that this is not a remarkable achie ment?

The whole pamphlet deserves to be read b Mr. Nehru and other Congressmen.

The so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad p gives to Moslems greater advantages than ev the British-made Communal Decision and addition to those given by it. But even this not considered satisfactory. Pandit Jawahar Nehru adds in his statement:

> What remains? If there is anything of importa left over, let us have it out by all means and cons it.

Here there is not the faintest or remote suggestion that in considering it Hindus, Beng Hindus, are to be consulted or given a hearin

The Congress is a non-communal body. it represents Hindus, it represents Moslems al If it has more Hindu members than the Hin Mahasabha, the Varnasram Swarajya Sang and other Hindu bodies, it has also m

Moslem members than the Moslem League. If in spite of the latter fact, it feels it necessary to negotiate with the Moslem League, then in spite of the former fact, it ought to feel it necessary to consult the Hindu Mahasabha and other Hindu bodies also. By proposing to negotiate with the Moslem League on a matter concerning the Hindus as well, it exposes itself to the Moslem accusation that it is a Hindu communal body, which it is not.

On Mr. Jinnah's reply to Mr. Nehru's statement, it is not necessary for us to say much. We will make only two comments.

Mr. Jinnah does not say what he wants, nor does he say why he is silent on the point. So his reasons can only be guessed. Perhaps he does not wish to lose the bargaining advantage. If he stated his terms and Congress accepted them, no further and additional demands could be made. But if, as he wants, Congress made certain offers to him, these could be made the starting-point and basis for further demands. Moreover, the Congress offer could be carried to the Government, which could be told: "Here are the concessions which Congress is ready to make; what more can *you* give? Out with it, please. Quick."

In the course of his rejoinder, dated Bombay, January 10, Mr. Jinnah says:

> "As for the oft repeated slogan that the Congress has declared and given full assurance with regard to religion, culture and language, I have made it clear that we cannot rely upon such declarations and assurances. I want Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to realise that neither he nor the Congress is yet in the position of a sovereign power to make declarations and give assurances. We want definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which we can protect not only our religion, culture and language, but our political rights and maintain our place and position in the government and the administration of the country.

It is not our business to state how far Mr. Jinnah is correct and how far incorrect in the passage quoted above. It is the business of Mr. Nehru and other Congressmen. What we cannot understand is, if Mr. Jinnah cannot rely upon such [Congress] declarations and assurances, why he does not say that he will have nothing to do with the Congress. Nor can we understand why the Congress or any Congress leader should be anxious to negotiate with and placate Mr. Jinnah. The "definite and effective safeguards and effective weapons by means of which" Moslems "can protect not only [their] religion, culture and language, but [their] political rights and maintain [their] place and position in the government and the administration of the country," cannot be given by the Congress, as he himself has said, nor by any other non-governmental representative body. They can be given only by the British Government, which enjoys the sovereign power now.

The Congress is the most powerful popular representative organization. As Mr. Jinnah does not care for its assurances and declarations, it follows he would not care for assurances and declarations proceeding from other, less powerful, popular bodies. He wants such safeguards and effective weapons, of course, from the Government, as would enable Moslems to do what they thought necessary in their interests without the co-operation, sympathy, friendliness, etc., of other communities. This practically means that he wants for his community the majority of seats in the central legislature and in the provincial legislatures. This conjecture may sound startling. But let Mr. Jinnah say what he wants, if he does not want what we have mentioned.

The following paragraphs in Mr. Jinnah's statement in reply to Mr. Nehru's show perhaps that the Pandit and other Congressmen have got to deal with a rather slippery customer:

> "I must, first of all, correct the statement which coming from a responsible person like the President of the Congress constitutes a serious misrepresentation of my position when he says, 'we have further declared that we shall stand by the provisional agreement which has been arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah.' I have repeatedly said that there was no agreement arrived at between Babu Rajendra Prasad and myself, and that I had no authority to enter into any agreement, but I was willing to place the formula of Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends before the sessions of the League provided it received the solid support of the Hindus and the Sikhs. Now it is proved and admitted that it was opposed even by a very influential body of Congress leaders at the time and the Mahasabha and Sikh leaders in a body rejected it, and hence the matter was dropped.
>
> "Next when he says, 'We have further declared that we shall stand by' (meaning Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula) what does he mean by "we." Of course, I am aware he is speaking with authority of the President of the Congress."

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Keshub Chunder Sen

An account of the life and work of the great Bengali religious and social reformer, Keshub Chunder Sen, was broadcast by Mr. C. F. Andrews from the Calcutta broadcasting station. Keshub Chunder Sen was born on November 19, 1838, and this year marks the centenary of his birth.

Mr. Andrews said:

> "Keshub started a society for religious conversion called the Sangat Sabha. The members met frequently, and, with fiery zeal for self-reformation, laid bare their whole hearts, freely and frankly discussed their own faults, coveted mutual aid and criticism, and under Keshub's guidance made most genuine progress in spiritual and moral life. Hunger and fatigue seemed to have no power

over them. They sat up the whole night in Keshub's room, comparing experiences, practising penitence, making resolutions, offering prayers. In them Keshub found congenial spirits; and together they formed a nucleus out of which the best materials of Keshub's subsequent movements were supplied.

"Out of this religious fervour two practical results followed. First, a deep sense of the reality of sin, as shutting the human soul out from communion with God. Purity and chastity in domestic life became paramount and a high standard of moral idealism was established among them. This high standard came at a very critical time in the life of modern Bengal and produced characters, both in public and private life, of which the whole of Bengal has been rightly proud. Such saintly lives as that of Krishna Kumar Mitra, and others too numerous to mention, came directly out of this religious revival. In the second place, Keshub realized the supreme necessity of philanthropic and social service in the cause of the poor. During the famine of 1860-61, Keshub was able to organize relief on behalf of the sufferers in a way that had not been done before. Here, again, he set up a high standard of social service, which left its deep impression on future generations of students and awakened an echo in other provinces also.

"The Crisis in Culture"

On the 5th January last Professor Radha Kamal Mukherji of Lucknow University delivered a lecture on the crisis in culture. He observed that in Europe and America a profound crisis in moral and social life has been brought by the supremacy of the State and the class, and the invasion of the community by relatively impersonal and mechanical modes of behaviour and relationships in every field. Continuing he said:

> "The great society, created by steam and electricity, is no community; it is, however, aspiring to be a community through the regional and functional idea, which is based neither on the power of the State nor on the ideology of the class, but on a planned participation of all social groups and individuals in the fair fruits of culture. The aspiration of modern industrial planning whether in Soviet Russia or in the U. S. A., is the breaking up of big business into small governing workshops, co-operatives, corporations and guilds with powers of self-government, giving opportunities for active citizenship, for art and culture."

As regards the East the speaker observed:

> "In the East, on the other hand, wherever the ancient social frame-work—caste, rural community or joint family, —has thwarted individual initiative and efficiency, grave cultural crisis is averted by importing the ideal of individualistic justice from the West. That ideal, derived as it is from the contractual-rational aspects of social life, has shown its abuses in the West, but is now bringing about a vital orientation in the East."

In his opinion,

> "Such cultural interpenetration is not a matter of mere ideology, discernible only in our thought and faith. It is a social process and experience which India has to achieve and develop by bridging the present gulf between the academy and the masses. That is the essential goal of the mass-contact stressed by the Congress today in India."

The relations between the propertied classes and the masses require to be revised and re-adjusted.

> "Wherever the peasant stoops under an excessive burden of debt, the tenant is denied permanence and heritability, or the farm-hand workers as a bond-slave without the wherewithal of a bare subsistence, the relations between the landlords, tenants and agricultural labourers and between creditors and debtors cry for revision in terms of the new scale of individualistic justice. Where in our factories and workshops industrial labour is exploited, and in the squalid chawls and bustees of our industrial cities manhood is brutalised, womanhood dishonoured and childhood poisoned at its source, a new conception of economic rights, the rights of workers to a minimum wage, to a decent standard of housing, education and the amenities of life must aid us in securing social justice."

Similarly individualism must come to the rescue of India's womanhood.

> "Where, again, the over-awing authority of an institutional religion or a male code of ethics has perpetuated the ignorance, incapacity and subservience of Indian womanhood, there is need of stressing the new individualistic ideal for obtaining a fair treatment of one-half of India's humanity."

The speaker then proceeded to point out the part which the universities should play in bringing about the coming changes.

> "In economic legislation in land readjustment, in the labour movement, in social reform and in political reconstruction, the universities of India must now supply the leadership."

In conclusion Prof. Mukherji appealed to the youths to prepare themselves for this great task of leadership, which would be "a great apprenticeship for service to science, to the nation and to humanity. It is the assiduous thinking, realism and courage of convictions of the youth of India which alone can renovate the social and economic life of the masses in the best interests of social harmony and justice and tide over the cultural crisis through which India is passing today."

Violent Fighting in Abyssinia

London, Jan. 26.

The Ethiopian Legation has made a statement claiming that according to direct reports from Abyssinia, violent fighting is continuing in several provinces in the north and north-west.

Attempts by flying and motorised Italian columns to recapture lost positions have met at the most with temporary success. The positions occupied proved grave the next day.

The statement alleges that three battalions of Eritreans have deserted and claims that in the past two months Italian losses total 20 officers and 5,993 Italians and Askaris. The Abyssinian losses are equally large.

The Abyssinians captured 43 lorries, many rifles, machine-guns, artillery and ammunition.

The statement alleges that following the non-observance of certain conditions by the Italians 18 officers were massacred at Debra Markos, the capital of

Gojan province and for reprisal 30 to 40 aeroplanes leave Addis Ababa daily and bombard the towns in the province.

The statement concludes that the Abyssinians are masters of the situation in many districts.—*Reuter.*

ROME, JAN. 26

The statement of the Ethiopian legation in London is most strongly denied in official quarters. It is stated Italy is in full control of every part of Ethiopia. It is suggested the Ethiopian statement is designed to prevent any step by the League members in favour of future recognition of Italy's Ethiopian empire.—(*Reuter*).

LONDON, JAN. 27.

In view of the Ethiopian story and its denial it is interesting to note that the official newspaper "Armed Forces" published in Rome admits that there was severe fighting in North Abyssinia last September in the course of which 400 Italians were surrounded by rebels in the neighbourhood of Lalibela and a relieving force of 200 were similarly surrounded at Bilbala and Gorgis.

The beleaguered Italians were only saved from destruction by the tireless efforts of the air force from Diremawa, 200 miles away, which dropped food, money and munitions to the invested troops and bombed and machinegunned the rebels. No information is afforded regarding the rescue of those surrounded.—(*Reuter*).

U. P. Government Misters and Esquires All Provincial Officers

Allahabad, Jan. 26.

The Government have prohibited the use of Lala, Babu, Munshi, Maulvi, etc., in addressing the provincial service officers in U. P.

The action has been taken in pursuance of objections raised by some provincial service associations. In future all officers of provincial services except the doctors will be addressed in official communications as "Esquire" and the prefix "Mr." will be used with their names in all official orders, correspondence, etc. The Government point out in a circular letter that they do not consider there is anything derogatory in the use of these traditional appellations according to Indian social usage, but in view of the feeling among some provincial officers and to secure uniformity they have issued these orders. It appears that representation had been made by some provincial service associations.

It has been often observed that those persons who mister and esquire themselves and insist upon being mistered and esquired by others consider themselves superior to babus, lalas, munshis, maulvis, etc. They are snobbish. Those lalas, babus, munshis, maulvis, etc., who have a sneaking preference for being mistered and esquired are also snobbish.

The Hindu Mahasabha on the Sino-Japanese Situation

New Delhi, Jan. 26.

Apropos the controversy about the alleged support of the Hindu Mahasabha to Japan's aggression in China, the Hindu Mahasabha Head Office has issued a statement to the Press in the course of which it says that no resolution was moved in the Subjects Committee or passed in the open session at Ahmedabad, as it was considered unwise to make any declaration of support to either side at the present moment. The subject was never considered officially by the Mahasabha either before or after the session.—U. P.

The controversy would never have arisen if Seth Padmaraj Jain, who is general secretary to the Hindu Mahasabha and one of whose letters to the Japanese consul-general has given rise to the controversy, had either not written to the consul-general the letter in question or made it quite clear in the letter that he was giving expression only to his personal opinion.

We did not know or suspect ere this that any Indian had pro-Japanese and anti-Chinese sympathies so far as the present Sino-Japanese relations were concerned. Perhaps we ought to have been able to imagine that Indians who profited by business relations with the Japanese might probably sympathise with them.

As regards sympathy with Japan on religious grounds, if Japanese Buddhists could be said to be Indian Hindus' fellow-believers, why could not Chinese Buddhists also be considered Indian Hindus' fellow-believers?

Some years ago the editor of this *Review* was connected with the Hindu Mahasabha. One of the reasons, though not the only reason, why he severed his connection with it, was the practice of some important honorary office-bearers of that body of making statements on behalf of it which were not authorized by it officially and formally.

The Bible Held Not Infallible By Anglican Commission

London, Jan. 14.

The report of the Commission appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922 to consider the Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of agreement within the Anglican Church and investigating how far the differences can be removed or diminished, has now been published.

It challenges the traditional beliefs at several points and rejects the infallibility of the Bible, saying that its authority must not prejudge investigation in any field.

The report regards the historical evidence for virgin birth as inconclusive and declares that the literalistic belief in the physical resurrection of the dead must be rejected.

On the other hand, it declares that the resurrection of Christ was an event as real and concrete as the Crucifixion.

The Commission is divided with regard to whether miracles occur, but it is agreed that God can work miracles if He pleases.

The report says there is no objection to the Theory of Evolution, which can be drawn from creation narratives in the Genesis. Christians agree that these are of mythological origin and their value for us is symbolic rather than historical.—*Reuter.*

Shahidganj Appeal Dismissed

Lahore, Jan. 26.

A Full Bench of the Lahore High Court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Justice Bhide and Din Mohammad pronounced orders today in the Shahidganj appeal filed by representative Muslim organisations for declaration of the right to say prayers in the Shahidganj mosque.

The Chief Justice and Justice Bhide dismissed the appeal with costs, holding that the rights of the Muslims to say prayers in the mosque were extinct due to adverse possession.

Justice Din Mohammad disagreed, holding that the demolition of the mosque gave the Muslims cause for action.

The decision of the High Court has caused a great stir among Muslims. Some Muslim shops situated in predominantly Muslim localities have been closed as a protest. Public meetings are being organized by the Majlis-i-Ahrar and the Ittihad-i-Millat separately. Muslim papers are publishing supplements with black borders. The daily "Zemindar," an organ of the Ittihad-i-Millat, is observing a one-day hartal.

Elaborate police arrangements have been made throughout the city. Police reserves are kept at all police stations to cope with the situation in case anything untoward happened. Police pickets have been reinforced, particularly in the vicinity of Shahidganj.—*A. P.*

The tenacity of purpose displayed by Panjab Muslims is noteworthy.

Japanese Reverses in China

Shanghai, Jan. 25.

The Chinese announced re-occupation of Hohsein. A Japanese army spokesman admitted the loss of the port, saying that the Japanese troops were withdrawn as they are no longer required there. The Chinese claim that over 300 Japanese soldiers were either drowned or fatally injured when bombed as they crossed the tributary of the Yangtse.

Meanwhile, there is renewed fighting in south of Wuhu, where Chinese strengthened reinforcements launched another attack and furious hand-to-hand fighting occurred at two villages which changed hands several times.—*Reuter.*

Shanghai, Jan. 26.

Judging from the despatches reaching here there is good reason to believe that Tokio is worried by the continued check to the Japanese forces that have been marching towards each other along the Tientsin-Nanking Railway with their common objective as Suchow. These forces are about 150 miles apart.

Progress from the south is halted at Mingkwan near Pengpu, while the Japanese troops in the north appear to have suffered reverses south of Yenchow. The Japanese have encountered bad weather and far greater opposition than they anticipated and they also seem to fear that any further extension of their lines might be disastrous to them.

It is reliably reported that General Matsui asked Tokio for four more divisions, but the request is stated to have been refused on the ground that none could be spared in view of other possible contingencies.—(*Reuter*).

Anti-Phooka Bill Passed

On the 26th January last the Bengal Legislative Council passed the Bengal Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Bill sponsored by Mr. Lalit Chandra Das.

The aim of the act is to put an effective check on, prevent and stop the crime known as "phooka" by Amending Act 1 of 1920, which so far has not proved to be very effica that respect. The practice of "phook gowalas for wringing the last drop of mil cows and other milch animals is very pre in and around Calcutta and Howrah a many cities outside Bengal.

The present act makes the crime puni with imprisonment, which may extend t years and fine to Rs. 500.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on States' People's Rights

Presiding over the fifth Ajmer-M Provincial Political Conference, held at B on the 26th January last, Mr. Bhulabhai declared :

"The Congress stands for the same rights an for States people as for British Indians, both matter of civil liberties and responsible Gover and in the future constitution."

Mr. Desai repudiated the princes' "divine to rule against the people's will, which was sup this age. He sympathised with their struggle a vocated 'satyagraha' for the States' people, which c British India forward, declaring that Congress support their cause.

Speaking about repression in the States, Mr. referred to the restriction on Mr. Subhas Chandra in Jodhpur. The attendance of fifteen to twenty th people in a meeting organised to accord recep Mr. Bose, he said, should be an eye-opener to the P and the absence of enthusiasm in Princes' re should show which way the water flows.

Mr. Desai expressed satisfaction at Lord L remarks about non-supply of British help for people's suppression, condemned the proposed re of villages to Jodhpur and Udaipur as a bait for into Federation and dealt at length on the disadv of Federation.

He deplored the condition obtaining in the regulated State of Ajmer-Marwara and exhorted the p to chalk out a programme for struggle, if pro autonomy or amalgamation with the United Pr were not settled.—(*United Press*).

Is Calcutta University "Sri"-less and "Crest"-fallen?

The Amrita Bazar Patrika writes:

The University of Calcutta has, pending a settlement with the Government of Bengal, with r to the inclusion of "Sree and Padma" in its cre continued the publication of the crest in its recen lications. This move on the part of the Univers may be supposed, has been absolutely voluntary. also a concession to the feelings of the sister com since an enterprising news agency which has been ably informed" would have us believe that no p of any kind on that question was made by the Un to the Government or to any individual, 'formally formally'? Or, is it by a mere accident that the U sity has done this?

If the Baghbazar paper has been cor informed, the University of Calcutta has least for the time being, lost its "Sri" become crest-fallen. Let us hope, it will ere long regain its glory and again raise its head.

Salary Cut in Madras Provincial and Subordinate Services

A Madras Government communique, published on the first January last, announced a graded reduction in the salaries of the provincial services in Madras.

> It says the scales of pay of Provincial and subordinate services were reduced in 1933-34 on account of fall in prices, but even the revised scales are too high and capable of further reduction especially in the case of Government servants drawing over a hundred rupees. The Government have accordingly decided to further reduce the scales of pay of Provincial and subordinate services by the adoption of the following graded reduction on the present revised scales subject to such adjustment as is necessary to prevent anomalies or injustice in individual cases.
>
> Subordinate Services : Salaries over Rs. 100 and not exceeding Rs. 200, 5 per cent. reduction.
>
> Over two hundred : 7½ per cent.
>
> Provincial Services :—
>
> Salaries of 200 and below 5 per cent.
>
> Over 200 and not exceeding 500 : 15 per cent.
>
> Over 500 and not exceeding 1,000 20 per cent.
>
> Over a thousand : 30 per cent.
>
> The new revised scales are worked out on this basis for Provincial Services and will be brought into force from 1.1.38. A similar order will be passed in due *course* to bring into effect the new revised scales of pay for subordinate services, which are now under preparation.
>
> Generally speaking, according to these orders, every person who has been or will be appointed to any service or post on or after 1.4.37 or who has been and will be promoted for the first time or after a break to any service or post on or after 1.10.37 enters on the new revised scale for such service or post.
>
> The communique at the outset says the present Government was returned to office expressly pledged to the electorate among other matters for a substantial reduction in salaries of all public servants and the retrenchment of the cost of administration. They are of the opinion that it will be impossible with any sense of justice or proportion to maintain the existing ratio between the earnings of most people, who pay taxes and the scales of pay that are being given to the services for maintaining the administration.

As the Madras ministers reduced their own salaries to begin with, there is no inconsistency in the announcement of cuts in other public servants' salaries. The salaries paid to I. C. S. men and other imperial services are higher than those of provincial officers of similar standing. But these cannot be reduced by the ministers, as under the law they have no power to do so.

Reduction of salaries is as urgently needed in Bengal as in Madras. But it must not be expected here.

Problems Facing Indian Soap-makers

The policy of rate-cuting in prices of manufactured goods by the Soap manufacturers was severely criticised by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray presiding over the fifth annual meeting of the All-India Soap Makers' Conference on the 11th January last.

Acharya Prafulla Chandra also condemned the attitude of educated classes towards the Swadeshi articles which they thought to be inferior in quality to articles of foreign make. The speaker asked the Association to use their seal which would go to prove that the articles were manufactured of pure ingredients. Every effort should be made so that the articles might command universal approval.

In the opinion of Mr. B. N. Maitra, chairman of the reception committee of the conference, the greatest danger to the Indian soap-making industry is the foreign competition from within, that is to say, the establishment of big factories in India with foreign capital. Among the resolutions passed by the Conference were the following :

> This Conference of the Indian soap manufacturers urges on the Government of India that in any trade agreement with Japan or any other foreign country the present rates of duty (*viz.*, 25 per cent. ad valorem or Rs. 20 a cwt. whichever is higher) on toilet soaps should be maintained as a necessary antidumping measure.
>
> This Conference is strongly of opinion that as the bulk of the supply of essential oils and aromatic chemicals come from the continents, in no future trade agreement with U. K., Imperial preference should apply in respect of the above articles.
>
> While thanking the Railway Board for introducing a new classification of "toilet requisites mixed" under class VI, which partially meets the demand of the All India Soap-makers' Association, this Conference urges that (*a*) the matter be reconsidered and mixed toilet preparations be charged under class IV and (*b*) the minimum weight of consignments per goods train be lowered to 7 seers.
>
> This Conference views with alarm the proposed extension of the provisions of the Factories Act to power factories employing less than 10 persons, as this will seriously affect the soap industry which, in India, is largely a cottage industry. This new move also goes against the expressed policy of the Government to support small industries of the country. This conference therefore urges on the Government to desist from such a course.
>
> This Conference learns with satisfaction that the Government is contemplating the enactment of suitable Act for the registration of Trade Marks and in view of the urgent necessity for such a measure, urges that the same may be given effect to within the course of the current year.

Celebration of A Doctor's Attaining His 81st Year

Last month the Sylhet Union celebrated the completion of the 80th year of his life by Dr. Sundari Mohan Das, the doyen of Indian medical men in Calcutta. He has devoted fifty-five years of his long life to the relief of pain, the prevention of sickness, and the promotion of sanitation. He is one of the foremost Bengali writers on sanitary and hygienic topics. He is an ardent Congressman and has been noted throughout his long career for independence of spirit. He is fervent in his piety and is a distinguished singer of *Kirtans*. The following passage is taken from a character sketch of the doctor in the *Hindusthan Standard* :

> But the greatest inspiration of his political work came from Shivanath Sastri, one of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj. In 1876 under the latter's leadership was organised a society the members of which took vows for securing freedom, social, religious and political. Bipin Chandra Pal in his "Memories of My Life and Times" thus refers to this episode :
>
> "The original copy of the pledge which we signed was lost many years ago, how we never found out. It was a remarkable document drawn up by Pandit Shiva Nath. The first article pledged the members to put up a strenuous and uncompromising fight against current image-worship and caste-domination in the Hindu Society. . . . . . The next article of this pledge was dsitinctly political. It started with the declaration that "self-government is the only form of political government *ordained by God*. . ." They added a significant rider to this political declaration to the effect that while obeying the laws and institutions of the present foreign government in the country, they would not, even if faced with extreme poverty and economic destitution and all the miseries consequent upon it, take service under this Government. The exact Bengali words were "never to agree to accept the *slavery* of this foreign Government." . . . . The next article in this pledge discussed ways and means for advancing the country to this goal of self-government. Education came here first; . . . . the removal of the disabilities under which the Hindu widows labour. . . , and the breaking down of the "purdah" system . . . The national physique must be simultaneously cultivated and improved along with the national intellect. The signatories, therefore, pledged themselves lastly to learn to ride and shoot and preach the duties of acquiring this military training and aptitudes to their fellow countrymen. There was as yet no Arms Act. . . ."

Rector Laurin Zilliacus on Santiniketan

The International Delegation of the New Education Fellowship visited Santiniketan on the last day of 1937 and the first day of 1938. Interviewed by the *United Press of India*, its leader Rector Laurin Zilliacus, said, in part :

> "I have unfortunately not been able to see the school or college at work but I have met its teachers, seen some of the healthy and happy children and explored its remarkably equipped libraries and other departments. Above all, I have the privilege of sitting once more at the feet of the Poet and I can understand that Santiniketan is a place of pilgrimage for all those interested in education and devoted to the great traditions of the human spirit."

Regarding village work of Sreeniketan Rector Zilliacus said :

> "It is the kind of thing we have been dreaming about in New Education. This work of Visva-Bharati is directed to an active recognition of material basis of life. It happily aims at fulfilling the first need in educational reconstruction by developing better eco sanitary conditions and such economic organi are indispensable to that end. But the work of ketan also realises that a great deal more is Man does not live by bread alone. Due atte therefore paid to the spiritual side of recons hence they have art, music and traditional festi ceremonies—all woven into the texture of the the institution. Education must move on all fr improve all sides of life. India is fortunate in the Poet as its great leader of educational reco in the widest sense of the term."

Kenya Highlands to be European Mo

With reference to the proposed issue Government of Kenya of an Order in reserving the ownership of land in the Highlands for Europeans, Mr. C. F. A has called attention to the subject in the of a press statement. Therein he says alia :

> "The issue was one of the gravest import cause if an Order in Council is passed reserving square miles in the Kenya Highlands in perpe Europeans, permanent injustice would be done to the Indian community but also to indigenous who will thus be shut out for ever from the most and fertile part of Kenya."

Mr. Andrews adds :

> "Ever since the Kenya conversations in 192 10,000 square miles had been reserved for E under the Governor's veto but that was quite from an Order in Council. Under the Morris Commission of 1934-35 it had been proposed to more square miles of fertile territory to the ten already reserved for Europeans. Now it seemed would be made to reserve 16,000 square miles in merely under the Governor's veto but also by in Council which will make the whole matter

A Tennis Expert on the Bratachari Movement

Harijan states that Mr. L. Brooke Ed Secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis ciation, studied the Bratachari moveme said that, when viewed from the all imp point of view of the development of health, there was not much to be said game (tennis). Mr. Brooke Edwards ported to have added that the game expensive to play and in India there were millions of people who would never be buy a really good racket and if they were to do anything toward bettering their they must endeavour to find some exercise that could be enjoyed with pra no financial outlay. Mr. Brooke E continues *Harijan*, is firmly convinced Mr. G. S. Dutt has found such a form of e in his Bratachari movement.

The "Bhavans" of Visva-bharati

The objects sought to be promoted by the foundation of the Hindi Bhavan will be found stated in detail in Mr. C. F. Andrews' article on the subject. Other "Bhavans" may be opened in course of time at Santiniketan for the promotion of the culture enshrined in some of the other provincial languages and literatures of India. Those students of Visva-bharati whose mother-tongue is not Bengali—and even the Bengali students themselves, who want to derive all the possible advantage from study and residence at Visva-bharati will naturally understand that just as non-British students in British Universities, non-German students in German Universities, non-French students in French Universities, and so on, have to know English, German, French, etc., in order to derive the greatest possible advantage from their study and residence in those universities, so the Bengali language and literature—particularly the Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore—require to be studied by them if their object is to be gained. Visva-bharati does not make the study of the Bengali language and literature compulsory for every college student or student of the research department, so far as we know. But we take it for granted that those who go to Visva-bharati for study, do so to receive what Bengal and Rabindranath Tagore can give. In addition to providing facilities for the imbibing of the spirit of the cultural movement for which Rabindranath Tagore stands, he has been gradually providing facilities for the study of Chinese culture and different Indian provincial cultures. Buddhist studies, Zoroastrian studies, Islamic studies, ... for which Visva-bharati gives facilities, give proof of the broad outlook of Visva-bharati. There is no overt or covert religious, linguistic or cultural imperialism there.

This is what we understand to be the spirit of Visva-bharati.

Mr. M. N. Roy's Advice : "Join the Congress"

After an absence of about a quarter of a century from Bengal, where he was born and had his upbringing, Mr. M. N. Roy came back to his native province last month. The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee presented him with an address of welcome. In the course of his reply to it, Mr. Roy said :

> "I shall say only a few words in connection with one of the points raised in the address. It is mentioned there that during my long sojourn abroad I had had opportunity of coming in contact with revolutionary movements in other countries, and consequently have had some experience thereof. My country expects to be benefited by my experience. I may tell you at the outset that I have returned to India with that purpose. I have returned to India for the purpose of placing at the disposal of the political workers of our country the little experience I have acquired in consequence of my participation in the revolutionary movements of other countries. Now how to do that? That is the first question that has confronted me."

The answer followed :

> Having considered the question from all points of view in the jail, I came to the conclusion that anybody who wants to participate effectively in the struggle for the political and social liberation of our country, must join the Indian National Congress. Twenty-five years ago, the Indian National Congress was entirely something different. Today the Indian National Congress represents a mighty revolutionary movement. It derives its strength from the politically awakened masses of our people. It is no longer an organization of some middle-class amateur politicians who meet once a year, pass some resolutions and ultimately forget all about them. The Congress is a mass organization, a living organization. It represents the revolutionary urge of our population. Therefore, it provides a platform to all who are interested in the social and economic liberation of our country. On the other hand, it being a broad common platform, it cannot go up to the expectations of everybody. There are politically-minded people in our country who regard the Congress as an extremely revolutionary and dangerous organization. On the other hand, radical and revolutionary element in our country looks upon the Congress as a conservative, impotent, weak, vacillating and counter-revolutionary organization. The truth is on neither side. The truth is in the middle. Congress is the organization of the oppressed and the exploited masses of the Indian people. It does not represent the interest of any particular section. Therefore, those who join the Congress must do so not as representing any particular section, but as representing the common interests of the oppressed and the exploited majority of our population. That is not an ordinary majority, but that majority includes more than ninety per cent of our population.

Swaruprani Nehru

Srimati Swaruprani Nehru's life will for ever remain an example for India's women to follow and a source of inspiration to them, whatever their position and work in society may be. Wife of a great and heroic leader in India's fight for freedom and mother of heroic children who have taken part unflinchingly in the same patriotic struggle, she was herself a heroine in the best sense of the word. Not many are the patriotic families in the country of which all the members—father and mother, son and daughter-in-law, daughters and a son-in-law, have made sacrifices and courted and undergone imprisonment in furtherance of the country's cause. Nurtured in the lap of luxury, Srimati Swaruprani Nehru bravely endured the hardships of jail life, bore on her person without flinching lathi charges of the police, and dauntlessly faced separation from her nearest and dearest.

"*Professor*" *Ramamurti*

The death of "Professor" Ramamurti removes from India a man who perhaps more than any other Indian strong men demonstrated to the world India's ability to produce men who could compete on equal terms with the world's strongest men and perhaps surpass them in some respects. He was a distinguished physical culturist.

Mr. Butler on 40-Hour Week

When on the 4th January last the president of the Ahmedabad Mill-Owners' Association welcomed Mr. Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva, and made a suitable speech,

> Mr. Butler, replying, said he was glad that industrial peace had been maintained here for many years through the machinery of arbitration initiated by M. Gandhi. The labour problems in India were not difficult of solution. He particularly agreed that a 40-hour week was not suitable to India.
>
> He concluded: "You are not a backward country. Your Labour problem is not the same as that of the West and a separate treatment would be more practical and would produce more concrete results. The conditions in this city are better than in any other industrial centre in India. With such an organization as yours, there is a great future for the Indian textile industry."—*United Press.*

What We Told Mr. Butler in 1926

Mr. Butler's visit to India reminds us of the conversation which we had with him at Geneva in September, 1926. He was then Deputy Director of the International Labour Office. What we told him then, as recorded in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, pp. 588—589, may be of some interest even now. Here is part of it:

> "I observed that so far as India's desire and efforts for political emancipation were concerned, the League of Nations would be of as much help to her as a college debating society. He did not say either yes or no. I went on to add that, on the other hand, the International Labour Office might be able to do some good to the labouring population of India, if it did its work properly. As there were in India many women among factory labourers, I suggested that there should be an educated Indian lady to represent these women at the International Labour Conferences held under the auspices of the International Labour Office. For men are not always able or eager or willing to represent women's grievances. I said that an Indian woman like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu would be able to speak up as eloquently and courageously and with as much information for women workers as any male representative of male workers has hitherto spoken or may hereafter speak for both male and female labour. But, I added, that it was not likely that the Government of India would nominate a woman like Mrs. Naidu. Thereupon Mr. Butler interposed the remark that the International Labour Office could independently and directly invite a woman delegate. But I see that this year (1927) at any rate no Indian lady has been in Whether any such person would be invited in any f year, is more than I can say. And Mrs. Sarojini N is not the only woman whose name could be suggested.
>
> "Our conversation drifted to the topic of the ciency of labour in India. I suggested illiteracy ignorance as among the principal causes of the comp tive inefficiency of labour in India. I added that, from the Government of India doing anything in direction of free and compulsory education, it adopted worse attitude than that of mere indifference to the Mr. Gokhale's primary education bill, which was thr out. Other bills of a similar nature, dealing piece with rural and urban areas in some province or have some times been passed, but Government has yet evinced any particularly unusual enthusiasm in direction. I also said that during the last great W War, if not earlier, it has been proved that the educated the privates of an army are, the more eff is the army. That being the case, it goes without sa that in industrial pursuits, the more educated the work are, the greater would be their efficiency and the be the quality of the manufactures. Mr. Butler spoke l But on this topic he put the question, "Is there a dem for universal, free and compulsory education in India I replied, "Yes, there is."
>
> "I did not say anything more on this subject. B the question has not ceased to haunt my mind. I h often asked myself: "Must there always be a dem for a good thing on the part of the people before it supplied?" Take the case of Japan. When the Emp Mutsuhito proclaimed that it was his desire that the should be no village in Japan without a school and family with an illiterate member, did he do so in resp to any popular demand? No. When elementary edu tion was made free and compulsory in Japan in 1 was that again due to any popular demand? No. Or take the case of England herself. When after the pass of a Reform Act, the numbers of voters greatly increa and in consequence Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbro said words to the effect, "We must educate our masters and subsequently the first steps were taken towa providing national education in England, was that d because of any universal demand?"

Dr. Goswami Discovers Method of Preparing Plastics

A discovery of far-reaching industrial importance h been made by Dr. M. N. Goswami of the App Chemistry Department of the University College of Scie and Technology, Calcutta. He has been successful preparing Plastics of all kinds such as grease, wax, re and bakelite-like products from common vegetable oils

After laborious research work extending over ye in this line he accidentally got his first product wh was soft like vaseline.

Surprised but encouraged at the same time, examined minutely the conditions of his experiment as the surface they appeared to be the same as in the prev cases of failures. He found that this time, thro mistake, he had used an apparatus which was hopeless defective and the chemical added was very impure.

He, therefore, proceeded at once to scrutinise t defects and analysed the impurities present in the chem which seemed apparent.

Under the same defective conditions he repeated experiments numerous times, getting the same result each case. He then began to study the process thorou from the point of view of temperature, pressure and o conditions by altering the later factors and successi got semi-solid, waxy and finally beautiful resinous substances.

Realizing now full well that he was face to face with products of extreme industrial importance, Dr. Goswami then devoted nights and days to standardizing the conditions in which each of the substances could be exclusively obtained on a large scale with minimum cost of production and his labours have now been crowned with success.

He has prepared in semi-large scale superfatting material for soaps, lubricating grease for machineries, hard shining waxes for polishes and hard resins for varnishes, insulating materials and gramophone records. The cost of production varies from three annas to six annas according as cheaper or costly oils are taken.

India imports on the head of resins and waxes alone, goods worth about half a crore of rupees. The success of Dr. Goswami's process utilizing a raw material in which India will never be wanting, appears to have brilliant future as his results are fraught with enormous industrial possibilities.

His laboratory is now full of plastics (technical name of the products mentioned) of different kinds and he is busily engaged in studying the characteristics of his products in all their bearings.

Dr. Goswami's process is very simple: he heats the oil with a small amount of a chemical (which is very cheap and found in abundant quantities in India) and the entire mass of oil becomes solid of desired state within a short period. The sight of the shining waxes and resins and the circular boxes and other products prepared therefrom appears to be quite interesting, considering their origin—a simple common vegetable oil.

Persons in Bengal Under Detention

During question time in the Bengal Legislative Council, on Friday, the following questions among others were asked and answered :—

PERSONS UNDER DETENTION

Mr. Shrish Chandra Chakravarti asked :—Will the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Home Department be pleased to state—

(*a*) the total number of detenus who have been detained without trial;

(*b*) when they are expected to be released;

(*c*) the total number of political prisoners who have been sentenced after trial;

(*d*) where they are imprisoned, whether within Bengal or outside Bengal, but in India;

(*e*) whether all the prisoners, who were at the Andamans, have been brought back to Bengal;

(*f*) if not, how many are still there and when they are likely to be brought back; and

(*g*) whether any of the said prisoners are suffering from the effects of hunger-strike and if any person or persons have died as a result thereof?

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin replied :—The hon'ble member's question is of such a comprehensive character that the statistical information required for the answers does not exist and cannot be collected without an amount of labour which I regret Government are not prepared to undertake.

Prompt Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners Demanded

Public opinion has been insistently demanding the release of detenus and political prisoners. Generally speaking those persons have been detained without trial whom Government suspected of plotting to make attempts to subvert the government. Their object was to win self-government for the country. Political prisoners are those who, in the opinion of Government, have been found guilty after trial of some political offence. Their object was also to win self-rule. Now, in the opinion of Government, self-government has been given to India by the Government of India Act of 1935. The attainment of self-government by countries not previously self-governing is generally followed by the release of political prisoners. That is one reason why India's political prisoners should be released. There is stronger reason for the release of detenus, for their guilt was never proved or even attempted to be proved.

The persons who are now ministers in the different provinces—particularly those of the Congress party, were elected members of legislatures partly because of the promise contained in their election manifestoes that they would release political prisoners if they were elected. They should, therefore, now keep their promise.

It has never been proved that the detenus were terrorists, and all political prisoners were not terrorists. Those among either group who believed in the cult of terrorism have solemnly declared that they no longer believe in terrorism. They all want to follow non-violent methods in their future political activities if they engage in any. There is, therefore, no reason why they should be kept deprived of liberty any longer. That they would, if released, work for winning independence for the country is no argument against setting them free. Are not the Congress ministries all working openly for independence? We know definitely that some editors were warned because their journals contained allegations that the British Government in India was an exploiting government or an oppressive government, or a government which had destroyed the culture and spirituality of India, and some similar allegation. Some have been actually tried and punished on those grounds. But on the Independence Day, exactly identical declarations have been made all over India.

So, it seems once a man is dubbed a political criminal or a political suspect, he must continue to suffer, whilst other men, never or not now behind prison walls, may be doing or saying things for which those unfortunate persons lost their liberty!

The non-release of political prisoners is greatly exercising the mind of Mahatma Gandhi, delaying his restoration to normal health. The release of political prisoners will greatly expedite his recovery and the prolongation of his life. His life is an asset not merely to his countrymen but to Government also. He is standing between

Government and the forces of a possibly violent revolution. Government can never expect a more considerate opponent, one more devoted to non-violence. So, if our British rulers were wise, they would do everything in their power to prolong his life and increase his influence. Unwise rulers may thoughtlessly rely on their power to crush violent attempts at revolution. But, assuming they possess such power, would not even abortive attempts at revolution by violent methods cost men and money and encourage enemies of the British people in the West and the East to work against them?

Whatever Government may think, we want all our young men and women to enjoy liberty so that their intellect, their heart affluence and their energy may be utilized to the full for their own good and the good of India and the world.

Japan's Apologies

Japan has been insulting various Western powers in many ways and apologizing to them thereafter. If any comparatively weak country had insulted these big powers, they would have let loose the dogs of war. Not that we want them to fight Japan. What we cannot but think is that those who bully the weak are exactly those who kotow to the strong.

It need not be concealed that, though we hate and condemn Japanese imperialism, there is in India a sneaking admiration for Japan's spanking Western bullies.

Independence Day Celebrations in India

"Independence Day" was celebrated all over India on the 26th January last. Foreigners should not make the mistake of thinking that that day was the anniversary of the date of India's winning independence. No. It was merely the day when India repeated her resolve to win independence—a far different thing.

Independence Day Celebrated in Britain

The Amrita Bazar Patrika's own correspondent in London has telegraphed to it that

> The Independence Day was observed in London in a well-attended enthusiastic meeting tonight when Indians pledged themselves to complete Independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru cabled that there cannot be any solution of the Indian problem without complete independence.
>
> Sir Stafford Cripps in a message says that such complete independence as will enable Indians to develop their own lives and culture unfettered by Imperialist shackles is the only goal that can satisfy those who really believe in freedom and democracy.
>
> Prof. Laski said that British rule in India was as autocratic and high-handed as Hitler's in Germany and Mussolini's in Italy.
>
> "When we protest against bombing of Ma Canton and Abyssinia we forget that our hands are absolutely clean. We forget that British imperiali bombing defenceless people in the North-West Fr Province. We forget that thousands of Indians are tained without trial and put in concentration camp
>
> Prof. Laski hoped that Indians are fighting not the British Imperialism but also for the emancipati the Indian masses.
>
> "No Voluntary Gift"
>
> Mr. Strauss declared that the Government of I Act of 1935 was not a voluntary gift of British Imp ism. The British governing class realised the stre of the Indian people under the leadership of Co and was forced to make a concession, though small insignificant.
>
> In asking the British working class to suppor Indian demand, Mr. Strauss declared that liberty, dom and democracy are not national creeds, they international creeds for which the British labour ment whole-heartedly stands.
>
> Similar Independence Day meetings were held night at Manchester, Edinburgh, Oxford, Cambr Reading and Glasgow.

Reclamation of Barren Soil by Molasses

In the course of a lecture on the reclam tion of barren soil by the use of molas delivered at Cawnpore by Professor Dr. N. Dhar of the Allahabad University, it was sai

> Dr. Dhar found that "usar" lands in India h many defects, chief among them being high alkali deficiency of Calcium deficiency of Nitrogen deficien of organic matter and deficiency in bacterial activity these defects according to him could be removed by use of molasses in alkaline soils. As an example he c the case of Mysore Government where 1250 pounds rice were obtained in an acre for two consecutive y without further treatment by molasses. The My Government was highly satisfied with the results and now making large scale experiments. He suggested the best way for using surplus molasses is to use it for clamation of alkaline lands.

The Blank Cheque That Mr. Roy Would Have Given

Adressing a crowded meeting at the Mus Institute, Calcutta on the 27th January l Mr. M. N. Roy said :

> "If I had any hand in shaping the Congress p I should be prepared to give my Muslim brethren guarantee, any protection, in any form they want."

Such a blank cheque could have been gi only by robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Whatever that may be, Mahatma Gan who since 1920 has shaped Congress policy m than any other person, did give such a bl cheque to the Indian Muhammadans. they did not accept it. And why? Becaus condition was attached to the cheque. condition was that Indian Muslims were to b that blank cheque if they made common c with the Hindus in India's struggle for fre Now, Indian Muslims are wise realists, foolish idealists. They know that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. So, they consider it better to curry favour with the British rulers of India, who wield sovereign power, and get from them *now* what they want, than accept the Congress blank cheque, which can be cashed only in the future on the advent of Swaraj, which may never come.

Nevertheless, they do not object to carry on negotiations with the Congress through some persons belonging to their own community. Such negotiations have this advantage that what Congress may propose or offer in the course of them may be used for getting some more concessions from the Government. For example, when at the Unity Conference at Allahabad it was agreed that Moslems were to have 32 per cent. of the seats in the Central Legislature, it came about by some mysterious process that, a day or two after, the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons that the British Government had decided that the Muhammadans were to have 33⅓ per cent. of the seats in the Central Legislature !

Mr. M. N. Roy's blank cheque will be acceptable to all Moslems provided he can convince them that what is mentioned in the cheque can be drawn now immediately on presentation, not in the future Swaraj days and provided also that he does not lay down the condition that Hindus and Moslems should unite in a common struggle for freedom.

Our observations do not apply to those nationalist Mussalmans who have joined *unconditionally* with non-Muslim nationalists in the common struggle for freedom.

About Sir J. C. Bose

All facts relating to the life and researches of Sir J. C. Bose are valuable. Such is the following letter which has been recently found among his papers :

SOCIETAS SCIENTIARUM FENNICA

Helsingfors,
November, 23, 1929.

Sir Jagadis Ch. Bose,
Emeritus Professor,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I have the great pleasure of sending you the diploma as Honorary Member of our Society.

Since many years I am especially occupied with the study of the misunderstood structure of Lichens, but in earlier years I was pursuing physiology. I was a scholar of Sache at the same time as Francis Darwin, and I was the first one to prove that in transpiration the water is moving in the interior of the vessels, not in their wall. I considered that this propulsion of sap could be mechanically explained, but your experiments have completely converted me.

Your views of the fundamental unity of life reactions in plants and animals and also of the agreement between the Living and Non-Living will certainly have an immense influence on the evolution of Biology. I am glad to have lived to see the commencement of this new era and hope that you will give us more sublime thoughts and marvellous apparatus.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Fredr. Elfving

Dr. Fred. Elfving, the writer of the letter printed above, is Emeritus professor at Helsingfors, Finland, and plant physiologist and lichenologist. The experiments which he refers to in the second paragraph of his letter relate to the ascent of sap in trees.

Romain Rolland on Sir J. C. Bose

The following sentence occurs in "Letters from the Editor", published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1927, page 591 :

> "When we were led to speak of Sir J. C. Bose's work, M. Rolland observed that the Indian scientist had also the imagination of a poet."

The Indian Science Congress Jubilee

The silver jubilee of the Indian Science Congress, celebrated in Calcutta last month, was a great event, not only for Calcutta and Bengal, but for the whole of India. Besides distinguished British and other foreign scientists, many Indian scientists, including some lady scientists, assembled here on the occasion. Those who were in charge of the arrangements are to be congratulated upon the smoothness with which everything passed off. For days together Calcutta had a surfeit of scientific lectures. The foreign ladies, some of them scientists themselves and others the wives of scientists, were helped by some Indian ladies in sight-seeing, seeing educational and other institutions and in making purchases of specimens of Indian arts and crafts.

India's Backwardness in Science

The number of Indian scientists who came to Calcutta last month and the distinction of some of them must not be allowed to blind us to the very backward condition of India in the matter of scientific education and scientific research. A country of which barely 10 per cent. of the population is literate and whose schools, colleges and universities give very inadequate facilities for education in science cannot but be backward in science.

It is no doubt true that during the last 40 years, since Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray started scientific research the progress which India has made in original scientific work gives ground for hope. But the extent of our backwardness in science may be realized if we think of the population of India with reference to the total population of the world.

The estimated population of the world in 1933 was 199,70,00,000—say two hundred crores. According to the census of 1931 the population of India exceeded thirty-five crores. So India contains more than one-sixth and less than one-fifth of the total population of the world. Hence, if it were claimed that India had made sufficient progress in science, it would have to be shown that it contained more than one-sixth and less than one-fifth of the distinguished scientists of the world. But the distinguished scientists born in India in the last and present centuries can be counted on one's fingers.

If the promoters of the Indian Science Congress, including some of the highest officers of the Government, try earnestly to promote scientific education in India, India's scientific backwardness may be gradually removed.

Grievances of Detenus and Political Prisoners

The Bengal Civil Liberties Union continues to give publicity to the grievances of the released detenus, detenus who are still interned and political prisoners. It were much to be desired that there were some means of bringing effective pressure to bear on the Government to remove these grievances.

Hungerstrikes of Prisoners

Some political prisoners in some provinces have actually gone on hungerstrike and others intend to do so if their grievances are not removed or if they are not released. Our political leaders are justified in telling those who are fasting to break their fast and in trying to dissuade others from going on hungerstrike. For hungerstrikes stiffen the attitude of the powers that be. They say they cannot yield to the threat implied in hungerstrikes. But, on the other hand, if the prayers, petitions and requests of the prisoners, backed by the expostulations and arguments of the leaders, be of no avail, how long can the aggrieved and miserable political prisoners hold their souls in patience?

Relative Contribution of Muhammada to Indian Science

The Indian Science Congress celebr Silver Jubilee last January and held a session along with a strong delegation fr British Association of Science. Any one anybody in Indian Science and who had a worth publishing in his *own* estimatio mitted it. The total number of papers received is 875. Many of them are joint-p Counting joint-papers as ½'s, the total n of papers produced by the Muhammad 40½. Their percentage is thus 4·6; altho the general population their percentage high as 24.

J. M. DAT

Opposition to Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The public protest against the Government's move for the control of Sec education in Bengal has resulted in the est ment of a Secondary Education Com consisting of representative educationist public men, with Sjt. Ramananda Cha as Chairman, and Sjts. Nepal Chandr and Sudhir Kumar Lahiri as joint secre This Committee was appointed by the p meeting at Albert Hall, to which referen made in our last issue. The Committe circularising important public bodies in B for giving vent to the public indignation Government's proposals. We whole-hea associate ourselves with the appeal.

"A Critique of the Secondary Education Bill"

The Politics Club of Calcutta, a bo academic men and educationists, have iss very opportune brochure entitled "A Cr of the Secondary Education Bill," contributed by, among others, Prof. Nrip chandra Banerji, Sjts. Anath Nath Basu, S Kumar Lahiri, Sachin Sen, and edited by B. N. Banerjea. Portions of it were pub in our last issue. The brochure lucidly cusses the implications of the proposals, to the failure of the Boards established in parts of India and draws pointed atten the experience of democratic countries, wh directly opposed to the pernicious prin underlying the draft of the bill published press. The brochure can be had of the P Club, Post Box 175, at the price of four only per copy. We would request the pub refer to the brochure for enlightenment o vital issue facing the province.

"Contemporary Art of India"

Under the caption printed above, a recent number of *The Morning Post* of London contained an article which is reproduced below. It relates to an exhibition, held in London by Mr. S. Khastgir, of some of his and his pupils' works.

> ### WORKS OF MR. S. KHASTGIR AND HIS PUPILS
>
> VITALITY OF A FINE TRADITION
>
> *By T. W. EARP*
>
> Sudhir Khastgir, the art master of the Indian Public School, Dehra Dun, at the foot of the Himalayas, is holding an exhibition with some of his pupils at India House, Aldwych. On its own account, and as a symptom of the artistic renaissance now taking place in India, the show is rich in interest.
>
> It asserts the vitality of a fine pictorial tradition, too long dormant, but never extinct. Though Persian and Chinese art have helped to form it, the centuries have moulded it into a native, independent instrument of expression.
>
> Its characteristic, a peculiar conveyance of lyrical rhythm, is well brought out in Khastgir's "Dance," "Krishna-Radha," and "Sorrow." A sense of harmonious movement, of the whole picture being the projection of a gracious gesture, distinguishes them.
>
> Western art's demands for volume, distance and grades of light yield, as in the fresco-like "Woodcutters," "Storm," and "After the Rain," to the attainment of dynamic design in two dimensions. At Khastgir's hands it is a splendid vehicle for giving mood in landscape or quickening realism with poetry.
>
> Of the pupils' work, those qualities glow in the clear line and living pulse of Khusamed's "Mother," Iqbal Ahmed's "The Craftsman," and Jelani Khan's "Dry and Green"; and in the emotional unity of A. K. Ray's "Fishing in the Rain" and D. S. Bajpai's "Evening."

The paintings exhibited were praised in some other leading British journals also.

"A Cabinet Minister Accused of Lying"

Unity of Chicago writes:

> Charles A. Dana, the famous editor of the *Sun*, used to say that if a dog bit a man, it was not news; but that if a man bit a dog, *that* was news! Yet, here in a headline despatch in the New York *Times* it is announced that a French cabinet minister is accused of lying! In the spirit of Dana we should say that, if a cabinet minister did not lie, *that* was news.

It were much to be wished that the cap fitted nobody in India.

A Modern Sanskrit Poet

Professor Hem Chandra Roy Kavibhushana, M.A. of the Edward College, Pabna, who met with a sad death on the 12th of January last due to a surgical operation, was a Sanskrit poet of rare merit. Half a dozen epic poems composed by him in Sanskrit were published during a comparatively short period of about ten years ending in 1916. The names of his works arranged in the order of their publication as far as could be ascertained are: (1) Parasuramacharita in 10 cantos, (2) Haihayavijaya in 9 cantos (1909), (3) Rukminiharana in 12 cantos, (4) Subhadraharana, (5) Satyabhamaparigraha in 4 cantos (1915), (6) Pandavavijaya in 12 cantos (1916, 1930). Two of these (Nos. 3 and 6) were re-issued several years ago with minor additions and alterations. All these works were highly spoken of by eminent Sanskrit scholars all over the country and earned for him an enviable distinction. It was admitted on all hands that these reminded one of the old classics of Sanskrit and reflected no mean credit on the author. As a matter of fact, he has no equal in this respect among the host of M.A.s who have specialized in Sanskrit, and very few even among those who study Sanskrit in the old style schools and are generally considered more profound.

It was sheer love of the Sanskrit Muse that led Prof. Roy to choose this dead "language of the gods" as the vehicle of his literary productions, for the hope of any earthly gain therefrom was little. He realized that there were few readers for modern works in Sanskrit, and freely distributed copies of his works to scholars who were eager to go through them.

We hope the Bengal Sanskrit Association will properly honour this most deserving poet of modern days by introducing one or other of his poems at the examinations conducted by it, now that it has, of late, adopted the practice of prescribing modern texts in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Military Training for Bengalis Demanded

On January 28th last two representative bodies gave expression to the demand that military training should be given to Bengalis. The first was the Bengal Legislative Council. On the motion of Rai Bahadur Keshab Chandra Banerjee, the House unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the opinion that the Government of India be moved by the Government of Bengal to admit Bengalees for military training so as to form a permanent unit of the Indian Army.

> Mr. W. G. B. Laidlaw (European) said that to his mind a sense of discipline and of *esprit de corps* was essential for the building up of a nation and he welcomed any move to extend facilities for military service to the Bengalees. Recently the 5th Bengal Presidency Urban Infantry Battalion was started with the object of giving opportunities to Bengalees to taste the joy of military training. He had practical experience on the matter for 3 of his employees recently joined this unit and attended the annual camp. They returned looking fittest, happier, and much smarter, in fact each of them a soldier. "To

say," remarked Mr. Laidlaw, "that the Bengalee is unsuitable physically for military training is, to my mind, nonsense."

The second body to voice the demand was the Calcutta Corporation.

> Following a lively debate the Calcutta Corporation on Friday adopted a resolution recommending to the British Government that for the protection of the civil population of cities like Calcutta from enemy's attack, the citizens and ratepayers of Calcutta between the ages of 21 and 40 be given full military training for three months at least every year with full military equipment.
>
> "In the opinion of the Corporation of Calcutta," the resolution added, "half-hearted or makeshift measures will not solve the problem of defence of such cities, as at present the world seems to be rapidly drifting towards war."
>
> The Europeans did not participate in the voting.

Crowded Public Meeting Demands Release of Political Prisoners

At a crowded public meeting, held in Shraddhananda Park, Calcutta, on the 22nd January last, which was presided over by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee and attended among others by Mr. C. F. Andrews, the following resolution was passed unanimously :

> The citizens of Calcutta assembled in the meeting clearly express their opinion that it was the first duty of the Ministers elected by the people to set all political prisoners under the previous Governments at liberty. There could be no substantial reason behind this undue delay in discharging the responsibility. Specially when all the political prisoners had abjured terrorism that delay could by no means be supported. This meeting therefore demands the immediate release of political prisoners of all provinces, specially of Bengal.
>
> Moreover, alarmed at the recent hunger strike resorted to by political prisoners in different jails this meeting from the viewpoint of civic rights as well as humanity place the demand before the Ministers and urges upon them to release the political prisoners immediately thus putting an end to the possibility of an unwelcome reaction that might result from the delay in effecting the release. (Translation.)

The proceedings were conducted in Bengali. A large number of ladies attended the meeting. Among the speakers was Principal Miss Mira Datta-Gupta, M.A., a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Heramba Chandra Maitra

The venerable teacher, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, passed from this world last month in the eightieth year of his age.

More than half a century ago it was my good fortune and privilege to be one of those who sat at his feet. We not only derived from him intellectual illumination but also felt that his words and personality had a spiritually uplifting power. He taught both by precept and example. A man of noble and spotless character—guileless, sincere and earnest in all that he said and did, he could not but influe character and conduct of those who ca close personal contact with him.

His refined and noble presence was i sive.

Stern he was on occasion, but how tr tender and affectionate !

He was rigidly puritanic. Saintly h But no sour-faced, morose saint was h could laugh and make others laugh.

He was delicately sensitive to bea man and nature. And he adored sp beauty.

Meditation, communion and prayer him the sustenance which his soul neede

In the M.A. examination of the C University he occupied the first place in th division among those who passed in Eng his year. He had an extensive, scholar profound knowledge of the English languag literature. He could have secured a pro ship of English in the Bengal education d ment, but he chose to accept the o professor of English in the City C Calcutta, on a lower salary. And excep a few years spent in Dacca as princip Jagannath College, the fifty-four years o educational career were devoted to the s of the City College, first as professor of E and afterwards as principal. As a stud have attended the lectures of many pro of English, European and Indian, in Calcutta colleges. Without injustice to s them, I can say that Professor Maitra e me to grasp the profound thoughts of English authors and to appreciate the li beauty of some English poems to a greater than any other professor at whose feet I s college. I have borne this testimony t quality of Professor Maitra's teaching of E many a time in the past and I do so again He had a passion for accuracy. And h even in class, when in doubt, he would c big dictionaries to find out the exact sh meaning of a particular word in a par sentence.

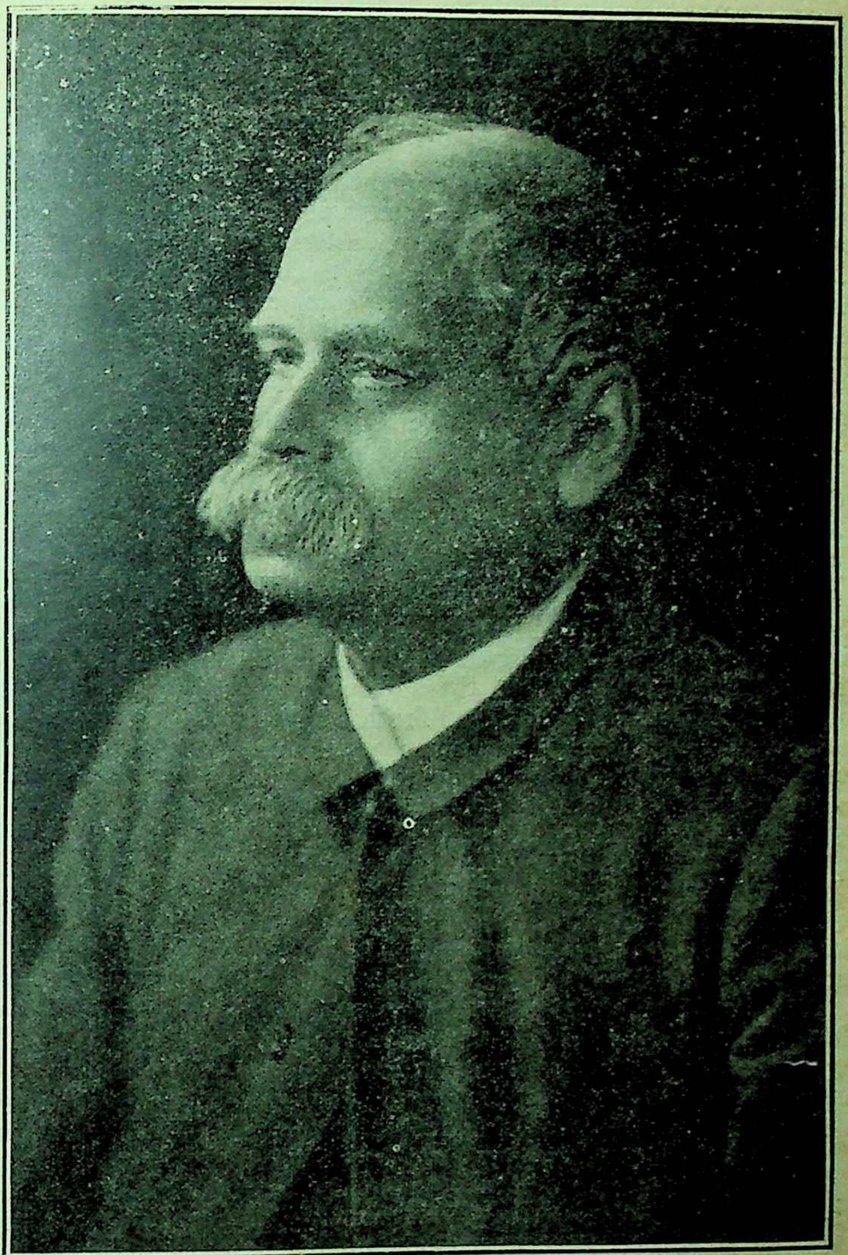
As a writer of English, he was noted f beauty, poetic quality, accuracy and sim of what he wrote. His language occasionally rise to the heights of sublimi eloquence. His thought was profound a observations true.

When his essay on Emerson obtain him the Griffith Memorial Prize, the exa not knowing the name of the writer, whi within a sealed envelope, thought that it have been copied from some great writer. so, the story goes, the best works on E were procured from abroad to ascertain whether that was the case. But when it was found that the essay was an original production, its writer was awarded the prize. Heramba Chandra Maitra was considered by those who knew him as among the highest authorities on Emerson's works. Carlyle and Wordsworth were among his other favourite authors. He wrote many excellent essays and many more newspaper and magazine articles of high quality. But it is greatly to be regretted that he has left them unpublished in book form. Like many others who have a passion for perfection, he was never satisfied with his work and always thought that lure of the most excellent has kept us up till now deprived of what is really excellent in his work in a collected form.

Heramba Chandra Maitra could write good Bengali essays also. When the *Sanjibani,* of which he was one of the founders, was started, he wrote some articles for it. It is to be regretted that after some time he ceased to write anything, except personal letters, in Bengali. But the divine services which he conducted in Bengali and his Bengali sermons gave to fellow-worshippers an idea of his fine Bengali style and his rich vocabulary. He was a minister of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and performed divine service in English also.

He was an eloquent speaker in English. His speeches were remarkable for depth of thought and were garnished with quotations from his favourite authors.

It has been stated above that he was one of the founders of the *Sanjibani,* which under its lifelong editor, Krishna Kumar Mitra, rendered signal service to the country by fearlessly agitating against indentured labour in Assam, against the opium evil, against the partition of Bengal, for promoting the Swadeshi movement, against child marriage and other social evils, against the abduction and ravishment of women, . . . Though Heramba Chandra Maitra's main work was done as a teacher, he was noted also for his political and social reform work. He was for decades prominently connected with the Indian Association, and the Indian National Congress. Before non-co-operation days, his speeches on the education resolution in Congress



Heramba Chandra Maitra

sessions were looked forward to as a special treat. He felt deeply for all political sufferers—specially for those who were deprived of their liberty without trial. He was an earnest seeker and lover of freedom.

He was honorary editor of *The Indian Messenger*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, for decades. As one of his honorary assistants, I served my apprenticeship in journalism under him for years and learned much from him. But the art of telling the truth about men and things, even the naked truth, with dignity and without bitterness, of which he was a master, is not easily learned.

He was a Fellow and Member of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University for years, as also its University Professor of English. Long after it was over-due the University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa. He also served abroad as the Calcutta University delegate to a British Empire Universities Congress.

He visited Europe and America to speak on the principles of the Brahmo Samaj. And wherever he spoke, his lectures and sermons were appreciated.

He was very affectionate to the members of his family and his friends. Affectionate, too, he was to his pupils. And they reciprocated this sentiment and revered him. Truth compels me to record an exception. Some years ago communal frenzy, fanned by political leaders, led many of his students to carry on a violent agitation against his college and to insult and try even to assault him and his colleagues. This agitation all but ruined his college. This was one of the greatest afflictions of his life. But he bore it with dignity, courage and calm fortitude.

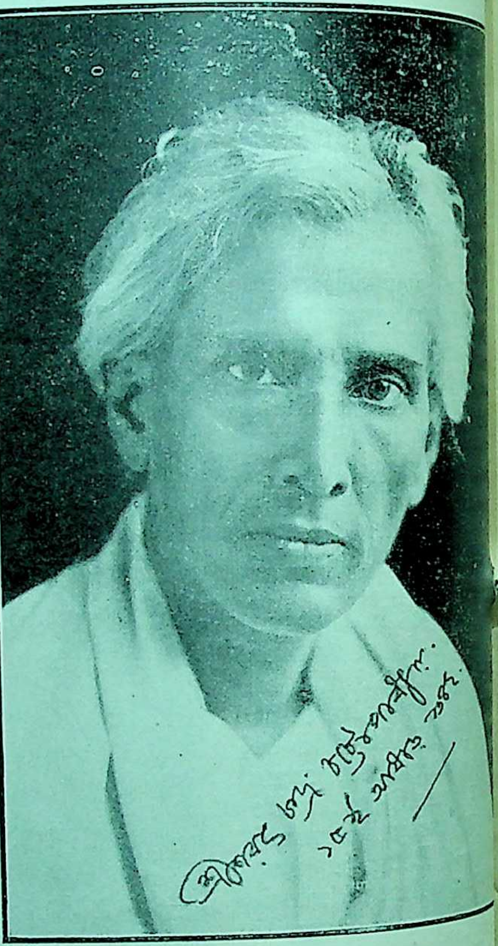
He treated me more like a younger brother than like a mere student unrelated to him.

It has been said above that he could laugh and make others laugh. But at heart he was a man of sorrows. His personal bereavements were many. But in addition to these afflictions he made the sorrows of others whom he knew his own. Nobody can say how many he remembered in his prayers, and how often.

His and his family's hospitality reminded all who enjoyed it of the good old spacious days that are no more.

Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

Death has removed from our midst Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, the distinguished novelist and story-writer, who, in the opinion of so great an authority and so eminent a litterateur as Rabindranath Tagore, was B most beloved author. His great popul evidenced by the numerous meetings, h the towns and villages of Bengal a Bengalis outside Bengal all over India, to his death. Those who do not know B will be able to form an estimate of his as a literary artist from the English tran



Sarat Chandra Chatterjee

of *Srikanta*, published some years ago. old readers of *The Modern Review* will re that some years ago we published se translation of another work of his, *viz.*, *Chhele* or " Bindu's Son."

As regards translations of some other of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee into languages other than English, the fo extract from No. VIII of our " Letters fr *The Modern Re* Editor," published in *The Modern* May, 1927, will perhaps bear reproducti

" We learnt that M. Rolland ha Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's *Srikanta* Italian translation, made from the translation of that novel. The great author (M. Romain Rolland) remarke

Sarat Chandra was a novelist of the first order, and enquired how many other novels he had written. I told him the names of some of them."

It was the publication by us of this opinion of M. Romain Rolland in *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* that first enabled our countrymen to know that Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's fame as a novelist had reached the continent of Europe.

About the time that Dacca University conferred on Sarat Chandra the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature, he said that up till then all his novels and stories had related principally to Hindu Bengali Society and its underworld, but that afterwards he would write novels and stories relating to Mussalman society also. It is to be regretted that he has not lived to carry out his intention. Faithful pictures of Bengali Moslem society by him would certainly have enriched Bengali literature. But one cannot be equally sure that they would have been as highly appreciated by Bengali Mussalmans as those stories and novels of Sarat Chandra which depict Bengali Hindu society have been appreciated by Hindu Bengalis.

Subhas Chandra Bose Elected Congress President

The unanimous election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to the Congress presidential chair is to be taken as an indication of the confidence which Congressmen in general have in him all over India and as a tribute to his ability and sacrifices in the country's cause. It is also a gesture of British India (that odious name!) outside Bengal indicating that the provinces other than Bengal, as well as Bengal, agree that Bengal is again to have some effective voice in all-India Congress politics and that the political situation in Bengal is to be placed before the public prominently by a Bengali.

Bengal—Hindu Bengal in any case, is greatly exercised over the distressful plight of the released detenus and uncertainty as to when the other detenus and the political prisoners are to be released. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement in relation to the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact has also been agitating the mind of the Hindu public in Bengal. It will not be at all difficult for Mr. Bose to devote some passages of his address to the question of the political prisoners and the released and unreleased detenus, if necessary and if he be so minded. But it cannot be guessed beforehand whether he will voice Bengal Hindu feeling on the so-called Jinnah-Rajendraprasad pact at all, and, if he does, whether he will be in a position to do so quite correctly and adequately. But there is no question that Bengal Hindus, including many, if not all, Bengali Hindu Congressmen, feel that Mr. Bose should correctly and adequately give utterance to what they think and feel on the matter.

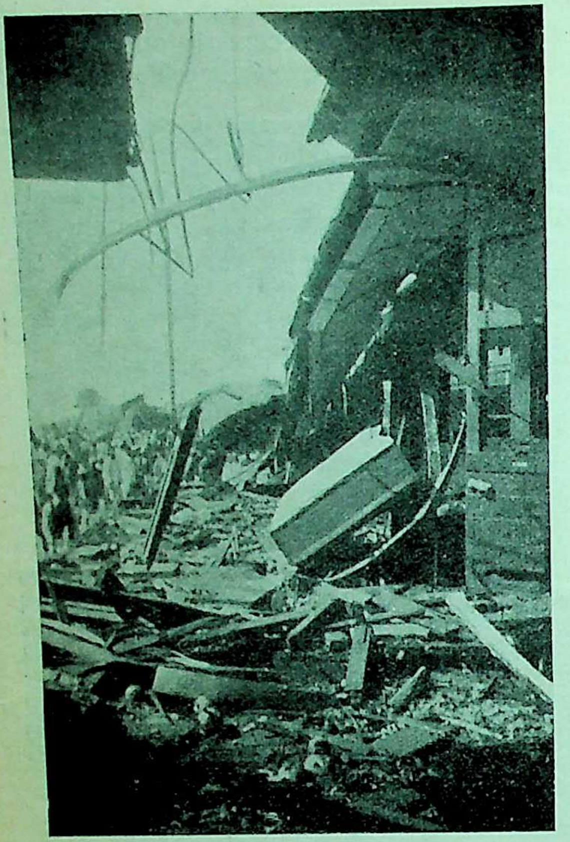
Subhas Chandra Bose
Photo by A. K. Chettiar

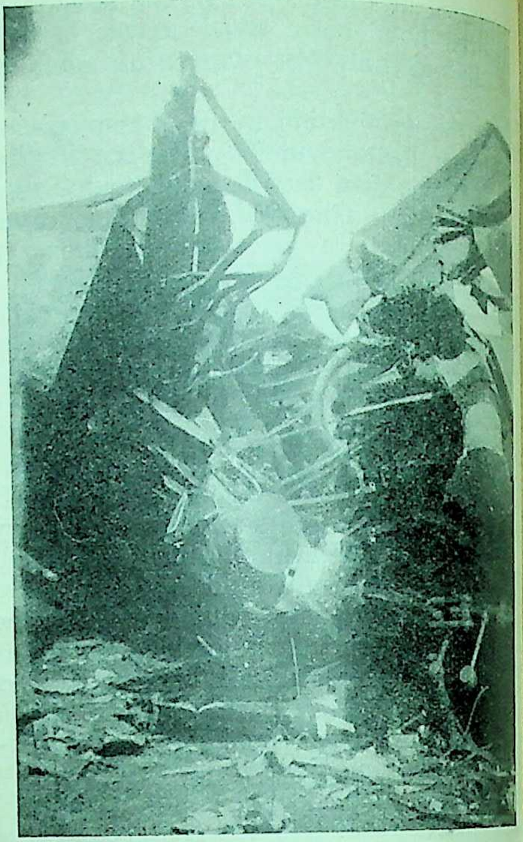
Bamrauli Railway Disaster

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in a statement says:

> "The news of the Bamrauli Railway disaster has come as a shock and great grief to me, and my sympathy goes out to the victims. The reports describe it as a disaster greater than the one that occurred at Bihta some months ago. Three bogies which normally carry between 250 and 300 passengers, have been reduced to pulp, and the severity of the impact has caused even the death of the guard at the tail end of the train. Still only seven deaths are reported. To say the least this appears to be improbable. Ugly rumours are in the air, and they add to our anxiety and grief.
>
> "A sifting enquiry should at once be instituted. I offer once again my sincerest condolences to the families of those who have died, and my sympathy for the injured. I would also request all those who have any information relating to the people that boarded this train between Calcutta and Allahabad for a destination beyond Allahabad to write to our office regarding them. How many of them are safe?"

There is widespread and deep sympathy for





Railway bogies reduced to pulp

Photo by Hari Swarup

the injured and the relatives of those who have died. There is also a public demand for a sifting enquiry.

We have received details of the rumours and the reasons why they are not considered improbable. They do not seem to us entirely baseless. But we refrain from giving publicity to the rumours, as we are not in a position to prove them.

Bengal Provincial Conference

The last session of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Bishnupur in the Bankura district is over. Some other conferences, such as the Youth Conference, the Women's Conference, were also held there during the last week of January. These conferences brought to the place Mr. Jatindramohan Ray, president of the provincial conference, Srimati Labanya Lata Chanda, president of the Women's Conference, and Prof. S. N. Goswami, president of the Student and Youths' Conference. Besides them, leaders like Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. M. N. Roy were present there. So the people of Bishnupur and visitors from outside had opportunities of listening to a good many eloquent speeches. There were also the timely speeches delivered by the chairmen of the reception committees and those delivered by movers, seconders, supporters, amenders opposers of resolutions. It would be good if hearers did not feel overwhelmed by torren words and if adequate action followed plen speaking.

The resolutions passed at the Be Provincial Conference are given below.

The resolution on the Constituent Assembly thus :—

"Ignoring absolutely the public opinion, the B Government have set up so-called Provincial Aut This Conference protests against the efforts that are made to impose over and above it the proposed re ary Federal Constitution and requests all Congress o zations, public and legislatures to work so that scheme cannot be carried into effect.

"Indians are best fitted to frame their own c tution. This Conference requests our countrym frame the future constitution of India on the bas adult franchise."

Prof. Rajkumar Chakravorty moved the res condemning the reactionary activities of the Benga Assam Ministers regarding the problem of politic soners, workers, education and communal affairs amendment of tenancy laws. The resolution was c unanimously.

A resolution was moved by Sj. Narendra Das, M welcoming the released detenus and requesting th join Congress and carry on the work effectively. I passed without a dissentient.

CONGRESS DIFFERENCES

A resolution was moved by Dr. Suresh Banerjee, which pointed out the existence of disagreement among Bengal Congressmen and authorised Sj. Subhas Bose to form an executive of the B. P. C. C. next year in consultation with leaders and groups.

RESOLUTION ON CHINA

The resolution on China moved by Sj. Hemanta Bose, said that political consciousness had dawned in India which, however, was powerless to help China, but they could express their sympathy in their hour of ordeal. Congress had begun to fight against Imperialism and should extend its sympathy wherever such a fight would occur.

FRONTIER POLICY CONDEMNED

Dr. Prafulla Ghose next moved the following resolution: "This Conference strongly condemns the action of the India Government in throwing bombs on villagers in the N.-W. F. Provinces and protests against 'the Forward policy' of the Government which the Conference regards as responsible for the unrest in the Province."

The resolution on Zanzibar was moved by Sj. Gunada Majumder, who said that Indians had no remedy against the grievance of Zanzibar Indians, but they could stop the trade between Zanzibar and India which would to some extent remedy the grievance. Indians there were fighting for rights and privileges which must have our sympathy. Zanzibar cloves must be boycotted and labourers be requested not to unload cloves.

Sj. Shibnath Banerjee, M.L.A. moving the next resolution on the capture of local bodies by Congress observed that Congress should extend its activities to local bodies, not being content with legislatures. Those institutions are exploited by reactionaries.

Sj. Kamini Kanta Ganguly put an amendment suggesting that Congress workers should be helped by leaders in this work, which was unanimously accepted. The resolution as amended was passed unanimously. Sj. Amulya Chandra moved a resolution on the assessment of Chowkidari tax which ran thus: "There is reason to believe that throughout Bengal Chowkidari tax is not assessed on real income and at some places the tax is assessed on imaginary incomes.

This Conference draws the attention of the authorities of the district and primary Congress Committees to act and requests them to try to assess true income of every class of people in their respective localities after deducting expenditure on trade and agriculture and remedy through legitimate means any injustice committed in assessing Chowkidari tax. The Conference condemns realization of village police tax by Government."

The resolution was passed.

Sj. Gunendra Mukherjee's resolution on the Damodar Canal expressed sympathy with the people of area carrying on agitation against the imposition of tax and opined that provisional acceptance by the Bengal Government of the tax of Rs. 3 per acre was unsatisfactory. The resolution was passed.

CORPORATION AFFAIRS

The resolution on the Calcutta Corporation, put by Dr. Prafulla Ghosh evoked some opposition. While pointing the mismanagement in the Corporation, the resolution authorised Sj. Subhas Bose to reorganise the Congress Municipal Association in accordance with ideal, with power, if necessary, to dissolve the Association.

The resolution was passed.

The resolution of Sj. Mahim Das for the removal of the ban on Midnapore and other organizations was accepted without dissent.

The introduction of an amendment by Sj. Niharendu Dutta Majumder, M.L.A., to the resolution on mass contact was accepted after a great deal of controversy. The amendment provided that Congress should work in co-operation with Kishan Sabhas believing in Congress principles.

Two resolutions recommending fixation of jute price and revival of local cottage industries moved from the chair were accepted.

The resolution condoling the death of Harendra Munshi in Dacca Jail was accepted all standing in silence.

Death of A Hungerstriking Prisoner

The news of the death of Harendranath Munshi, one of the hungerstriking political prisoners in the Dacca Central Jail today, cast a gloom over delegates and visitors assembled in the Conference pandal. Mr. Subhas Bose made the following statement to the "United Press" in this connection:—

I am too overwhelmed with grief at the sad news from Dacca Jail to be able to say anything. My thoughts go back to the year 1929 when I got the stunning news of the death of Jatindranath Das at Lahore. I only wonder when the heart of the Government will be moved in spite of such tragic incidents. Those who depart from this life leave us for good, but those of us who are left behind have a duty towards the cause they represented in their lifetime. Let us solemnly resolve to carry on with unabated vigour the fight for securing unconditional release of all detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Exhibition at Bishnupur

The industrial, agricultural and health exhibition at Bishnupur was opened last month by Babu Ramananda Chatterjee. In his speech he showed that in times past India was as great an industrial country as an agricultural one and manufactured practically everything she needed. She got plenty of gold and silver by exporting her manufactures. " . . . . the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms" (*The History of British India* by H. H. Wilson, vol. i, p. 385). As the ruin of Indian trade and industries was brought about by the abuse of political power, so our trade and industries can be fully revived only by a right use of political power. We want that political power, that is, Purna Swaraj. The speaker showed in detail that we are fit for Purna Swaraj.

Excellent silk goods, locally woven, and the products of women's handicrafts were some of the noteworthy exhibits displayed in the stalls.

Silk Weaving Machinery Manufactured in Bishnupur

Looms similar to the Jacquard loom and doing exactly the same kind of fine work, weaving borders of exquisite design and many colours, were exhibited in the Bishnupur exhibition. They are manufactured locally by the Mallabhum Iron Factory, Bishnupur, and sold at very moderate prices.

Officials and Elections

With reference to elections to legislatures there is a sound and well established rule according to which Government officers are precluded from taking any active part in favour of or against the election of any candidate. In connection with the last general elections allegations were made at the outset that there were indications that this necessary rule was being observed more in the breach than otherwise. The authorities considered it proper to assure the public that there was no desire on the part of Government to depart from the practice that they had hitherto followed in this important matter. The trend of events in Bengal did not however show any anxiety on the part of the authorities to maintain in this regard that attitude of aloofness and neutrality that is enjoined upon them.

On the eve of the last general elections we had occasion to invite the attention of the authorities to these matters, especially regarding the officers of the Industries and Co-operative Departments, in the columns of *Prabasi*. Though the Government ignored our warning, the recent judgment by the Edgley Tribunal over the election of Nawab Sir M. Faroqui has more than justified our apprehensions. The revelations cast a great slur on the Provincial Government and we are awaiting the decision of the Government on the officers of these two departments. Mr. S. K. Lahiri also makes the following revelation :

> "Regarding election propaganda the recent judgment in the election petition against Nawab Sir Mohiuddin Faroqui mentions the names of certain officers of the Co-operative Department who took part in the last election. I am constrained to state in this connection that the Registrar without asking me secured the presence of an officer of the Society in Calcutta and its neighbourhood in the sub-division of Diamond Harbour for the purposes of election. He sent the officer to Mr. Nirendra Nath Bose of the Co-operative Department for instructions. The officer subsequently came to me for orders and this was followed by his disappearance from the scene of operations in Diamond Harbour. This was, however, not the only instance of intervention in the matter of election."

In this connection certain observations made by Mr. Jamshed N. Mehta as President of the All-India Provincial Banks' Conference held at Bangalore in July last would appear to have special significance with reference to the situation in Bengal. He said :

> "So far as the Provincial Banks are concerned, I am distinctly of the opinion that they should be entirely free of Government control, except for audit purposes of the Government. My reason is this. The Provincial operative Banks have huge financial resources a should be very careful to see that these resources d become instruments in the hands of Ministers o political group or party to be used through Co-ope Department, which has widespread wings of influen power distributed extensively, specially in the m in all parts, however remote. The influence of operative Movement should be retained entirely f welfare of the people and should not be utilized f purpose of any party, group or political en Provincial Banks are not free from such control, of members in the Co-operative Societies and cr rupees that are invested in the Movement and a power behind it could be very easily utilized for and political purposes. If this happens the Mo will be ere long dead and I am doubtful if it can such shocks. We have experience of England Ireland before us where the Co-operative Movem scrupulously kept away from political influen therefore submit that the Provincial Co-operative of the country should be governed by an All-India vincial Co-operative Banks Act which may be so de as to make these Banks absolutely free from cont any political party, group, or such influences. . . . such an All-India Act is enacted, it is of vital imp that the nature and extent of the Government contr the Co-operative Movement should be clearly an defined."

Official Interference with Co-operative Society

Matters which have been published in local Press relating to a glaring instance improper official *zid* under a so-called regi provincial autonomy, should receive se attention of the Ministry and members of Bengal Legislative Assembly and Council.

Mr. S. K. Lahiri, for more than a de honorary Secretary of the Bengal Co-oper Organization Society, in the course of a s ment to the press points out that the Be Co-operative Organization Society was sta as a federation of co-operative societies Bengal with the object of promoting the operative movement by propaganda and by means. It received official recognition as autonomous non-official body set up for the pose of guiding the movement; and alth Government gave grants to the Society specific services to be rendered by it for furtherance of the movement, definite assur of non-intervention in the conduct of the af of the Society was given to it. In a l written in 1918 by Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal (now Secretary of State India) said :

> "The Bengal Co-operative Organization Society is a live organization which is going to make its sc felt far and wide. It is most essential that such a c should possess the means of making its views known, and the new journal (the Bengal Co-ope Journal) will enable it to do so. I do not underes the good work which has been done by the journal it has been conducted under official guidance and c

but at the same time, I think, there are advantages in its divesting itself of official tutelage and proclaiming itself to the world as the independent mouthpiece of the co-operative movement. As such it will be of the utmost value to officials and non-officials alike, and should prove to be a potent instrument for furthering the success of the co-operative principle. Perhaps, I may add that while Government desire to exercise no control of any kind over the publication, they do desire to assist towards its success, and with this object in view, propose for the present to contribute a sum sufficient to cover the cost of its production."

The policy underlying these words received the seal of further official approval in 1925-26 when in consonance with the aim of the co-operative movement it was decided that henceforth the Society will be controlled by the co-operative societies in the province. Mr. Lahiri then adds :

"Since the middle of 1935, however, insidious but persistent efforts have been made to tighten the control of the Co-operative Department over the Bengal Co-operative Organization Society. This has been attempted by repeated suggestions to have the Registrar elected as President of the Society against the terms and spirit of the bye-laws and to secure a preponderatingly large nominated element in the Working Committee of the Society (to be vested with all the powers of the Central Board) which is a wnolly elected body. There has further been an attempt to interfere with free expression of opinion in the journals of the Society and at meetings of the Society. Efforts have also been made to use the Society for party purposes for election propaganda on behalf of one of the (former) Ministers and by attempting to secure control over the organs of the Society. All this has been done notwithstanding repeated assurances given by Government ever since Lord Ronaldshay's time and the declared policy of the Society as expressly accepted by Government. These attempts at obtaining control have been against the provisions of the bye-laws of the Society and in complete contravention of the spirit of the co-operative movement."

"The fact is that the Minister in charge of the Co-operative Department called an informal conference at which as a basis of a solution of the present difficulty a suggestion which emanated from an official was made to the effect that out of the eleven members of the Working Committee five or six should be nominated. The Minister and the Registrar supported the proposal and said that if I accepted it the present difficulty would be solved. I said that they could never think of my giving support to this reactionary proposal. As this required an amendment of bye-laws they could formally bring forward their proposal before the Society. This they have not so far dared to do.

"A very responsible official of the Department first suggested to me that the Registrar should be made President of the Society. This was of course opposed by me. But the proposal was off and on revived and talked about at the instance of officials and their supporters. In fact on the morning of the 12th September, 1937, the day on which the last Annual General meeting was held I received a telephonic message from the residence of the Registrar from an officer who was then a member of the Central Board that the Registrar was quite willing to withdraw his circular excluding twelve members of the Central Board from re-election if I agreed to have the Registrar as President in place of Mr. J. N. Basu. . . .

"I am in possession of an official communication from a very high departmental authority which supports my statement about interference with free expression of opinion by the Society. Such interference has further been accentuated by spoken words and by action by departmental authority. It cannot be argued that this was not known to the Society, for a resolution adopted at the Annual General Meeting of 1935 not only contains a reference to the matter but supports the comments in the journals of the Society to which objection have been taken.

"The Society not having shown any inclination to yield, certain high placed officials of the department with the help of several pliant members of the Board of Directors of the Bengal Provincial Co-operative Bank and by the use of such improper methods as stoppage of cash credit by the Bank, indirect encouragement in the matter of non-payment of subscription and overdues by member-societies, disregard of all attempts at settlement by mutual agreement, misrepresentation in the Assembly and elsewhere, etc., have made it almost impossible for the Society to carry on its normal functions. It is true that the Provincial Bank and the department have got an opportunity of interfering with the internal management of the Society on account of the fact that the Society has certain overdues. But the amount of overdues was mainly due to excessive expenditure incurred at the instance of the Registrar-President when the Registrar was President of the Society and the present *impasse* is due to the present attitude of the department assumed in utter disregard of the policy consistently pursued by it heretofore in the matter of realizations and the grant of cash credit by the Provincial Bank. In letters addressed to the Registrar and the Provincial Bank the Society had shown that it was possible by mutual arrangement to come to a settlement which would enable the Society to fulfil its obligations out of the resources that are or may in future be available to it. But all such representations have so far rtmained unheeded."

"Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, M. L. A. (Central), who was President of the Society till the middle of 1937 made every possible endeavour to bring about a settlement, but his attempts were completely frustrated and the department took the extra-ordinary step of excluding him from the election to the Central Board."

In concluding the budget-debate on the grant under the head 'Co-operative Department,' the Chief Minister promised an enquiry, if a *prima facie* case was established, into the affairs of the Department. May we suggest that an impartial non-official enquiry into the allegations is certainly called for, without delay, in view of recent disclosures?

Protest Against Secondary Education Bill

At a public meeting, held at the Ashutosh Memorial Hall on the 29th January last and presided over by Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, leading advocate, the provisions of the draft Bengal secondary education bill were strongly condemned by all the speakers.

As has been shown by many speakers at previous protest meetings also, the bill has nothing to do with the improvement and extension of education. It wants to control education with a view to stifling it. And it is an anti-Hindu bill meant to keep down the Hindus by depriving them of their position as leaders in education, which they have acquired by their intelligence, enterprise and self-sacrifice.

Mr. Narendra Kumar Basu, the president, rightly observed in the course of his outspoken and telling speech :

> The only compact body among the non-Mahomedan members of the Bengal Legislature was the Congress Party but he regretted that though the draft Bill had been before the public for the last two months and had been the cause of public agitation, not a single Congress leader had come forward to protest against the Bill or to take part in any meeting held for condemning this reactionary measure.

The meeting passed the following resolution :

> "While recognizing the urgent need for reforming and revitalizing secondary education in Bengal, this meeting is of opinion that the provisions of the draft Secondary Education Bill are of an extremely reactionary, restrictive and unsatisfactory character and are calculated to stifle the growth of education in Bengal.
>
> "This meeting therefore urges the Government of Bengal to abandon the proposed Bill."

It was moved by Prof. Jay Gopal Banerji, known for his work as University professor of English.

Security Forfeiture Order Against "Basumati" Set Aside

> The Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Jack and Mr. Justice Henderson delivered judgment in the application made by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, Keeper, and Sashi Bhusan Dutta, Publisher, of "Dainik Basumati," against an order of the Local Government forfeiting a total sum of Rs. 5,000 out of the security deposited by the petitioners in connexion with the publication of an article in the paper entitled "What is the Duty" on June 29, 1937. The article dealt with the communal situation then prevailing in the district of Pabna and in the opinion of the Local Government the article had a tendency to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between Hindus and Mussalmans as contemplated under Section 4(*1*) of the Indian Press Emergency Powers Act.
>
> The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Henderson were of the opinion that the order of forfeiture of the Local Government should be set aside while Mr. Justice Jack took the contrary view and remarked that in his opinion the forfeiture order should not be set aside.
>
> By majority the Court directed that the order of forfeiture should be set aside.

The order of forfeiture has been justly set aside. Mr. Justice Jack, differing, said :

> "These [the offending references to events which took place about 30 years ago] appeared to have been written with the intention of inspiring the Hindus with fear of a recurrence of the outrages which occurred 30 years ago in order to induce them to take steps to protect their temples from defilement, by force, or show of force.

His lordship's judgment contains other similar observations. These leave us in doubt as to whether, in his lordship's opini Hindu community has any right of self-d

The Right of Self-defence

The following sentences are extracted a judgment delivered by Sir Douglas Y Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Abdur Ra the Panjab High Court :

> "The facts disclosed give to Kiroo the most reason for relying upon self-defence that we ha seen . . . The accused was being mercilessly and beaten, and this was being carried on for a of time horrible to contemplate. In most cases suspects subjected to treatment of this illegal and able character are helpless and hopeless; they have to suffer until nature does not permit them fur resist, and a 'confession' or discovery of stolen false or true is made. . . . Cases are not unknow are within our own knowledge where persons ha under this type of 'investigation' . . . The accu in our opinion, justified, even to the extent of in endeavouring to stop the grave and danger treatment to which he was being subjected."

An Indian Elected Mayor of Port Loui

The Hon. G. M. D. Atchia has been el mayor of Port Louis, the capital of Maur It is the first time that such an honour ha

The Hon. G. M. D. Atchia

conferred on an Indian. Mr. Atchia be mayor at 44, after sixteen years of hard to social service to the people of Port Louis municipal council of the town is to be co tulated on their choice.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY [illegible] NATH, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

STRIKING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

BHARAT

in 1937

COMPLETES FRESH BUSINESS

Over 2 CRORES AND 5 LAKHS

Received Over 2 Crores 75 Lakhs

THE phenomenal progress of the Company under the present management, during this brief period, is sufficiently eloquent and needs no comment.

This pioneer institution of India is steadily flourishing with significant rapidity, and before long the management expects to achieve still more glorious results hitherto unknown in the commercial history of this country.

WATCH THIS REVOLUTION

in 1938

BHARAT INSURANCE CO., LD.

P. D. KHOSLA, General Manager

Head Office : Bharat Buildings, LAHORE

Branches :

1. Agra
2. Ajmer
3. Allahabad
4. Ambala
5. Amritsar
6. Asansol
7. Bangalore
8. Barisal
9. Benares
10. Bombay
11. Calcutta
12. Cawnpore
13. Colombo
14. Cuttack
15. Dacca
16. Dehra Dun
17. Delhi
18. Ernakulam
19. Gauhati
20. Jalpaiguri
21. Karachi
22. Karwar (North Kanara)
23. Lahore Branch
24. Lucknow
25. Madras
26. Madura
27. Multan
28. Nagpur
29. Nairobi (East Africa)
30. Najibabad
31. Patna
32. Poona
33. Rajahmundry
34. Rangoon
35. Rawalpindi
36. Secunderabad (Deccan)
37. Shillong
38. Sialkot
39. Sukkur
40. Surat

A True Health Builder
SURABALLI
KASAYA

C. K. Sen & Co., Ltd.,
CALCUTTA.

ACQUIRE EASE AND SKILL IN CONVERSATION

In your conversation lies the opportunity for social and business advancement—new friendships—new contacts, popularity—promotion—in short, SUCCESS. Do you make a good impression every time you talk? Write today for a free copy of "Adventures in Conversation." It describes a simple and practical method for self-training in conversation—in your own home.

CONVERSATION INSTITUTE, DARYA GANJ, DELHI, 5.

Tens of Thousands following this road success!

Economic Reconstruction in Bengal : *Pramathanath Banerjea*

Art And Life : *Ashoke Chatterjee*

Wooden Sculptures of Ancient Bengal (illust.) : *N. K. Bhattasali*

Gogonendra Nath Tagore : *O. C. Gangoly*

Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State : *B. Misra, K. Panigrahi*

Prepare For Peace : *D. Graham Pole*

Congress And Democracy : *S. Ramaswami Iyer*

Rural Reconstruction Experiments at Sriniketan : *C. F. Andrews*

Social Illiteracy : *A. Aronson*

Rural Reconstruction in the Mysore State : *G. Rudrappa*

How Egypt Got Rid of Cholera : *D. N. Banerjee*

The Art of G. N. Tagore : *Nirad C. Chaudhuri*

Inland : Rs. 8-8
Foreign : Rs. 11-0

EDITOR
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

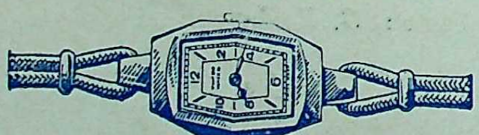
BENOY

As. 12.

The Story of Satara Rs. 10-0
Consolidation of the Christian Power in India „ 1-8
The Modern Review Office, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta
or Dr. L. M. Basu, 49, Leader Road, Allahabad.

DESIGNS OF - -
DEPENDABLE HERITAGE!

MINIATURE "U-2"
West End Patent "Everbright" Steel ... Rs. 36
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ... ... Rs. 70
18-ct. Solid White Gold ... ... Rs. 75



MINIATURE "R-2"
West End Patent "Everbright" Steel ... Rs. 59
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ... ... Rs. 105

HANDSOME
ADORNMENTS
AS WELL!!

Numerous models of most recent creations offer you unlimited scope for selection. Ask for large FREE Catalogue.

West-End Watch Co
BOMBAY CALCUTTA

ACQUIRE EASE AND SKILL IN **CONVERSATION**

In your conversation lies the opportunity for social and business advancement—new friendships—new contacts, popularity—promotion—**in short**, SUCCESS. Do **you** make a good impression every time you talk? Write today for a free copy of "Adventures in Conversation." It describes a simple and practical method for self-training in conversation—**in your own home.**

CONVERSATION INSTITUTE, DARYA GANJ, DELHI, 5.

Tens of Thousands are following this road to Success!

What is often the secret that has enabled men and women of distinction to obtain wealth and power? The answer is, mastery of good language—words.

Read THIS BOOK FREE!

How to Become a Master of English

The Tutorial Institute, Delhi

Weighty winning words are absolutely essential to modern progress. They are the magic wand that creates position and fame—that opens the treasure vaults of success—that enables the skilful user to bend others to his will. Learn to weave words into proper design and you make advancement more certain and rapid.

TAKE UP KLEISER'S COURSE IN ENGLISH.

It has been prepared on scientific lines after years of research work by an authority of international fame and is a simple short-cut to the mastery of the English language. It is so easy and interesting that it requires only your spare moments. All lines of business, all trades, all professions, arts and sciences are represented among Mr. Kleiser's students who number more than 100,000 all over the world. The training enables you, among other things, to—

Enlarge Your Vocabulary by Thousands of Expressive Words;
Use the Right Word in the Right Place;
Avoid All Mistakes of Grammar and Idiom;
Develop Originality of Expression;
Write Tactful and Forceful Letters, Essays, Advertisements, Articles, Stories, Speeches, Petitions, Memorials, etc.;
Become an Engaging Conversationist and Attract Attention in Social Gatherings;
Be a Person of Culture, Power, and Influence;
Earn More Money, Get Better Position and Achieve Greater Success.

If it is your desire to gain success in life, to have a command of words and consequently a command of men and of circumstances, to impress men of affairs, to write in a clear, bold, vigorous style that carries conviction and to possess power and personality, you should enrol for the Grenville Kleiser Correspondence Course without delay.

Full particulars of the course are given in our book "How to Become a Master of English." Write for a FREE copy of it to-day.

POST THIS COUPON

THE TUTORIAL INSTITUTE
Delhi Gate, DELHI, 5.

Send me full particulars of the Kleiser Correspondence Course for attaining Mastery of English.

Name..
Address..
....
Age..........*Occupation*..................

Books Just Arrived

The Wonder Book of Animals	Rs.	3-12
" " Railways	"	3-12
" " Ships	"	3-12
" " Soldiers	"	3-12
" " Empire	"	3-12
" " Navy	"	3-12
" " Aircraft	"	3-12
" " Wonders	"	3-12
" " Nature	"	3-12
" " Wild	"	3-12
" " Motors	"	3-12
" " Pets	"	3-12
" " Electricity	"	3-12
" " Machinery	"	3-12
" " Daring Deeds	"	3-12
" " Why & What ?	"	3-12
" " Inventions	"	3-12
" " Science	"	3-12
" " Do You Know ?	"	3-12
" " Tell Me Why ?	"	3-12
" " How It is Done ?	"	3-12

GOLDQUIN & CO., LTD.

College Street Market, CALCUTTA.

PIONEER IN 1924

India's
for
MOST FLUID INK
EVERY PEN
KAJAL-KALI
SPECIALLY MADE FOR ALL FOUNTAIN PEN
CHEMICAL ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA

PREMIER IN 1938

Dwarkin's Harmoniums

Their tone is inimitable!

Since the invention of the hand harmonium 62 years ago Dwarkin's instruments are being looked upon as surpassingly excellent. Competitors have copied only their form; they could not copy their tone!

Flutina No. 9, 3 octaves, 2 sets of Paris reeds, 5 stops in teakwood box ... **Rs. 45**

Free delivery by rail if orders are accompanied by a cutting of this advertisement and an advance of Rs. 10.

Please write for our illustrated catalogue stating for what instrument.

Dwarkin & Son

CALCUTTA.

Inventors of Hand Harmoniums

11, ESPLANADE, CALCUTTA.

Insure with

Calcutta Insurance Limited

86, Clive Street, Calcutta

Estd. — 1923.

Paying Bonus from the very beginning.

SUPREME

NONE IN THE UNIVERSE TO COMPETE IT

BENEFIT

EVERY HUMAN MUST REALISE

that this advertisement is not meant to be a source of making money, but is certainly intended to be beneficial to every one. This is that Divine Boon with the help of which crores and crores of men have been making up their losses since lakhs and lakhs of years increased their prosperities, fulfilled all their desires and scored off bad luck. But upto now none has pointed out his little finger at this with untrustworthiness. While countless number of people have obtained these benefits, there is no reason why you should deny yourself this Boon. So I say to everyone.

If any one desires to brighten his future, desires to recoup lost honour or wealth, desires to obtain wealth, gains, wife and children and lead a happy life, desires to obtain honour in high Darbars and establish his supremacy after vanquishing his enemies or desires that all the pleasures of life may ever be present in your house then here and now send for

THE GREATEST BOON OF HOLY SHASTRAS TO THE SUFFERING HUMANITY

CHAMAT KARI "NAVAGRAHA YANTRA"

THE GREATEST BLESSING OF HEAVEN

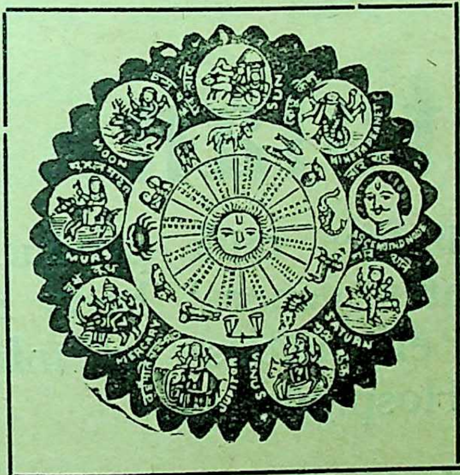
Biggest of astrologers, wisest of the most famous Pandits and more than 88,000 Rishis of the ancient Hindu period, they all praised the brilliant Navagraha Yantra. Even the Puranas and Shastras bear testimony to its multifarious uses. Thousands of testimonials received of its miraculous, wonderful sharp effect. This gift is from Shastras, so no reason to disbelieve it. As Bhagavan Krishna has declared in his Gita those who do not believe in their Shastras never enjoy life (See Holy Gita 16-23). In meditation, spiritual power, occultism and invoking divine power India stands foremost. Its most unique is the Navagraha Yantra which brings happiness to the distressed, drives away adversity and brings prosperity. It acts like a shield.

The Navagraha Yantra is the perfection of Divine power and it has the wonderful power which vanishes all evil arising from planetary influence and helps to enter the golden gate of successful life.

The Navagraha Yantra is prepared on most scientific, religious and strict Shastraic principles, with so much of concentration and meditation that is bound to possess extraordinary powers which undo all the evils man is subject to.

The benefits that you will derive from the Navagraha Yantra are—Profit in trade, lotteries, success in case — Examinations, getting health and prosperity services:

Vasikarana, love affairs, overpowering evil stars, Enemies, Honour in Royal House, acquire fame and wife according to your wish, shelter from future disaster. Bad dreams will go away, children will be saved from all kinds of diseases. Chronic diseases will be cured, answer of any question in Dream. If you do not believe the claim, you can obtain from us a guarantee on one anna stamp. You can also see some testimonials from the thousands received and if the Yantra proves unsuccessful, money will be refunded if proved false from Shastra. Still if you do not have it, you are giving a great shock to your bright future. He who does not believe in anything loses even the true thing. A regular use will make women pet to their husbands; will bring children if they are sterile.



Rs. 500 REWARD CASH

He who wishes for children should buy two Yantras; one for male and one for female.

This is the very Navagraha Yantra from Shastras. Several people copied, and deceived the people by the advertisement by separate names. So don't be misled if they did not prove successful.

Price:—(1) Navagraha Yantra complete with two red corals for the female or (2) Nilmanis for male Rs. 2 each. Three Navagraha Yantras Rs. 5-8, one Navagraha Yantra in silver Rs. 3 and a Yantra in gold Rs. 9-9-3. Postage extra 8 annas.

K. V. Venkatachala Iyer, Calicut:—I am glad to say that my desires had full effect. Please send one more 110.

M. Arumugham Madhra:—I am succeeding in my life by your Navagraha Yantra. Please send one more 141.

Mr. A. D. S., Advocate, Patna:—I had your Yantra one which made my object successful. Kindly send one more by V. P. P.

PT. B. R. BHAVISHYAVAKTA,
M.R.C., BOMBAY 4.

C. R. A.'s

• Arseno-Typhoid

Has proved to the world that FILARIA is a curable disease. A single trial will convince.

• MALORA

Is the only remedy that can successfully drive out MALARIA and other kinds of fever.

• Lactolan

Is bacteria-free milk product of the day. It stimulates general body resistance and is very efficacious in infection, largely used in Hospitals.

Ask for our descriptive price lists and leaflets.
Very attractive terms to dealers and agents.

CALCUTTA CLINICAL
RESEARCH ASSOCIATION, LTD.,

Manufacturers of high class biological products.

6, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta

An Appreciation

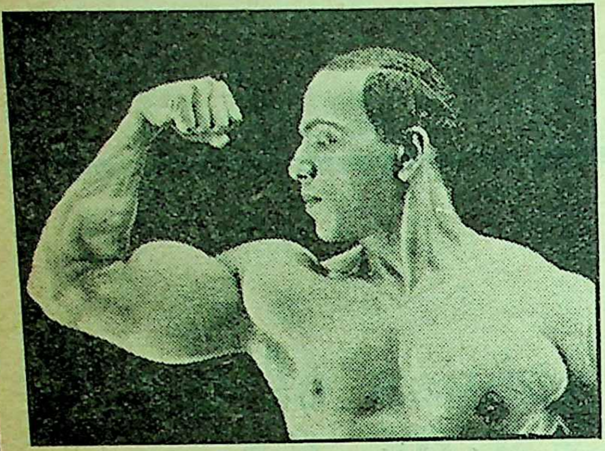
I have a high opinion of the work of the Bharat Phototype Studio. They have prepared blocks for the Indian Science Congress, and have done the work both efficiently and expeditiously.

W. D. WEST
GENERAL SECRETARY,
Indian Science Congress Association

BHARAT PHOTOTYPE STUDIO
72/1, COLLEGE STREET, CALCUTTA
Telephone : B.B. 3962
Telegram : MEZZOTINT

IMMUNITY FROM DISEASE

IS THE ACID TEST OF
HEALTH AND STRENGTH.



My System being based on principles of Yogaic Asanas, Surya-Namaskars and Modern Methods of training assures soundly functioning internal organs as well as a lissom exterior.

Write for my Prospectus Book **PERFECT PHYSIQUE** illustrated with 40 full page classical and muscular poses of my pupils and myself on art paper. **Price 8 As. by M.O. (Overseas 1 Sh. B.P.O.)**

SURYA-NAMASKAR Book with 15 big poses of myself. **Price 8 As. by M.O. (Overseas 1 Sh. B.P.O.)**

K. V. IYER, D.Ph.E. Bangalore City, (India)

V.P.'s Not sent. School addresses not entertained.

NATIONAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY SERIE

No. 1. PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY by K. T. Shah.
426 pages (2nd Ed). (5th Thousand),
Rs. 1-8 & Rs. 2 for cloth.

No. 2. FEDERAL STRUCTURE by K. T. Shah.
554 pages. Price Rs. 2-8 & Rs. 3-4 for cloth.

In the second volume two chapters are written b the Editors which survey and suggest changes order to make the New Constitution acceptable to t National opinion. Indispensable books for t Legislators and students of Indian Administration.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF ISLAM by M. N. Roy.
2nd impression. Price Rs. 1-8 cloth, gold letters.

Read this provocative essay on the role t Islam has played in human history. Mr. Roy's th is that proper understanding of Islamic culture necessary for the Hindu-Muslim unity.

THE GANDHIAN WAY by Acharya J. B. Kripalani
(General Secretary, Indian National Congress)
Full Cloth, 183 pages, Antique paper, Rs. 2.

It is a remarkable exposition of Gandh Philosopy and contains a vigorous reply to its criti

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION, containi Mahatma Gandhi's articles, Wardha Educational Confe ence Proceedings and Zakir Hussain Committee Repo Re. 1.

INDIA, DAY TO DAY, SERIES

1. **Non-Violent Revolution** by Acharya J. B. Kripala 0-4
2. **Revolution or Counter-revolution** by Jairamd Daulatram 0-2

VORA & CO., Publishers Ltd.
8, Round Building, Bombay 2

BANISH YOUR DRINKING WATER TROUBLES BY USING HYGIENIC HOUSEHOLD FILTER

It is a necessity for every village home.

Highest Recommendations from Directors of Public Health.

Hygienic Household Filter Co.,
60, Shikdar Bagan Street, Calcutta.
'Phone: 1634 B.B.

THE TRUTH IN YOUR HOROSCOPE

YOUR REAL LIFE TOLD FREE

Would you like to know without any cost what th Stars indicate for you, some of your past experienc your strong and weak points, etc ? Here is your cha to test FREE the skill of Pundit Tabore, India's mo famous Astrologer, who by applying the ancient scie to useful purposes has built up an enviable reputation ? The accuracy of his predictions and the sound practical advice contained in his Horoscopes on Business, Speculation, Finances, Love-affairs, Friends, Enemies, Lotteries, Travels, Changes, Litigation, Lucky Times, Sickness, etc., have astounded educated people the world over. GEORGE MACKEY of New York believes that Tabore must possess some sort of second-sight.

To popularise his system Tabore will send you FREE your Astral-Interpretation if you forward him your full name (Mr. Mrs. or Miss.), address and date of birth (English Calendar) **all clearly written** by yourself. money required but you may, if you like, enclos annas Stamps to help cover postage and misc., c Tabore believes in fair dealings and all work which he receives any payment is on the basis of s faction guaranteed or full money refunded. You will amazed at the remarkable accuracy of his statem about you and your affairs. Write now as this offer m not be made again. No personal interviews, all cons tions by mail only. Address : **PUNDIT TABORE,** (D 341-M), Upper Forjett Street, **BOMBAY VII.**

Some Attractive Books

	Rs.	As.	
Algernon Sydney, A Forgotten Political Thinker—By K. R. Ramaswami, M.A., B.L. "A most promising piece of work, scholarly and thoughtful and illuminating."—*Prof. H. Laski.*	2	0	0
India — The Fountain of Peace — N. Lakshmanan	1	8	0
India As a Federation—K. V. Punnaiah, M.A.	3	8	0
The Indian Federation—B. M. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.	10	0	0
Political Theory and Modern Governments—By Ram, Asirvatham and Sharma, in 3 Parts	15	0	0
Federal Polity—B. M. Sharma	6	0	0
Federal Finance in India—K. T. Shah	6	0	0
Practical Education—G. N. Gokhale	2	8	0
River of Kings (Rajatarangini) with a Foreword by Jawaharlal Nehru	18	0	0
Conversations on Yoga—By Swami Sivananda Saraswati	1	0	0
Books by PAUL BRUNTON:			
The Quest of Overself	11	4	0
A Hermit in the Himalayas	3	8	0
A Search in Secret India	11	4	0
A Search in Secret Egypt	13	8	0
Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume	10	0	0
Books by PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU:—			
Glimpses of World History in 2 Vols.	15	0	0
Recent Essays and Writings	1	8	0
Letters from a Father to his Daughter	1	8	0
Kisan Speaks—Prof. N. G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central)	1	0	0

B. G. PAUL & CO., Publishers & Booksellers,
12, Francis Joseph Street, MADRAS.

Fashions Change!
PHONE B.B.1717
HAVE THE LATEST from
JATIN

CALCUTTA OPTICAL Co
THE PREMIER OPTICIANS
45, AMHERST STREET, CALCUTTA

Just out ! *Just out !*

Books on Land Problem

1. The Tenure of Agricultural Land

—by Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., Advocate.

It discusses the principles of land tenure and shows the way to tenancy reform in India.

Rs. 2-8-0 only

2. Studies in the Land Economics of Bengal

—by Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., with Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Revenue Minister, Bengal.

Rs. 6-0-0 only

Invaluable guide to understanding the landlord-tenant problem in Bengal.

Highly spoken of in the Press and by Economists.

The Book Company
COLLEGE SQUARE
CALCUTTA

DRINK & ENJOY

TOSH'S TEA

Head Office :

11-1, Harrison Road, CALCUTTA

Branch : 233, Fraser Street, RANGOON

SHORTHAND IN 24 HOURS

DUTTON'S SHORTHAND has only 6 rules a 29 characters. Complete Theory learned in 24 ho Practice quickly gives speed of 150—200 words p minute. The System is so simple, so easy, so natu anyone can learn its basic principles in a few ho For the first time in the history of shorthand develo ment here is a System easy enough and so practi that it furnishes the answer to the tremendous wa and loss in teaching the conventional systems shorthand.

Write Now for FREE First Lesson :—

THE DUTTON COLLEGE, LONDON,

INDIAN HEADQUARTERS, DELHI 4.

KING & CO.,

HOMEOPATHIC CHEMISTS,

90-7-A, HARRISON ROAD, AND 45, WELLESLEY STREET, CALCUTTA.

Only purest medicines from Bœricke and Tafel of America are stocked. Rates—ordinary mother tinctures 8 as. per dr., 1 to 12th dil. at 4 as. a dram, 13 to 30th dil. at 6 as. a dram, 200th dil. at as. 12 a dram.

White Leprosy

SURELY CURED IN ONE DAY

White spots are changed into natu colour on applying three times only by t quick marvellous effect. A guarantee may b given for returning the double price in ca of failure. Price per tin Rs. 3 only.

Manager, **Pdt. MAHABIR AUSHADHALAYA**

No. 25, DARBHANGA

Unemployed ! **Free Degrees !**

Free H. L. M., H.M.D., D.H.Sc., D.A.M., D.U.M., etc. Homœo-Ayur-Unani-Naturo degrees by regular and postal tuition examination. Practitioners also get. Homœo-Materiamedica Rs. 5. Practice Book Rs. 4. Insanity sure remedy 100 pills tin Rs. 10. Leprosy sure cure Rs. 10. Enclose 2 as. stamps for prospectus :— **Principal, Indian Homœopathic Institute and Society (Govt. Regd.), Po. Datha, (Kathiawar, India).**

PRACTICAL PSYCHIC INSTRUCTION

Hypnotism, Mesmerism, Mind-Reading, etc., a are practically taught by post and also by cl tuition. Success guaranteed in ten weeks. Vario diseases of body and mind are treated. Hundre cured, corrected and benefited. For particula please send 5 pice stamp. **Prof. R. N. Rudra** 100-5, Surendranath Banerjee Road, Calcutta.

END GREY HAIR

No matter however grey you may be, **VIVALINE HAIR OIL** restores grey hair to its natural colour remarkably and permanently without a dye. I other hair oils have failed and you are tired of hair dyes start using **VIVALINE** to-day. Guaranteed harmless. **Rs. 3** large bottle for advanced greyness. **Re. 1-12** small. Three bottles (full course) post free.

Calcutta Agents :—**RIMER & Co., Chemists,**

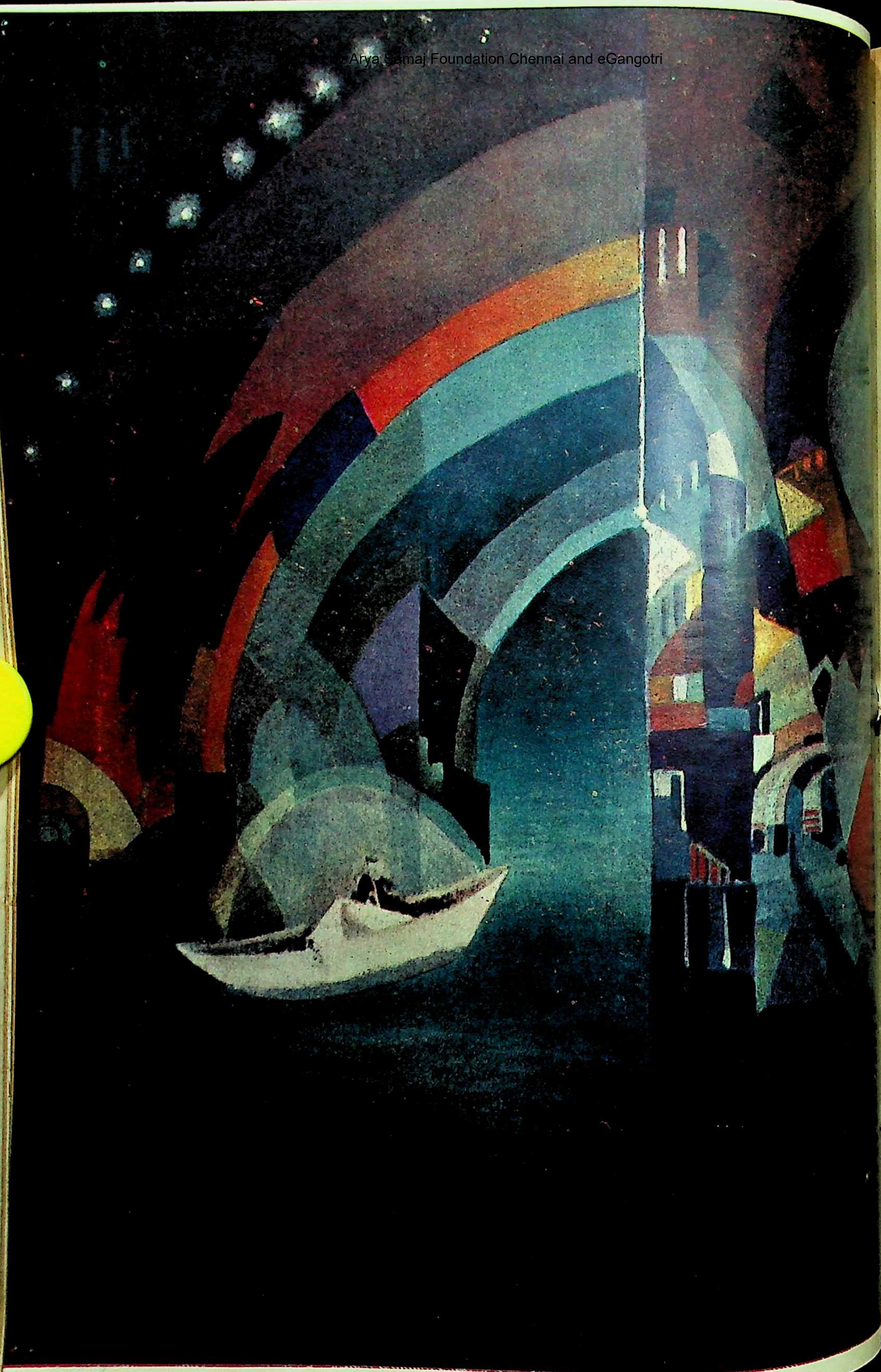
114, Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, 67/39, Strand Road, P 221-1, Strand Bank Road.

For further orders:—**SCIENTIFIC PUBLISHING Co., (Medical Deptt.) Bhowanipore, Calcutta.** (M.R)

DO YOU KNOW ???

That, Paris Gold, the Scientifically made Imitation Gold in solid Bars like Pure Gold, is sold o at Rs. 6 per Oz. (2½ Tolas) ; Rs. 10 for 2 Ozs., and Rs. 72 per lb. Mainly used with Pure Gold to cheap its high cost retaining it Acid-Proof. Guaranteed Satisfaction or Money-Back. Better, order now for Oz. or Two of Paris Gold, before you are fully convinced to place a Big Order. **WANTED AGENTS.**

HOUSE OF COMMERCE, NO. 14, G. S. ROAD, GAUHATI.



FAIRYLAND

T

VOL.

M. BER
during
extensiv
to the
observe

"Eg
finest an
our mod
so pecul
have acq
kingdom.
ascribed
country
not only
abounds
of Golk
Arabia
and Bas
Bengal
What is
tion of
cheap s
which, t
of the
trifle, ar
may be
fresh o
Bengal

Be

In
attract
country
sugar I
the list
a quan
called
merchan
Great M
and eve
the vast
coarse,
export
The E
deal al
same n
It is n
year f
Mogul

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH *1938*

VOL. LXIII, No. 3 WHOLE No. 375

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN BENGAL

By DR. PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA, M.A., D.SC., M.L.A.

M. BERNIER, the famous traveller, visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and made an extensive tour of the whole country. Referring to the fertility, wealth and beauty of Bengal he observed as follows :

> "Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature : but the knowledge I have acquired of Bengal, during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the pre-eminence ascribed to Egypt is rather due to Bengal. The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. . . . Bengal abounds also in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of Golkonda and Karnatic, where very little is grown, Arabia and Mesopotamia, through the towns of Moka and Bassora, and even Persia, by way of Bunder Abbasi. Bengal likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats . . . What is cultivated in sufficient quantity for the consumption of the country, and for the making of excellent and cheap sea-biscuits. The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter, form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single rupee twenty or more good fowls may be bought. . . . Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, Bengal abounds with every necessary of life . . ."

Bernier says further :

> In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindusthan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been some times amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese, and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silk and silk-stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengal for the supply of the whole of the Mogul Empire, as far as Lahore and Kabul, and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent."

He also mentions various kinds of fruits and articles like saltpetre, lac, opium and butter (घृत) which were produced in Bengal in plenty and exported to other countries. Bernier finally observes :

> "The rich exuberance of the country . . . has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure."

Such was the position of Bengal 250 years ago. But what is her position now ? Bengal's production of food grains at the present day is not sufficient for her own consumption. Her production of sugar, including both the refined and unrefined sorts, falls far short of her own requirements. As the result of the levy of a protective duty on imported sugar, a phenomenal development has taken place in the sugar industry of India during the last six years. But, unfortunately, Bengal's share in this development has been almost negligible. Five sugar mills, it is true, have been started within the borders of this province, but none of them are purely Bengali concerns. Bengal grows practically no cotton; and although there are a few cotton mills and a large number of handlooms working in the province, Bengal has to import every year considerable quantities of cotton goods from England and Japan as well as from the other provinces of India. The silk industry of Bengal is in a decadent condition, and immense quantities of fabrics made of silk and artificial silk, are annually imported from foreign countries. Fruits and vegetables are still available, but they are becoming less plentiful than before. Fish is less abundant than it used to be, while milk and butter are daily becoming more and more difficult to obtain. No salt is produced within the province.

Jute is practically the only article produced for export; but excessive dependence on a single article as a money-bringing product often gives rise to serious difficulties. Besides, the mills in which jute fabrics are manufactured are mostly in the hands of Britishers and Indians belonging to other provinces. Tea is grown both for local consumption and for export, but Europeans still control a very large portion of this industry. Tobacco is another article of which the production is greater than the local consumption; but while it is regarded as a conventional necessity for the bulk of the people it has not yet occupied an important place in the industry and trade of the province. Commerce, banking and shipping have all been monopolised by outsiders. Even in retail trade Bengalis are finding it exceedingly difficult to maintain their position. The consequences of under-production are unemployment, under-employment, and a low standard of living. Unemployment in this country differs from unemployment in Europe and America in this that, whereas in those countries unemployment is more or less temporary, in India it is practically permanent. The agriculture, industry and trade of the country fail to employ all its able-bodied inhabitants even in the most prosperous years. Besides, most of those who are engaged in cultivation of the land or in industries in Bengal remain unoccupied during a considerable part of the year. As a matter of fact, unemployment is greater in Bengal than in most of the other provinces of India. The Census of 1931 shows that while the percentage of earners is 35.73 of the population in the whole of India, the percentage of earners in Bengal is only 27.3. If we take into account the earning dependents, the result is even more unfavourable to Bengal; while the All-India figure is 42.47, the figure for Bengal is only 28.76. If we take industrial occupations into consideration, we again find that Bengal compares unfavourably with the rest of India.

While the cost of subsistence is tending gradually to rise, the standard of living in Bengal is tending to fall. In the Census of India of 1931, it is observed that

> "The Bengal Jail Code provides a dietary course for prisoners which is certainly better balanced than that of the ordinary cultivator who generally leaves prison, if he has the misfortune to be sent there, heavier and in a better condition than when he entered it."

It is true that larger amounts are now spent by the cultivator and the industrial worker in certain directions, such as the use of shoes, shirts, umbrellas, hurricane lanterns and cigarettes; but as this is done at the expense of a full and nutritious diet, the change is an indication more of a vitiated taste than of a real rise in the standard of living. The a wealth and income of India are much lower the average wealth and income of countrie United States of America, Canada, U Kingdom, France and Japan. But the a wealth and income of Bengal compare u ourably with some of the other provin India. Thus, instead of speaking of the of Bengal, we have now to speak of her p

Poverty, unemployment and low st of living have given rise to other evils, s ill-health and consequent diminution in str and vitality which, in its turn, has led t of efficiency. Thus a vicious circle has at work with the result that, both econom and physically, the people are becoming pr sively weaker day by day.

Coming to the causes of this deterio in the economic position of the province, w that agriculture, which is the main-stay o people, depending as it does on the vagar the monsoon, is a precarious occupation lessen the dependence of agricultural oper on the monsoon, the former rulers provide province with adequate irrigation faci Bernier found that, throughout the pro on both banks of the Ganges from Raj to the sea, there existed "an endless nu of channels cut in bygone days from that r with immense labour." This system of irr tion has been allowed to decay and disa with disastrous consequences to the agric- as well as the health of the province. An mous growth of population and the deca indigenous industries have greatly increase pressure on the soil. Besides, agricultu practised according to primitive methods of tivation. Owing to the continuous tilling o soil without remission, its natural fertil gradually decreasing. Artificial manuri too expensive for the ordinary cultivator, the natural manures, such as human and ca excreta, are thrown away. The agricultur too poor to be able to buy improved imple He finds it difficult to procure better var of seeds. The illiteracy of the peasant s in the way of his utilising advanced know in respect of the rotation of crops and of diseases and pests. The holdings are so in size and so much scattered that they h afford any scope for improved cultivation. quality of the cattle is very poor and number is extremely small.

The cumulative effect of all these draw is that the yield of crops in Bengal is extr low as compared to the yield in most other tries. The condition of the agriculturist has greatly suffered owing to the disappearan industries subsidiary to agriculture.

If the present situation in Bengal is bad in gard to agriculture, it is infinitely worse with ference to industry. Bengal's industries were a flourishing condition till the end of the ighteenth century. It is unnecessary here to race the sad history of the decline and fall of Bengal's industry and trade, for it is well known hat it was the selfish and iniquitous policy of he British Government which dealt the death-blow to the industrial life of the province. The ndustrial revolution and changes in fashion were merely contributory causes which could have been counteracted by suitable measures if India had remained free to adopt them. Antipathy and apathy continued to guide the policy of the British Government and their agents in India until the last European War revealed the fact hat such a policy was as harmful to the nterests of Britain as to those of India. Since then a somewhat more enlightened sense of self-interest has governed the economic policy of India, but unfortunately, owing to various causes, Bengal has not been able to derive any benefit from this change in hte angle of vision.

It is not, however, the Government alone hat should be blamed in this matter. The people of the province are equally responsible or their present degraded position. They made little effort to recover from the effects of paralysis which the British Government's ow had created. They lost all confidence in hemselves and remained devoid of energy and nterprise in the economic field. Bengal was in he forefront in India's struggle for political reedom; she also led the movement for the conomic regeneration of the country, but her eople were extremely slow in trying to meet he fruits of their own labours. The *Swadeshi* movement of Bengal in the first decade of the resent century gave a great impetus to the vival of industrial and commercial activity, ut the actual share of the province itself in e gains which accrued from the movement as exceedingly small. At the present moment engal lags far behind some of the other ovinces in the struggle for economic regenera-on. But we need not despair. There is no ck of talent or capacity in the province. If e can shake off our indolence and apathy, velop a keen sense of realities, and make up r minds to apply our ability and energy to e work of our economic uplift, it will not be ng before we shall be able to place ourselves the road to success. What is needed first d foremost is the determination to do our st to improve our economic condition and hen this comes, other things will follow in due urse.

It is clear from what I have said that increased production is urgently necessary in Bengal. To achieve this object, a bold and well thought out policy will have to be adopted by the Government and a comprehensive programme prepared. Such a programme will include the improvement of agriculture, the rehabilitation of handicrafts and small organised industries, and the establishment of large-scale industries.

So far as agriculture is concerned, the impediments which at present hamper its progress will have to be removed. The rivers of the province will have to be properly trained. But care must be taken to ensure a proper handling of this difficult operation. A glaring example of thoughtless waste was witnessed when a few years ago the Government of India spent more than a crore of rupees for protecting the Hardinge Bridge. If this sum had been utilized for restoring the old channels and cutting new ones from the Padma, the destructive force of the river would have been converted into a beneficent agency for the good of both western and eastern Bengal. If the fertilising waters of the Padma, the Bhagirathi and the Damodar are made available to the cultivator, his dependence on rainfall will diminish, the soil will become richer, and it will be possible to bring large areas of fresh land under cultivation. But false steps must be avoided. In the name of development additional tax-burdens must not be placed on the shoulders of the people. No instance of bungling can be more glaring than the way in which highly oppressive rates have been levied in the Damodar canal area. The Bengal ministry will do well to take a lesson from the attitude of the enlightened ruler of Mysore who said a few weeks ago :

> "There was a time when we hesitated to undertake a work unless it promised a return on the capital of 6 per cent. But times have changed, and we now look for our interest, not only in the return to the treasury, but also in the wealth and happiness of the raiyat, and if we can assure ourselves that a work of this nature is going to bring property to the countryside, that fact in itself affords a generous return."

The other problems of agricultural improvement can be solved in three different ways. The first is the capitalistic system of farming. This method, while it is likely to increase production by the application of science to agricultural operations, is sure to bring in its train many fresh troubles. Therefore, except in cases where large areas of land belonging to a single individual or corporation can be brought under the plough, this experiment should not be tried. The second method is that of socialism. It is doubtful whether the agriculturists of Bengal brought up on traditions of present proprietorship will readily accept the new creed.

Besides, a revolutionary change of this nature will give rise to difficulties which will take the life-time of several generations to solve. The third method, namely, co-operation, combines the good features of both individualism and socialism. Co-operative effort has rendered great service to the cultivators in many European countries. But, unfortunately, the experience so far gained of the movement in this country does not inspire us with much hope. In Bengal the co-operative movement is in a much worse condition than in the other provinces. But this failure of co-operation has been due to causes which are not irremovable. Most of the officers who are in charge of this department are either incompetent or devoid of any enthusiasm for their work. Besides, no serious attempt has been made to educate the people in the fundamental principles of co-operation. If these defects are remedied and if the co-operative system is reconstructed, revitalised and expanded in such a way as to meet the needs of the present situation, it may still prove of immense benefit to agriculture and the agriculturist.

For improving agriculture the Agricultural Department of the Government will have to be reorganized. It should be manned by only such officers as possess enthusiasm for their work in the fullest measure and are perfectly conversant with the needs and difficulties of the agricultural system of the country. They should maintain a constant touch with the peasantry and be always ready to help them in every possible way. For instance, they must teach them the use and abuse of manures. "The dirt of the village", as is pointed out by F. L. Brayne, "is the raw material of good crops." The cultivators should be encouraged to utilise every kind of animal and vegetable waste for agricultural purposes. Artificial manures are beyond the means of the average cultivator, but those engaged in large farming may be persuaded to use them. Arrangements should be made so that the good varieties of seeds supplied by the Department may reach even the most distant villages. Increased attention must be paid to the health and breed of cattle. Cheap and simple implements which save labour and do better work will have to be made available to the cultivator. The more expensive kinds of agricultural machinery, like the tractor, the harvester and the thresher, will be found very useful in large-scale farming. Crop diseases and pests must receive greater attention than they have so far received. A considerable expansion of marketing facilities and the development of means of cheap and quick transport will be needed.

One of the principal inpediments i improvement of agriculture is to be found i smallness of agricultural holdings. E attempts will have to be made for the cons tion of holdings either on a voluntary basis enactment of suitable legislation. Steps also be taken to prevent further fragmen and subdivision of holdings. Agric research has in recent years received the tion of the Government and the univer This work should be further expanded a results of scientific investigation must be known to the tillers of the soil.

One of the greatest needs of agricult finance. At present the bulk of agric finance is supplied by the local money-l called the *mahajan*. This person fil important place in village economy, but primarily concerned with his own profit. rates of interest charged by him are very The other agencies, such as the loan offices commercial banks and the Government, ar quite suitable from all points of view. A been rightly observed in the Statutory R of the Reserve Bank (1937), the best a for supplying finance to agriculture must "an educative as well as a purely business The Statutory Report goes on to say,

> "It should supervise the use of credit and se the farmer employs the money obtained by hi improving the productivity of the land and mak business of agriculture more profitable . . . As which satisfies the requisite conditions for agri finance is the cooperative society."

This has been so recognized in all cultural countries and every effort must be to render the co-operative movement cap discharging in the best manner, the important function of supplying credit t agricultural population of the province.

A few words may be said here abo legislation which has been recently enac this province for regulating the busin money-lending and dealing with agric indebtedness. The two Acts which recently been passed in Bengal have laudable objects in view, namely, the c of unconscionable transaction on the part money-lender and the granting of relief needy agriculturist. Enough time has elapsed to enable us to judge the full eff these measures. But an impression prev many quarters that these enactments ha to a contraction of credit. For the mome may not be regarded as an unmixed evil: this result be of a permanent character, n will the purpose of legislation be frustra a positive harm will ensure to the agric It should therefore be the duty of those en with the administration of these Acts to very closely their temporary as well as their permanent effects. With regard to legislation relating to the scaling down of debts and the grant of instalments the following important observations are made in the Statutory Report of the Reserve Bank :

> "These are definitely emergency measures to be justified only by the occurrence of unusual circumstances. Their effect in frightening away credit cannot be minimised, but the exceptional circumstances themselves have a similar effect . . . Where, however, there is chronic indebtedness and debts accumulate because the cultivator's income is not sufficient to leave him a reasonable margin of profit, the mere scaling down of debts cannot provide a permanent cure. Even a limitation on the rate of interest which can be charged by the money-lender (if it could be enforced) is not likely to do much good as the rate of interest is not the only cause of the cultivator's inability to pay; such chronic indebtedness requires a comprehensive policy aimed at improving the whole life and economic status of the agriculturist."

But all effort to improve agriculture will prove futile until and unless the condition of the agriculturist is improved. At present he is a helpless, uneducated, poverty-stricken person, without hope or ambition. Villages in most parts of Bengal are exceedingly unhealthy, being the hot-beds of various kinds of disease. Therefore sanitation in rural areas and education for both children and adults are necessary. Steps should also be taken to see to it that the cultivator is not deprived of his legitimate share in the fruits of the soil. When he becomes healthier and stronger and educated the peasant will begin to feel greater enthusiasm for his work. Then, and not till then, will be laid the true foundation for the agricultural progress of the province. Great assistance can be rendered to the cause of agricultural advancement by educated persons belonging to the middle classes of society if they undertake to throw the light of their acquired knowledge on the processes of cultivation and agree to serve the village-folk in many other ways.

The economic life of the peasant is likely to be considerably improved by the adoption of the measures outlined above. But even these may not in all cases be sufficient to secure him the means of a decent livelihood. Therefore, it will be necessary for a cultivator to try and supplement his income from cultivation by engaging himself in subsidiary industries during the spare time at his disposal. Hand-spinning, handloom-weaving, basket-making, rope-making, etc., will be found the most suitable industries subsidiary to agriculture, and the development of these should be encouraged.

Akin to agriculture are fruit-growing, kitchen-gardening, dairy-farming and animal husbandry. There is great scope for expansion in industries like these, and they are peculiarly suitable as occupations for educated men, who can also desire substantial incomes from sericulture and pisciculture.

But agriculture alone will not solve the question of Bengal's economic regeneration. Agriculture is peculiarly subject to the law of diminishing returns, and no nation in the modern world can become prosperous if it depends entirely on it. Whatever improvements may be introduced into the system, agriculture will not be able to maintain in a state of vigour, health and efficiency the enormous and growing population of the province. Besides, agriculture itself will not be fully improved unless the pressure on the land is considerably reduced. The problem, therefore, is how to remove a part of the population from the land. Industrialisation can achieve this object. Industry and trade have created wealth for the advanced nations of the present day, and if we wish to rise in the scale of nationhood we must tread the path which was trodden by them. This is also the way to solve the problem of unemployment. Nor is there any other method by which the standard of living can be raised.

What is required in Bengal at the present moment in the industrial field is not improvement but reconstruction. But unaided private effort will not be equal to this huge task. Bengal is suffering from a sort of economic paralysis. Individual initiative and enterprise are practically non-existent. The best brains of the province are engaged in pursuits outside the economic sphere. Capital is scarce. There is no organization. In a situation like this a powerful and well-directed stimulus is needed to start the economic development of the province along the path of progress. "Such a stimulus," to use the words of the Industrial Commission, "can only be supplied by an organized system of technical, financial and administrative assistance.". The initiative in the matter must be taken by the Government which should follow an active and energetic policy of encouragement and support, and should be prepared to render financial aid in whatever shape or form it may be needed. But even this will not be enough. Success of this endeavour will depend on the combined and sustained efforts of the Government, the intelligentsia, the possessors of wealth and the labouring population.

The proper agency through which the work of reconstruction ought to be organized should be an Economic Development Board, consisting of persons who will command the unstinted support of all sections of the people. The personnel of the Board as well as its ideals and methods of work must be such as will infuse a new energy and enthusiasm into the hearts of the people and create in them a feeling of self-confidence. This Board will, in the main, be an advisory body for the Government as well as for the people. The chief functions of this body will be to supply information on all economic subjects, to encourage and guide promoters of new industrial ventures, to offer advice to owners and managers of existing industries as to the best way of conducting their businesses, to watch the trend of economic movements in other provinces and in other countries, to influence executive and legislative action in regard to tariff, currency and transport questions, and to make recommendations to the Government and the banks for the supply of financial assistance to industrialists. In suitable cases the Board may urge the Government to pioneer industrial ventures. It may also advise the Government to assist the establishment of new industries by subscribing a portion of the initial capital or by guaranteeing reasonable rates of dividend. In order that the Board may function properly, the Government should place adequate resources in men and money at its disposal. But it will be an unwise and undesirable policy on the part of the Government to interfere unduly with the activities of the Board.

Among the important duties of the Board will be to institute from time to time enquiries and investigations relating to economic questions. It will be necessary for it to undertake an industrial survey of the province. This survey should include enquiries relating to natural resources, raw materials required for different industries, the present position and future prospects of the industries of the province, the causes of the decay of some industries, the possibilities of the establishment of new industries, the markets for products, exports and imports, the effects of tariffs and freight rates on industries, the financing agencies, and labour conditions. There is a Department of Industries in Bengal which is doing some amount of useful work within a restricted sphere. This Department will have to be reorganized and strengthened. It should carry on its duties in co-operation with, and under the general guidance of the Economic Development Board. A Development officer was appointed in Bengal a few years ago, but the province does not seem to have derived much benefit from his activities. The creation of new offices without sufficient necessity or justification is to be deprecated.

The Economic Development Board will direct its attention to the development of cottage industries and small organized industries as well as large-scale industries. Of the cottage industries of Bengal the hand-loom industry is the most important. Although it is not i flourishing condition at present, it has been a so far to hold its own against competition fr the mills. The other industries worthy of m tion are hand-spinning, hosiery, silk indu brass and bell-metal industry, hardware a cutlery, smithy, tobacco industry, oil indu toy-making, shoe-making, jewellery, pott and ceramics.

If the difficulties under which these ind tries labour are removed and their special ne attended to, it may be possible to place th once again firmly on their feet. Small organi industries also deserve to be encouraged. these the more important are the followi Leather industry, soaps and candles, tiles a bricks, rice-milling, fruit-canning, jute text *gur*-making, pencil and pen-making, woodw and carpentry, celluloids, conch-shell indu button-making, printing, and boat-build Industries like these stand midway betw large-scale industries and cottage industr As they can be worked with small amounts capital, there is a great scope for their fut development.

Important and useful as cottage a medium-sized industries are, it must not forgotten that we are living in an age of lar scale production. If Bengal wishes to live, s must develop large-scale industries. A numb of mills already exist in this province, but th children of the province derive little ben from many of them. There is no reason w more cotton mills and jute mills should not started with Bengali capital and under Beng management. Although there is overproducti of sugar in some parts of India, there is s scope for establishment of two or three factor in suitable sites in Bengal for supplying the lo demand. Paper and glass industries afford f chances of success in this province. So progress has been made with the developm of the iron and steel industry, but there is ro for further expansion. The local manufact of machinery, agricultural tools and impleme is an urgent necessity. A further developm of mining is desirable, but it is an unfortun circumstance that some of the mining distr which really belong to Bengal have been tra ferred from it to other provinces. This is great loss to the province, and an earnest eff should be made for the restoration of th tracts to Bengal .The use of motor cars steadily increasing and a factory for the man facture of these vehicles offers a good opp tunity for successful working. A furt expansion in chemical industries is desirable

Apart from manufacture, river steam na gation and coastal shipping should be develop by local effort. Intimately connected with industry are trade and commerce. Time has come when Bengal should make up the leeway in this regard in view of the importance of these fields of economic activity from the national standpoint. Finance is an essential factor in trade and industry, but our businessmen often experience great difficulty in securing financial accommodation. At present there is a number of small commercial banks under Bengali management. If some of these can be amalgamated, commercial banking will be strengthened. The existing loan offices, whose number is nearly a thousand, should be reorganized and brought into line with the general banking system of the country. For the exclusive financing of industries, a special type of banks is suitable. Thus the establishment of an industrial bank is a necessity. In order to mobilize capital for such a bank the Government ought to guarantee the interest on the capital of the bank. Further, if the Government of Bengal, in the discharge of its responsibility for the development of industries within the province, finds it necessary to ensure the supply of financial facilities to industrial concerns, a Provincial Industrial Corporation, as recommended by the Banking Enquiry Committee "with branches, if necessary, and working with capital initially or permanently supplied by the provincial government, should be established."

Industrial education is another subject which must engage the attention of the Economic Development Board. There exist at present several institutions of various grades in the province which impart technical instruction. Their efforts should be co-ordinated and expanded. If necessary, a fully-equipped Technological Institute should be started. The application of science to industry is an indispensable need in the modern world. Therefore, provision must be made for industrial research. The University of Calcutta is doing important work in this connection, but this work requires development and extension. Some facilities exist in the universities and various other institutes for commercial education. It will be desirable to place these efforts on a fine and sound footing. But apart from special instruction, it will be necessary to introduce such changes into the general system of education, especially in the primary and secondary stages, as will be conducive to the better and more efficient training of all the faculties of mind and body.

It will be impossible to give effect to this work of reconstruction unless the Government is prepared to spend considerable sums of money every year. The expenditure needed for some of the purposes mentioned above will be so large that the Government will be obliged to have recourse to loans, the interest and sinking funds of which will fall on the annual budget. This leads me to a consideration of the financial position of the Government of Bengal. During almost the entire period of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Bengal was in an extremely difficult position owing to the inadequacy of the resources placed at the disposal of the province. Even with the help of a heavy amount of additional taxation the Government found it impossible to make its two ends meet. The situation was relieved to some extent when the Central Government and legislature granted a subsidy to Bengal amounting to 50 per cent of the net proceeds of the export duty on jute derived from the province. With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, however, a considerable change has occurred. The debts of the province to the Government of India have been cancelled and Bengal's share in the proceeds of the export duty on jute has been increased to 62½ per cent. With the improvement in railway finance a gradually increasing share of income-tax proceeds will also be credited to Bengal. Although we cannot remain satisfied until the entire proceeds of the jute duty and a substantial share of the income-tax revenue are made available to us, it cannot be denied that the financial position of Bengal today is much better than it was during the period 1921 to 1935. It is my firm conviction that if the Government of Bengal husbands its resources carefully and follows a policy of economy, it will not be very difficult for it to finance this work of economic reconstruction. Considerable sums of money will be saved by a drastic retrenchment in police expenditure, by a general reduction in salaries on a graduated scale, and by avoidance of unnecessary expenditure under public works and various other heads of expenditure. Fresh taxation should not be thought of until all other avenues have been explored.

The economic life of the province can be saved only by bold, energetic and well-directed efforts sustained for a considerable length of time, and it is the sacred duty of every son and daughter of Bengal to do his or her best in assisting the initiation and the continuance of such efforts.

THE JUBILEE SESSION OF THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

BOTANY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL address of Dr. B. Sahni, F.R.S. dealt with the remarkable progress in the knowledge of the fossil plants of India during the last twenty-five years, contributed chiefly by Prof. Sahni and his students working assiduously at the Lucknow University Botanical Laboratory. There was interesting discussion on "Absorption of Salts by Plants" presided over by the eminent physiologist Prof. V. H. Blackman, F.R.S. of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of London, the discussion was opened by Prof. P. K. Parija of Cuttack and Mr. B. Sen of Calcutta, Dr. B. N. Singh of the Benares University and Dr. V. Subramanayan of the Bangalore Institute took part in the discussion. The second discussion was on "Algal Problems Peculiar to the Tropics with Special Reference to India," it was presided over by the distinguished British Algologist Prof. F. E. Fritsch of the London University. Dr. M. O. P. Iyenger of the Madras University opened the discussion with a number of interesting observations on various Algal associations common in India. Mr. R. Senior White of the Bengal Nagpur Railway narrated his experience about the relationship between Algæ and Mosquito larvæ. Dr. B. Pal of the New Delhi Agricultural Institute spoke of the relationship between Chara plants and Mosquito larvæ and Mr. M. O. P. Iyenger contributed some remarks to the problem from entomologist's point of view. The third discussion was on "The Dissemination of Cereal Rusts in India." It was opened by Dr. K. C. Mehta of Agra. Dr. Mehta has been studying the problem since 1923, he holds from a study of the incidence of rusts in the plains as well as in the hills, extending over a period of seven years, that the foci of infection lie in the hills and hilly tracts, where rusts oversummer in the uredo-stage. Prof. Buller of Manitoba said that in Western Canada the source of infection consists of clouds of uredospores which are carried by northerly winds for hundreds of miles from the middle-western parts of the United States to Canada. An attempt is being made to breed rust-resistant wheats suitable for growth in the wheat areas of the hills and thus to prevent uredospores being carried to the plains from the hills along with wind currents. Dr. L. A. Ramdas of Poona Meteorological Department and Dr. H. Chaudhuri, Mycologist of the Punjab University, took part in the discussion.

The morning session of 6th January was devoted to the annual meeting of the Indian Botanical Society at 35, Ballygunge Circular Road (Calcutta University Botany Depar when Dr. S. R. Bose of the Carmichael M College read his presidential address Indian Botanical Society on "Effects of tion (X-ray, Ultra-violet and Radium *Polypores* in Culture". In connection wi annual meeting which was attended b British Botanists (delegates to this Congr conversazione and exhibition of inter Botanical specimens from Calcutta and parts of India were held. In the aft there was 150th anniversary celebration Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, where members were invited to tea by Dr. Biswas, the Superintendent, providing a co able steamer across the river. Almost British Botanists (Delegates) and Sir Jeans, the General President, attended function. A proposal for starting a herbarium for India with the famous Royal Botanic Garden's herbarium as its was warmly supported by the section. A committee was formed to work out the of the scheme with occasional advice and tions, if necessary, from Sir Arthur Hill Director of the Kew Gardens, who sp warm support of the scheme; Dr. S. P. Ag of Calcutta was appointed its Convenor.

The distinguished Mycologist Prof. A. Buller, F.R.S. delivered a highly interesting valuable lecture on "The Sexual Stages in Fungi" illustrated with beautiful lantern and models. Prof. R. R. Gates, F.R.S. London University besides contributing interesting paper on "The Structure of Ch some" delivered a general lecture on " Genetics" which was highly appreciated. C. D. Darlington gave a summarised desc of his recent valuable work on the "Bio Crossing Over" which has attracted so attention in the domain of both plant animal cytology. The last joint-discuss "Species-concept in the light of Cytolog Genetics" was unfortunately not so taken up by the members of Zoolog Agricultural sections. The discussion was by Dr. E. K. Janaki Ammal of Coimbato Prof. Gates and Dr. Erlanson took part Besides, about 30 papers on various asp Botany were read by Indian Botanists, an of them evoked a good deal of discus which some of the British Botanists too part and had the opportunity of exchangi views with those of the Indian co-worker the last day a visit was paid to the Research Institute.

ART AND LIFE

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE, M.A. (Cantab.)

However far one might journey into the dim horizon of human history one would be struck with the unity of human emotions and endeavour as expressed by the actions of succeeding generations of men throughout the ages. The passions and yearnings of men have always been attuned to their instincts, and their joys and sorrows, fears and hopes, desires and aspirations have shaped their expressive urges in a way which proves the basic unity of human nature found anywhere and at any time. Love, religion and war; humility, vanity and sympathy; greed and renunciation; curiosity and intellectual speculation; take what we like, we discover a fundamental similarity among the races of mankind, whether of the past or the present.

The evolution of Art or the active desire for establishing intimate contact with the Beautiful, is concurrent with the evolution of man. Men have, since creation, thought lovingly of objects that are elegant in touch, shapely and colourful in vision, musical in sound, satisfactory in taste and pleasing in aroma. This partiality towards the beautiful or the attractive is coexistent with man and, in it, may be traced one of the guiding forces of human evolution. Selection of the beautiful may have been effected towards the dawn of human life, sense by sense, and, more complex psychological processes may have developed slowly and progressively, until philosophers began the meditation of The Beautiful; but it is not the intention of the present discourse to delve deep into the mysteries of abstruse aestheticism. As the purpose of the present discourse is to deal with the plastic arts, it is necessary to keep on *terra firma* and to taste sparingly of the spiritual and abstract vintage.

Advanced civilization and sophistication have not been able to shake man's preference for things that are pleasing in touch, harmoniously colourful, graceful and rhythmic in shape or pleasantly stimulating in aroma. Silver bells can still be distinguished by men from street noise and the enthralling notes from a violin can yet find preference in an age in which the groan and the whine of machinery preponderate. It may appear therefore that a sensory basis of aesthetics may not be entirely useless; and, particularly so in consideration of the freedom it gives to all, who may so desire, to contemplate beauty entirely dissociated from the contamination of sensory perception. Rupert Brooke extolled not this fish nor that, but The Fish, and, it is not beyond the power of the average intellect to achieve a flight from all things that are beautiful to the Beautiful Itself. But the stratosphere does not demolish the utility of the earth's atmosphere, and humanity, with its grand tradition and heritage of sensory beauty as expressed through the poetry, music, drama, dance, painting, sculpture, architecture, metal work, pottery, textiles, furniture, the different handicrafts, the arts of the chef, the gardener, the florist and the dress-maker and of those others who have made human life luminous with an enlightened and joyful satisfaction; would not be any better off by discarding all that is materially beautiful, with a view to assure the final absorption of the human soul into The Beautiful. Outward things may be the *vikara* or morbid manifestation of the inward reality; but, as a discussion and enjoyment of the imperfect so often leads, through keener enquiry, to a genuine hankering for the perfect and the real, it may be permissible to applaud good music and to stand enraptured before an ancient bronze or gaze up at moonlit dome of the Taz-Mahal, in an amazed submission to the vision of its forgotten architect, without risking any sudden atrophy of one's reason and intellect.

The writer does not deny that the artistic emotion as expressed in the shape of poetry, music, gesture and movement, or painting, sculpture, architecture and the products of the different arts, always remains only partly expressed.

Lessing mourned :

> "Would that we could at once paint with the eyes!—In the long way from the eye through the arm to the pencil, how much is lost!"

True, if all artists could express fully, what they felt; rather, if the painter could straightaway reproduce his mental vision, how richer could be his achievement. But, it is no less true that the struggle of the artist, for fuller expression, by means of technique and through obstinate material such as, colour, canvas, bricks, stone or clay, often enables him to arrive at a clearer mental image of what he has felt vaguely at first; and the deficiency of the longer route of expression not rarely means salvation to the more emotional, as opposed to the perspicaciously thinking type of artist. So that, the alleged superiority of the inward image of art to its materially expressed form is often illusory. The three phases through which all true art has to pass, namely, the creative emotion or urge which is vague and only a sort of "divine" unrest, the mental image or the inward counterpart of what thereafter shall take outward form and the expression or the outward material expression or creation; all these three phases constitute art. It would be pedantry to give superior place to one of these phases as against another. One might assert that the vague unrest or the artistic emotion is more important than the mental image or the outward expression on the ground that this emotion comes first or is of divine origin. But, what is the value of any such emotion unless it result in clear thinking and artistic action? What evidence would one give of its presence unless through expression? A million such vague emotions may flit across the mind without leading to any achievement. The sand dunes of the Sahara may feel emotionally floral but would that yield a single violet? The artistic emotion fails to be artistic, if it does not lead to an artistic mental image; and that image, in its turn, fails to be an artistic image if it does not reproduce itself in outward form.

Whether or not all beautiful things are of divine origin can be discussed only when the things are perceivable. In the unlimited expanse of the universe, there may be greater emotions and visions than men have ever felt or conceived and the nebulæ may be the expression of some such grand vision nurtured in the Soul of the Artist of all artists; but one dare not speculate at this magnitude. Michael Angelo thought that "the true work of art is but a shadow of the divine perfection," and so did Dante when he said that "Art, as far as it has ability, follows nature, as a pupil imitates his master, so that art must be as it were, a descendant of God." Such sublime thoughts make all artists feel one with Divinity. But this is not merely true of art but of all aspects of human life and conduct. This good earth of ours, however insignificant its place may be in the endless universe, is nevertheless a part of that infinitely grand scheme of things. Being earthborn, all men try to share, in their own insignificant way, the absolute glory, grandeur and perfection of the universe. But they do it in a human way and, it is only of matters human that one feels competent to discuss. The Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon of Colorado or the expanse of the Kanchenjungha would strik heart with wonder, amazement and hu but the sight of these works of divine art neither inhibit creative endeavour in a artist nor infect him with a mad desire to these with his own creations. The know of the speed at which light travels has no heartened modern builders of automobiles has the modern telescope discouraged travel. The ultimate or absolute Bea may be studied and contemplated by art critics and aesthetic philosophers wi any obligatory reference to human art constitution.

The scope of any study of art entirely within the limits of the hu mind and its manifestations as concer the creation of things of beauty percei by the senses of man. Questions such as is beautiful would be similar to asking wh red or what is musical or what is sweet. may point out a thousand things that beautiful, red, musical or sweet; but we ca attempt at any definition of these pri experiences of the human mind without lan ourselves into absurdity or making the expl tion even more unintelligible than the explained. The beauty of a thing is quality in it which attracts and holds the atte tion of the perceiving mind. The senses more and more of it as soon as they com realise its presence. The beauty of invite prolonged caresses and the joy im through the sense of touch swells and surg overwhelming raptures of aesthetic de The eyes feast long and insatiated upon ob rich in colour or form. Beautiful enthralls the soul and the ears refuse to away from the gorgeous waves that de upon the field of conciousness. With eagerness would the mind respond to the im sions of rhythm and graceful move conveyed to it by artistic dancing, and the of images provided by really good poetry literature never leads to surfeit. Objects repel the perceiving mind or leave it cold disinterested may be said to lack the spir true art, barring such instances in which artist has expressed something repellent. where true art does not aim at beauty embodies an emotion suffocated with abhorr the perceiving mind responds to its art theless and is fascinated with horror and dis

Art is essentially human and communic By this is not meant that the artist is pl to the gallery with any set purpose of applauded by others. The urge that impel artist to give external shape to his mental image, never ceases until the artist has satisfied himself with the successful objectification of the image. The artist revives his inner experiences as he faces his creation. That is to say the work of art has the power to provoke artistic experience in the perceiving mind, even if it were that of the artist himself and no other. The so-called universal nature of art is seldom universal in the logical sense of the term. The greatest achievements in art would surely meet some minds that are blunt and insensate enough to overlook its appeal. Therefore the communicativeness of art is restricted to the artist or to such others as are sensitive to its message. All the same it is human and communicative. Just as a lonely sufferer may groan alone or a Robinson Crusoe sing the glory of the dawn to himself, so might an artist create to record his inner experiences entirely for his own purpose. But, the communicativeness comes into existence and remains there for one or for a million receivers according to the fortuities of human affairs.

All this has been said with a view to avoid any misunderstanding as to art and its limitations in the universe of beauty. For, beauty there may be in creation, without being artistic origin, namely, the beauty of the star-heavens or the glories of nature or yet, the beauty which is born of accident. But only human experience and effort create art. It is no doubt true, that in seeking the sources of the artistic emotion in man, we may have to travel beyond the merely human, but the present inquiry begins, where the infection is found located in man's mind and ends where we find it crystallised as the artistic creation. We leave the ultimate origins and truth to metaphysicians and we leave, to yet other speculators, such question as whether or not, after all, that what we call artistic emotion, imagery or creation, is not entirely illusory—an ever-receding fragment of the Cosmic *Maya*. The world as we know it is merely an alleged world so to speak, in strictly logical parlance. All reports and evidence concerning this world of ours are merely sensory, and the established and accepted summary of the situation is only an average of numerous sense perceptions, no two of which have been exactly identical. Proceeding upon such inexact data, no conclusion of any satisfactory accuracy or exactitude can ever be arrived at. Nor need it be aimed at. No two hearts ever felt actually the same agitation or unrest, no two minds ever formed the same identical images and no two strokes of the brush ever moved exactly in the same way. Nor ever did any two perceiving minds receive absolutely the same impression from an object of art. We should leave things at that.

We have seen that art embodies three essential elements in it. The elements of emotion, imagery and externally perceivable expression. Mere mechanical rhyming would not be poetry in the sense that poetry is art, nor would a mechanical and well schemed out combination of lines and colours make a painting in the sense that painting is art. An accurate imitation of a natural object may not be called art unless there were an emotional basis to its production. Art cannot begin with reasoning out an image philosophically, logically, mathematically, scientifically, historically or in any other way. It must be felt and must stir up the soul and the image must grow in an effort to appease the unrest. Every branch of human knowledge may be useful in giving proper shape to an image, but the image must primarily satisfy the demands of its intuitional parent which is often vague as to details but very sure of the basic substance. Tradition, convention, technique and environment may condition the formal expression of the artistic image; but the force of the emotion must remain paramount if at all a true work of art is to be born. For any art which is the result of an adulterated image, modified overmuch by considerations other than those of the parent emotion, would fail to communicate itself truthfully. It would therefore resemble an edition of a masterpiece of literature that has been mercilessly edited, expurgated and re-written substantially by alien publishers to suit their own moral, political or economic purpose. When it is said that art must be true, the meaning is that the artist must not deliberately tamper with the true nature of his emotion and modify his mental image substantially in order to lend any special character to his work, as dictated by extra-artistic considerations. Art, therefore, should never have a purpose, other than stating itself accurately and truthfully. Propaganda, making things to measure for sale, observing the dictates of fashion, keeping within the limits of current conventions or laws, subordinating the inner truth to the external ideals set up by technical or other experts, are among some of the causes which work antagonistically to the creation of genuine art. Certain kinds of political oratory or patriotic songs; dramas enacted for social reform or to spread a new religious cult; revivalistic dances, painting or sculpture; architecture dedicated to the glory and omnipotence of the ultra-violet ray; creative compositions in the field of handicrafts for a fuller realization of the possibilities of chromium-plating, the aerograph, the planograph or some other mechanical contrivance; are good enough examples of external forces obstructing the smooth and easy flow and consummation of the artistic urge. These and similar forces have, we believe, always existed in one shape or another during the millenia comprising the history of human art. True art has never failed to rise above these impediments; but their presence has always been a source of danger to the growth of art.

All this analysis may suggest that art is an elaborate and complicated process of human behaviour and that the artist is a wonderful machine of precision and accurate performance, which feels and develops imagery and forthwith translates the same into externally appreciable and communicable objects of faultless perfection. In fact, the artist often feels and thinks and acts all in a jumble, makes mistakes, moves round and round in a barren circle of inaction and failure and feels, conceives and acts without any definite sequence, for long periods and often through his entire life. The artist does not even realise very frequently that his efforts and creations are the result of any inner urge and that he is giving external shape to any aesthetic emotion. He may be rich in emotion, great in conception and perfect in expression, without consciously knowing that he is anything out of the ordinary. Like Moliere's ambitious citizen who suddenly realized that for long years he had been speaking in " Prose " and not merely talking, the artist may come to learn that his favourite pastime has been " Art " and not just making this or that. Generations of great artists have lived and died and produced beautiful works of art without knowing that they had been in the throes of any emotion or artistic urge. Grand architecture, superb sculpture, exquisite textiles, pottery or metal work have been created in the past, by men who were, perhaps, entirely innocent of any art-consciousness in the modern sense. Art is intensely human and intermingles with life vitally and intimately. It is a sad outcome of a false intellectual outlook that has removed art from the sunny soil of every day life to the hot-house of superior conduct. John Dewey says,

"So extensive and subtly pervasive are the ideas that set Art upon a remote Pedestal, that many a person would be repelled rather than pleased if told that he enjoyed his casual recreations, in part at least, because of their aesthetic quality. The arts which today have most vitality for the average person are things he does not take to be arts; for instance, the movie, jazzed music, the comic strip, and, too frequently, newspaper accounts of love-nests, murders and exploits, of bandits. For, when what he knows as art is relegated to the museum and gallery, the unconquerable impulse experiences enjoyable in themselves finds such as the daily environment provides. Many a pers protests against the museum conception of art still the fallacy from which that conception sprin the popular notion comes from a separation of the objects and scenes of ordinary experience th theorists and critics pride themselves upon hold even elaborating. The times when select and disti objects are closely connected with the products of vocations are the times when appreciation of the is most rife and most keen. When, because remoteness, the objects acknowledged by the to be works of fine art seem anemic to the people, aesthetic hunger is likely to seek the ch the vulgar.

"The factors that have glorified fine art by it upon a far-off pedestal, did not arise wit realm of art nor is their influence confined to th For many persons an aura of mingled awe and encompasses the "Spiritual" and the "Ideal," "Matter" has become by contrast a term of tion, something to be explained away or apologi The forces at work are those that have removed as well as fine art from the scope of the com community life. The forces have historically pr so many of the dislocations and divisions of mod and thought that art could not escape their in We do not have to travel to the ends of the ear return many millenia in time to find peoples for everything that intensifies the sense of immediate is an object of intense admiration. Bodily scarif waving feathers, gaudy robes, shining ornaments of and silver, of emerald and jade, formed the tents of aesthetic arts, and, presumably, witho vulgarity of class exhibitionism that attends analogues to-day. Domestic utensils, furnishings of and house, rugs, mats, jars, pots, bows, spears, wrought with such delighted care that to-day we them out and give places of honour in our art m Yet in their own time and place, such things enhancements of the processes of every day Instead of being elevated to a niche apart, they be to display of prowess, the manifestation of gr clan membership, worship of gods, feasting and f fighting, hunting, and all the rhythmic crises punctuate the stream of living.

"Dancing and pantomime, the sources of the the theater, flourished as part of religious rites an brations. Musical art abounded in the fingering stretched string, the beating of the taut skin, the ing of reeds. Even in the caves, human habitations adorned with coloured pictures that kept alive senses experiences with animals that were so closely with lives of humans. Structures that housed the and the instrumentalities that facilitated commerce higher powers were wrought with special fineness the arts of the drama, music, painting and arc thus exemplified had no peculiar connection with t galleries, museums. They were part of the signific of an organised community."

Art has therefore a spontaneous o but is extremely selective at the same The inborn urge of man the artist to ma life and the instruments of human ex more and more beautiful and to give per external shape to his experiences with a v communicate and recommunicate the sa fellow humans as well as to revive and e ence anew the emotions of his past life been the parent of all true human art. The selectiveness, of course, is essential and the process of selection is often complicated. Dewey speaks the language of Keats when he refers to the "innumerable compositions and decompositions which take place between the intellect and its thousand materials before it arrives at that trembling, delicate and snail-horn perception of beauty." The meditative attitude, embodying close inner perception and keen aesthetic discrimination, is essential to proper artistic production. Hurrying over things, mechanical imitation, overmuch subservience to the exigencies of environment, dominant bias for particular motifs, colour schemes, meters, idioms, scales, gestures; or for philosophy, logic, geometry, artistic cults of an esoteric nature, etc., etc., would always hamper true aesthetic selection and detract from the quality of art. The true artist therefore is not a preacher and is unfettered by scholasticism, nationalism, intellectualism, and all other ' isms ', save and except where these have the power to rouse any real artistic emotion in him. He does not pretend for the sake of appearance, for he prefers to appear as an artist above everything else. Regional and traditional factors no doubt predominate in the mental and technical make-up of all artists, generally speaking; but the history of art provides many instances where artists break away from the bonds of tradition without breaking away from art. As a matter of fact, such secession has often meant the beginning of newer traditions in the field of art. For conservatism and blind obedience to existing forms command the mind of aesthetic workers in the same way as they dominate the thoughts and actions of workers in any field of life. The artist is a born pioneer and is ever prepared to strike out into the unknown. Provided, of course, he does not overlook the demands of his ruling passion or beauty, he is always safe. He has really no cause to die for; he creates his cause as he marches along into the boundless expanse of the universe of beauty in search of aesthetic sustenance for those who stay behind.

It must not be imagined however that the artist is entirely free from all bonds and obstructions in his journeys into the realm of beauty or in his subsequent attempts at giving a true account of what he has experienced. Just as a wanderer in the valleys and slopes of a mountanious region feels an unbounded joy in his freedom to move and explore the glories of nature and forgets, in his ecstasy, the physical limitations set upon him by the laws of friction and gravitation and the relative incapacity of his muscles, internal organs and vision, the artist accepts the limitations imposed by convention, technique and material and moves ahead, in spite of these, and achieves creation without raging inordinately against these, often essential, restrictions. The stricter the conventions, the more intricate the technique and the harder the material to be handled and shaped into an illusory replica of the artistic image; the subtler becomes the artist in his intellectual discrimination and manipulations. Nowhere is this aspect of artistic work more vitally and vividly shown up than in ancient Indian stone and bronze. Added to the difficulties of the material and relatively undeveloped instrumental aids the now forgotten artists of these grand monuments of human aspiration in the field of aesthetic idealism, had to face and observe a rigidity in conventions, of which no parallel can be found in the art history of any other civilization. The features, the limbs, the gestures, the poses and even the composition, had to pass the Supreme test of the *Shastric* tradition. The different attitudes had to be maintained with a great insistence upon details. That the artists of those days could at all escape a dead mechanical artisanship with all these restrictions, has given us an incontrovertible proof of the amazing subtlety and microscopic discrimination of the artistic mind. Just as, in the past, the Indian musicians have composed wonderful melodies, by adopting a method of subtle subdivisions, and have at the same time preserved the purity of form demanded by classical theorists; the artists have, in their turn, observed all conventions of gesture, pose and composition. and by infinitesimal variations within the small margin provided by an austere conventionalism, achieved creative perfection of an inimitable character. A dancer may move within a thirty foot circle and fail to convince his spectators of any artistic achievement. Yet another dancer may not move excepting very slightly and convey wonderous images of inner realisations to those who could see it.

There is an idea propagated by certain Western thinkers that there is no element of realism in the artistic creations of Indian masters of ancient and medieval times. The Indian artist thought, it is alleged. that attempts at realism or making things appear as real, are bound to fail unless audiences and spectators called imagination in support of the illusions created by art. *Rasa* or the emotional colouring of the mind can be promoted by the artist only by means of suggestion and never by artificial representations of the facts of nature. It is no doubt true that imagination is an important factor in aesthetic enjoyment. But the differentiation of realism and suggestion is often arbitrary. A knowledge of the cultural traditions of the race is generally assumed in the spectators or audience, by the artist; so that the so-called suggestion is merely an attempt at brevity in externals on the part of the artist. Where Western critics fail to detect any semblance of realism in Indian art and ascribe the entire composition to symbolism and suggestion, they overlook the psychology of those for whose enjoyment the art was meant. To a man in whose native geography and culture the elephant is an unknown quantity, even that vastly real animal might appear esoteric and symbolic. Acquaintance with regional factors is an essential of proper understanding, and, ignorance often leads to exaggerated theories, such as the one mentioned which denies all realism to Indian art and explains it away as a scheme of suggestions. The element of suggestion is present in all art on account of its illusory nature. No one is likely to appreciate the *Laocoon* or the paintings of Michael Angelo in the *Capella Sistina* with any degree of satisfaction without a proper cultural background. Wagner's operas may have the most devastating effect on the mind of an uninitiated audience. The *No* theater of Japan, the lyrical Operas of Italy, the mural painting in the Pantheon of Paris, would all lose a major portion of their appeal to minds which are elemental, totally untrained and utterly unsophisticated. Even the sculpture of the Greeks of the great fifth century is suggestive and symbolic. The Discobolus of Myron would lose much of its charm to persons who have no knowledge of the athletic side of Greek civilization. (It might even appear as a representation of a person decamping with a plate). Phidias is acknowledged to have represented "the religious ideals of the whole people and," to have "contributed in no small degree to purify and ennoble these ideals." That is to say, his admirers would fail to admire his art without a knowledge of these ideals.

In order to succeed in symbolism and suggestion, the artist must choose the real as the vehicle of expression. The real may be modified or synthesised according to the requirements of the artist, but reality is the fundamental basis of all great and true art. A ten-handed goddess in an apparently impossible attitude of contortion is, nevertheless, perfectly real to those who can, by tradition and even everyday behaviour, understand the meaning of the manual gestures. The *Namaskara*, a gesture of greeting made by both hands, is vitally intermingled with the life of all Hindus. So are *Pranama, Ashirvada,* and other gestures made in everyday life by Hindus to express affection, threats or utter desolation, etc., etc. These conventional attitudes or movements are as real to the life of this ancient land as are the "Attention," "Stand-at-ease," "Salute" or other martial gestures to the members of the British Army.

There is no such thing as purely real in art. Nor is there anything which is purely suggestive. It is a question of degrees and is more or less the one or the other according to psychological and artistic requirements. The European Doll-maker has created within recent times such highly suggestive things as the Gollywag, Felix, the Mickey Mouse and similar other symbolic creatures for the edification of the juvenile mind. During the same period, the adolescent public have been provided with statuettes for their mantlepiece which prove a continuity of taste from the days of Praxiteles down to modern times. This shows that the artist has moods which synchronise with the moods of those to whom he addresses his art.

Art, if it has any purpose at all, is meant to provoke emotion in those who perceive it. As the majority of humans, rather one should say, all humans depend upon the facts of nature for practically all their emotions, and as, much of the highly refined and rarefied emotions are broad-based upon reality; an analysis of the real and its synthesis in ideal shapes provide the basis of all art. In his work of analysis and synthesis, the artist practises varying degrees of elimination, exaggeration, multiplication, mutilation, superimposition, and imagination. One can see the whole thing clearly and minutely if one would look long enough and deeply. Intellectual short-cut is the greatest misleader in art criticism. It is no doubt possible to sway the mind of some men by presenting things algebrically, geometrically or in some such way. That would be entirely symbolical and purely suggestive, intellectually speaking, but that certainly will not be art!*

---

* Inaugural lecture delivered to the University of Madras under the Sir George Stanley Endowment, 1938.

FACING THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

By ALINE MASTERS

In these days of oecumenical despondency it is a commonplace to be ceaselessly reminded of the numerous urgent problems that confront the world and the need to solve them with immediate propriety. But the ever voluble advocates of reorganization leave much unsaid. Somehow they feel, almost instinctively as it were, that things require mending. Cato could not have been more vehement in his denunciation of evil. But that is about all. Practicable propositions do not issue from these people; they stop with crying themselves hoarse over this, that and the other. When tackled with tact they can be made to admit their incapacity to show the way out of the rot which they declaim against. The world is infested by these phenomena. Maybe they add something to our sense of enjoyment. But that in itself cannot help much because one has to get down to brass tacks sooner or later.

To face reality bravely, to hit the nail right on the head—this is a flight to which most cannot rise. For one thing, it requires a good deal of courage to try things out. One must needs have 'guts' to dare and to do, in blissful indifference to the criticisms of the self-righteous. After all the world would not be much of a place to live in if it were not for these interesting creatures who arrogate to themselves the right of evaluating. However, too much of nagging can be a veritable pest, for there are enough difficulties to contend with even now.

The same thing can hardly be expected to please every body; the degree of suitability differs with the climate, so to say. That must be why, although the problems are much the same all over the world, the methods of handling them are as divergent as is conceivable. Here it is not a case of sauce for the goose being sauce for the gander as well.

Grave portentous crises stare the governments of the world in the face. National administrations have sought to escape out of their fangs in their own way. Not all of the measures adopted are sound but most are dictated by considerations of expediency and are appropriate to the needs of the times.

There is youth problem, for instance. It has caused many sleepless nights doubtless to understanding statesmen everywhere. Bound within no restricted confines this has affected all parts of the world with equal intensity; its unpleasant effects have been considerably aggravated during the past few years.

What exactly does it connote?

During the transition from boyhood to adolescence the youthful mind has to adjust itself to a world of mature realities. But the prospect which spreads itself before the neophyte is none too glamorous. Adjustment is no easy joke. It seethes with immense psychological portent. It is the principal issue to be braved but its ramifications are very wide indeed. Every generation has its own peculiar problems tagged on to this main one.

But, it seems to me, the obstacles that have to be encountered at the present day are far greater in the intensity of their power for evil than ever before. Youth today is hemmed in on all sides by the rude inelegance of poverty and weighed down by the burden of joblessness and insecurity of conditions.

America at any rate has something tangible to show by way of a sincere nation-wide campaign against these intangible forces. With all its shortcomings the Roosevelt regime has put through certain arresting schemes which require to be closely studied in relation to the circumstances involving their adaptation. Such is the establishment of the National Youth Administration whose work merits analysis by all who are interested in the well-being of the youth who, to use a cliche, will be the citizens of tomorrow. This Federal institution provides a hint which, with certain necessary modifications, can be tried in India as well.

On the eve of the foundation of this agency, the President voiced the innermost sentiments of all thinking men and women when he declared :

> "I have determined that we shall do something for the Nation's unemployed youth, for we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to work and earn for themselves . . . . I believe that the National Youth Program will serve the most pressing and immediate needs of that portion of the unemployed youth most seriously affected at the present time . . . The yield on this investment should be high."

The National Youth Administration is not a yoth movement and cannot be said to exert any political or religious influence upon the young people who come under its purview. It has been founded under the ægis of the Government solely to extend a helping hand to all who deserve it. Its entire activity is based on an acute realization of the profundity of youth's helplessness. The very pertinent observation that " the most serious element in the predicament is the moral deterioration that accompanies all unemployment, particularly that of youth : idleness leads to undesirable mental attitudes—feelings of frustration and hopelessness; and inability to earn a living may give rise to anti-social tendencies," has been grasped to the full by the sponsors of the move toward emergency relief.

Shortly after his inauguration in 1933 President Roosevelt made an approach to the solution of youth problems when he launched the Civilian Conservation Corps. It diminished the extent of youthful idleness by putting more than three hundred thousand men to work in the forests and national parks. This was a step in the right direction, for it had a twofold effect. Not only did it find employment for so many but it provided simultaneously a powerful stimulus to the gradual realization of the value of the out-of-doors. It opened the eyes of the American people to the bracing influence of recreation and healthy exercise amid natural surroundings.

But this was not enough. By itself it could not exhaust the potentialities and touched but the fringes of a vast field. There still remained thousands as yet unprovided for. Girls could not join the Civilian Conservation Corps and young boys who wished to continue in school without the means to do it were outside its pale.

And so, quite in the fitness of things, the Executive improvised the National Youth Administration as a corollary to the older institution.

The National Youth Programme with its multifarious aspects is designed to preserve unimpaired the rortiness of youth so as to be able to turn it to advantage later in life. Youthful indolence is prone to generate Laodicean inclinations unless it is counteracted by external factors. This is best done by studying the respective requirements of youth at varying ages and seeking to meet them in the most appropriate manner. This is exactly what the Programme provides for.

Student Aid is given whereby needy students at school or college are enabled to go on with their scholastic career which, under other circumstances, they would have been inevitably compelled to leave. They furnished with part-time employment under supervision of school officials on work proj designed to suit their abilities. But there proviso to this part of the programme. No under eighteen years of age is allowed to employed in this way.

Young people who are out of school given work on these work projects too. Th seeking jobs are rendered *vocational assist* and *recreation*, and *leisure time activities* abundantly catered for. Needy youth bet the ages of sixteen and twenty-five are helped in ever so many ways to afford the start in life.

The National Youth Administration, as often been mistakenly supposed, does provide doles. The basis of relief is paym of wages for work performed. The rates the same as in the community but hours of are strictly limited. It has been calculated t approximately eighty-five per cent of agency's annual investment is covered by th wages. Statistics reveal that in the spring 1936 well-nigh six hundred thousand yo people were benefited by this scheme. This be taken as giving a fair indication of the ext of the help given.

It is to be noted that the purpose of floatin work projects is not solely to provide the ne with part-time employment. The training experience gained thereby are useful in so as they enable them the better to secure pri employment.

The National Youth Administration is, short, the nucleus of a nation-wide scheme rehabilitation.

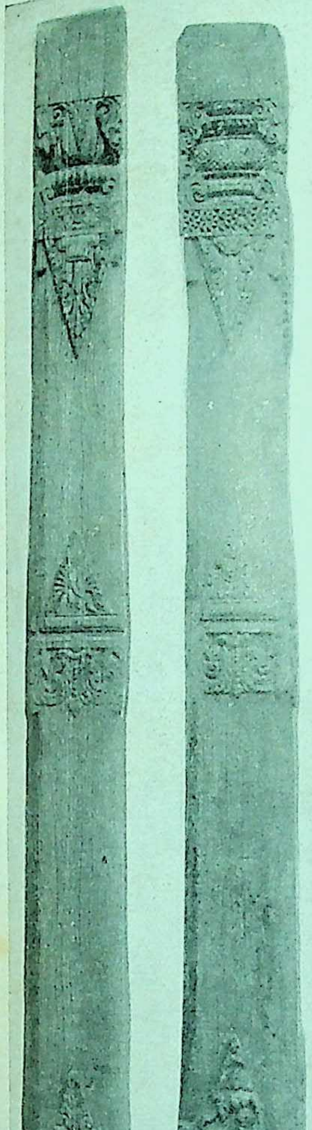
When, twelve months after the inaugu tion of this scheme, Franklin Roosevelt h occasion to refer to its working, he gave, in few memorable words, a succinct exposition the Government's attitude towards the youth the nation :

> " No greater obligation faces the government tha justify the faith of its young people in the fundam rightness of our democratic institutions and to pre their strength, loyalty and idealism against the time they must assume the responsibilities of citizenship. splendid record of the National Youth Administr in helping some 600,000 young men and women fro despair of idleness seems to me excellent testimony our means of meeting the obligation are sound."

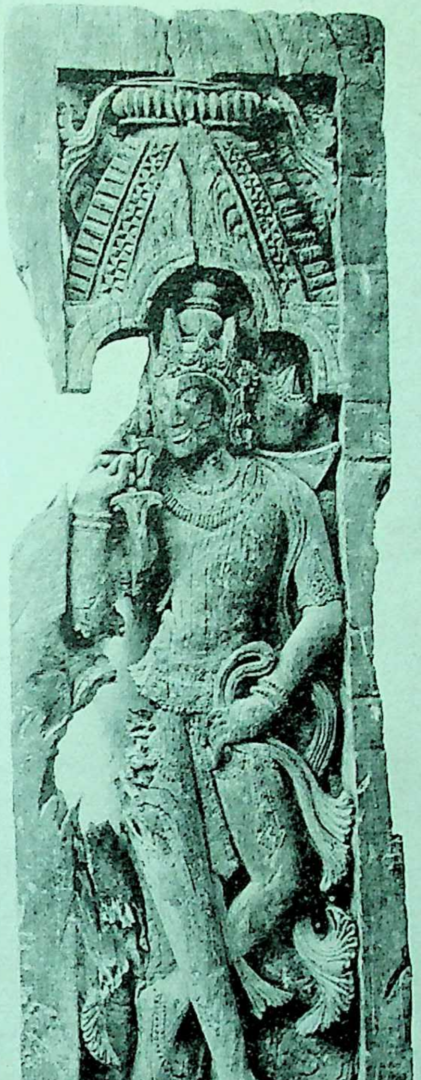
No mere log-rolling this but the conside opinion of the head of the world's might democracy. Facts bear out the appropriat of this tribute.

Yes, the yield on the investment certainly high.

WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL



Wooden pillars recovered from the great tank at Rampal



Sthirachakra Manju-Sri

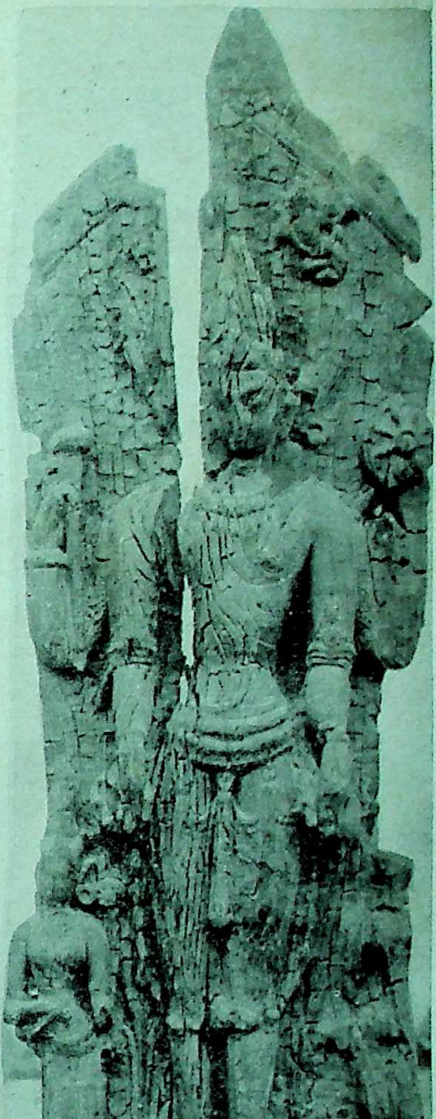
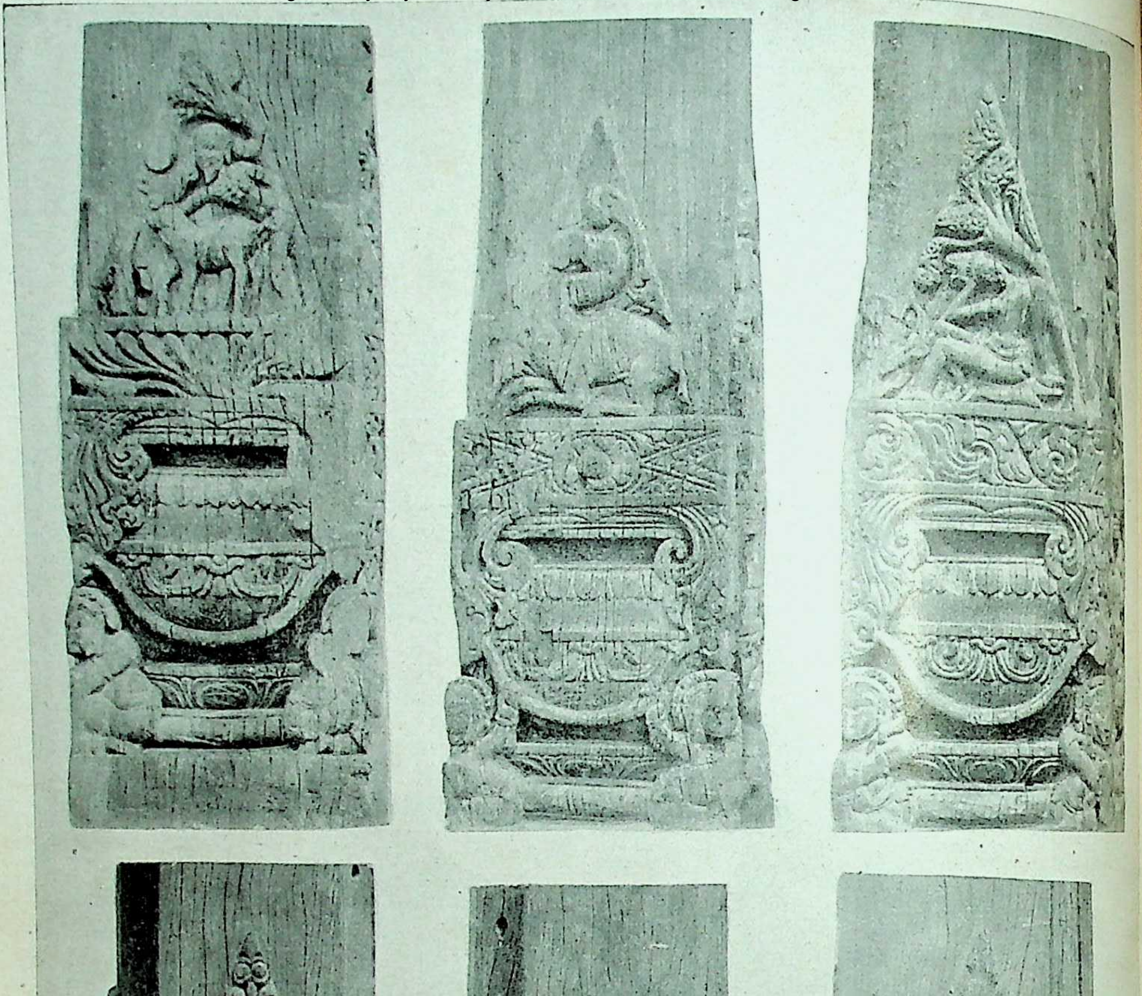
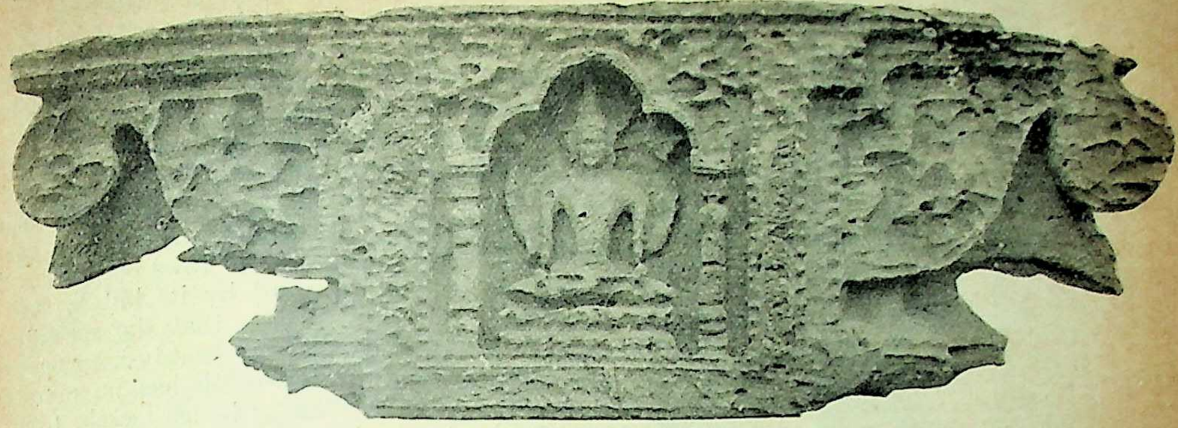


Image of Visnu found at Krishnapur, Tripura



Pillar I : Face II — Face III — Face IV
Pillar II : Face II — Face III — Face IV



The wooden capital discovered at Sonarang

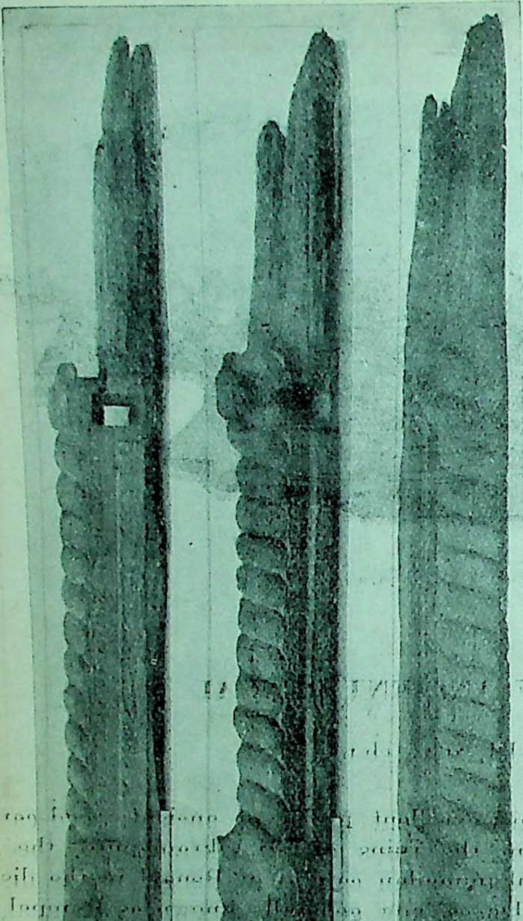
WOODEN SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT BENGAL

By N. K BHATTASALI, M.A., Ph.D.

In ancient Bengal, stone was undoubtedly the most popular material for the manufacture of images. But the authors of the Silpasastras also recommend wood as a material for the expression of the carver's art. Stone is undoubtedly durable. In fact, some varieties like chlorite are practically imperishable. But wood has the merit of being cheaper and more pliant. It is no wonder, therefore, that wood-carving was a most extensive and well-patronised profession in ancient Bengal. Mediæval images of the Vaisnava apostles in wood are still met with in some of the famous shrines of Western Bengal. In Eastern Bengal, the image of *Yasomadhava* at Dhamrai, Dist. Dacca, is a wooden one. The famous Jagannath-Balaram-Subhadra of Puri are also wooden images. But these last are periodically renewed. What has happened to the numerous wooden images and wood-carvings that obtained in ancient Bengal? Have they totally perished? The Museum at Rajshahi, the Museum of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat, the Indian Museum of Calcutta house numerous images in stone. But in all these collections, images in wood are conspicuous by their absence.

Bengal is a moist country, a country of floods and rain, of rats and white ants, and of frequent conflagrations during the dry season. It is no wonder that specimens of ancient wood-carving should totally perish in such a country. Fortunately, we have succeeded in collecting some excellent pieces of ancient wood-carving from the ruins of Sri-Vikramapura, the pre-Muhammadan capital of Bengal in the district of Dacca, now generally known as Rampal, but actually comprising many more villages. These priceless relics of old by fortunate chances found their way to the beds of tanks and were preserved in a more or less perfect condition under the sheltering loam during the succeeding centuries. Some of these are pleasing works of Art and would serve to give the reader an idea of the excellence attained by the wood-carvers of ancient Bengal. Pre-Muhammadan Bengal sculpture is deservedly praised by art-critics for its expression and mellowness. Bengal wood-carving of the period shows precisely the same merits. Impediments to the revival of the art of stone-carving are many in Bengal. The absence of a demand, the total extinction of the trade in carvable stone, the high price of stone, all stand against the revival. But the same cannot be said with regard to wood. Wood-carving as an art can easily be revived, if a demand for such products manifests itself in Bengal for religious as well as secular purposes.

The first specimen of the Bengal wood-carving of ancient days, which we are going to present to the reader, was discovered at the heart of the old capital. It was discovered at the southern bank of the southern moat of Ballal-Badi, which stands out on the accompanying



The wooden lintel discovered at the village of Nateswar

map of the old capital, surrounded by broad moats on all sides except the east.

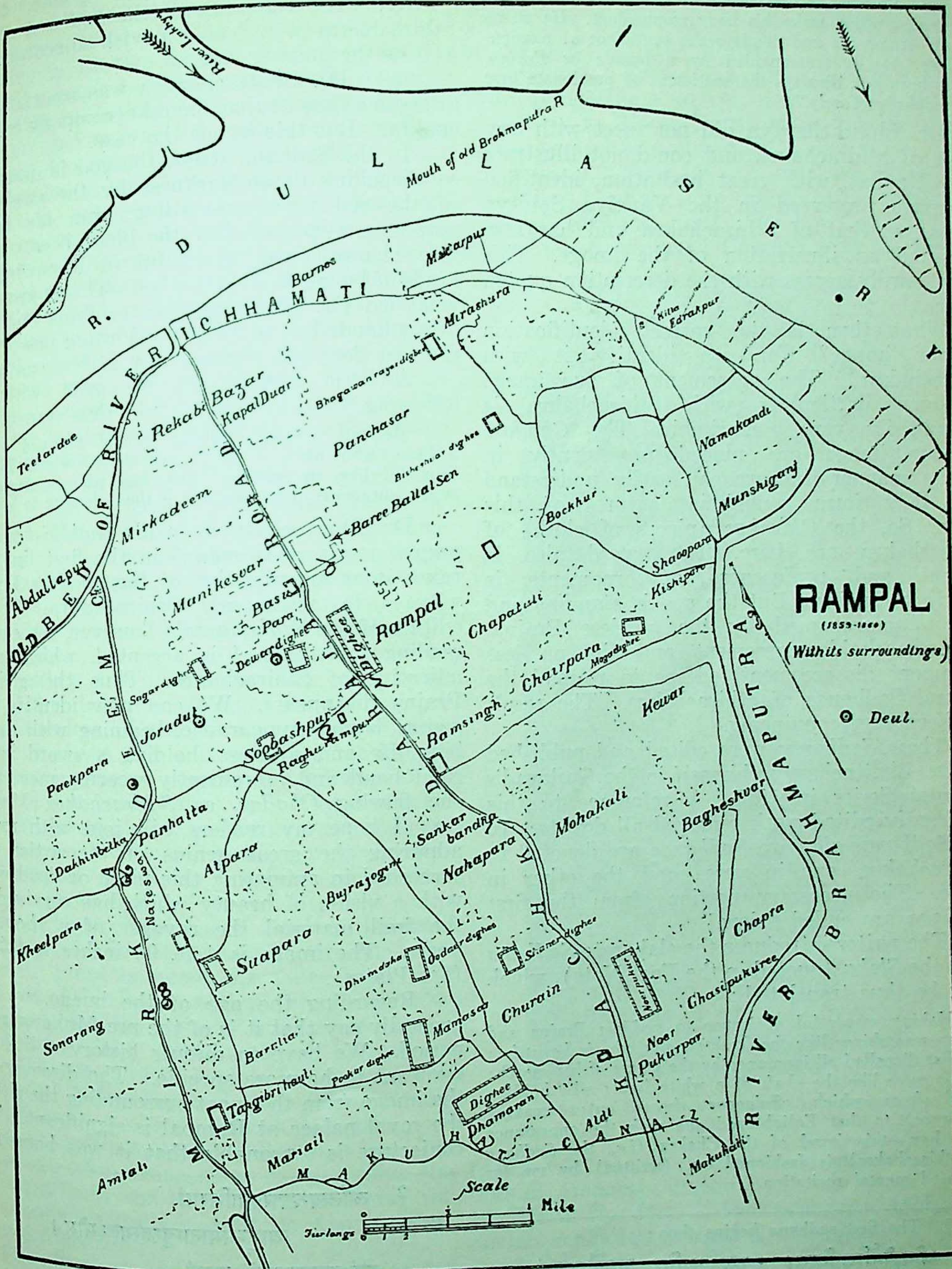
The exact spot of the discovery is marked by the Bengali numeral 1. Sj. Mukun Goswami of Panchasar-Vinodepur obtaine and presented it to the Dacca Museum.

The piece is carved in low relief and de a boyish figure standing in *Tribhanga* under a *Rekha* temple with a promi *Amalaka* at the top. The head of the dei covered by a *Mukuta;* big earrings are pen from the lobes of the ears; the hair is done a chignon like a lady,—an end of the chi shoots up like the beak of a bird. This co end is surrounded by two rows of pearls. god is holding a sword by its hilt in such artistic and soft fashion that the spectator once usderstands that his loosely-hanging s with its point to the earth has no murde propensities. A *Chadar* hangs loosely from left shoulder of the god and flowers out at end. The god holds a second *Chadar* by left hand. The neck, the arms, the waist the wrists of the god are profusely bedec with ornaments like a lady. Strings of je hang down from the waist of the god like frie The god stands on the right leg, and the left with a beautiful anklet on is placed behind right one in a tip-toe dancing pose. An offeri of flowers is seen spread below the feet of god. The face and the entire body beams the freshness and suppleness of first youth an these have survived the ravages of a thousa years on this old piece of carved wood to extent, enough to show that the carver wa master-hand in his art.

The representation of the temple over head of the god is an indication that the fig represented is the figure of a deity. Who is young swordsman who is yet not a killer, wh face beams with the freshness of youth and is almost feminine in his love of finery? T absence of a vehicle would point to the Budd pantheon and the sword, the ornaments and youth of the deity would point towards Man Sri, the Buddhist god of learning.

Manju-Sri is known in a number of variet Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, in his *Buddhist Ico graphy* enumerates the following :—Vak, Dhar madhatu-Vagisvara, Manjughosha, Siddh kavira, Vajrananga, Namasongiti, Vagisv Manjuvara, Manju-Kumara, Arapach Sthirachakra, Vadirat, Manjunatha. None these thirteen varieties, appears to agree w the piece under discussion. We can trace s resemblance only in Sthirachakra, which is t described by Dr. Bhattacharyya :

> "In one of his hands, he carries the sword, wh spreading its rays destroys the darkness of ignora while the other is engaged in bestowing boons of all ki or in other words, displays the *varada* pose. His c


RAMPAL
(1859-1860)
(With its surroundings)
Deul.
River Lakhya
Mouth of old Brahmaputra R
D U L L A S E R Y
R. ICHHAMATI
Barnes
Makarpur
Mirashura
Killa Edrakpur
Teelardee
OLD BED OF RIVER ICHHAMATI
Abdullapur
Rekabi Bazar
Kapal Duar
Bhagawan rayer dighee
Panchasar
Bithesar dighee
Baree Ballal Sen
Mirkadeem
Manikesvar
Basi Para
Rampal
Dewar dighee
Agni dighee
Chapatali
Namakandi
Munshiganj
Bockhur
Shaoopara
Kishipara
Chairpara
Mogadighee
Sagar dighee
Joradul
Soobashpur
Raghurampur
Ramsingh
Hewar
Paekpara
Panhalta
Dakhinbelka
Atpara
Sankar bandha
Mohakali
Bagheshvar
Nahapara
Bujrajogini
Nateswar
Kheelpara
Suapara
Dhumdsha
Oodaur dighee
Shanen dighee
Koorpukur
Chapra
Ghasipukuree
Sonarang
Barlia
Mamasar
Churain
Noer Pukurpar
Pookar dighee
Tangibri hauli
Dighee
Dhamaran
Aldi
Amtali
Marsail
Makuhati
MIRKADEEM ROAD
RAMPAL ROAD
KAKHALIA ROAD
MAKUHATI CANAL
RIVER BRAHMAPUTRA
Scale
Furlongs 0 1 2
0 1 Mile

Sri-Vikramapura, the ancient Capital of Bengal is white and he is decked in garments of the colour of the bee. He sits on the moon over a lotus and wears the *Cirakas* which make his body resplendent. He wears princely ornaments and displays the sentiment of passionate love. He is accompanied by a female or *Prajna*, who is beautiful, displays the sentiment of passionate love and laughs profusely."

Dr. Bhattacharyya did not meet with any image of Sthirachakra and could not illustrate any. He has, with great hesitation, identified an image preserved in the Vangiya Sahitya Parisat as that of Sthirachakra and has also published an illustration of the image. This image hardly agrees with the description quoted above.

What then is the correct identification of our image? Can we identify it with Sthirachakra? The agreement of our image in some particulars with Sthirachakra is undoubtedly very remarkable. The *Chadars* on our image are placed prominently in such a manner that we can easily understand that they form canonistic features of this deity. So, the *Chirakas* (pieces of cloth) of Sthirachakra are here. The sword also is present and profuseness of ornaments is also to the point. But the god is *standing* and is not accompanied by the goddess Prajna. The remarkable agreement and the no less prominent disagreement led me to re-read the original Sadhanas of Sthirachakra. The result has been very convincing.

These *Sadhanas* were edited and published by Dr. Bhattacharyya himself in the Gaikwad's Oriental Series in 1925. A reference to this excellently edited work removed all doubts. In the *Sadhanamala*, two *Sadhanas* are devoted to Sthirachakra, one in verse and the other in prose. The necessary portions from the first *Sadhana* are culled below.[1]

The writer introduces the elaborate *Sadhana* with the *Sloka* (quoted in the Foot Note), which may be thus translated :

> Making respectful obeisance to goddess Prajna and to him who shines like the fresh shoots; who is beautiful; who has dispelled all ignorance by the power of his speech; who is pure like the shaft of a white light; who holds a sword from which effulgence shoots out; (making obeisance) to that Enlightened one with the appearance of a boy,—this jewel of the Chakra (*i.e.*, the *Sadhana* of Sthirachakra) is fashioned out (written) by me for repeated mental recitation.

This *sloka* makes two points cl

(*i*) The composer of the *Sadhana* sa Sthirachakra who has a boyish appearanc well as the goddess Prajna.

(*ii*) Dr. Bhattacharyya was somehow to assume that *Prajna* should accompany Sth chakra. But this is not the case.

In the Sadhana itself, the god is descri as dispelling dense darkness by the effulg of the red rays, proceeding from his br garments deep dark like the black bees. H also characterised as skilful in bestowing kinds of boons on his devotees. This is prob what led Dr. Bhattacharyya to think that of his hands has to be in the *Varada* pose. I the text does not warrant any such assump

A little further on, we meet with following *Sloka*,[2] which may be thus translat

> 'Meditate carefully on the feet of the god wh a hero, who wears a boy's ornaments, whose fa beautiful like an opening lotus, and who is steeped sweet sentiments of passion and is thus pleasant to lo

Dr. Bhattacharyya, in his *Buddhist Ico graphy* reads *abhirâmâng*[3] in the first line a takes it as an adjective of the goddess Pra who is to accompany Sthirachakra. In edition of the *Sadhanamala* however, the corr reading *abhirâmang*[4] is accepted, which is adjective of Sthirachakra. Thus the goddess Prajna disappears. We can now identify th god of boyish appearance, beaming with thr bing life and softness, holding a sword in right hand and prominently wearing more th one flowing *Chadar*, as *Sthirachakra* Man Sri. I hope my readers will join with me admiring the great genius of the artist w succeeded in animating this piece of dead w with a vision of beauty which has survived the frail material the ravages of a thous years. The image is 4 ft. 9½ inches in heig (*See* Plates).

Regarding the age of the image, we generally say that it is of the pre-Muhamm period. We have to discuss history a little we want to be more specific. The discovery the image from the moat surrounding the site the royal palace at Rampal is significant. T conjecture is reasonable that it was housed a temple inside the palace area. This was possible only when the family of the Chandras, of which Sri-Chandra is the best known king, was ruling in Eastern Bengal from the capital at Sri-Vikramapura. This period falls roughly between 985 and 1020 A.D. Our image in all probability belongs to the same period and is thus more than nine hundred years old.

---

[1] The first sadhana begins thus :

श्रीमद्गीर्गरिमानिरस्त सकल भ्रान्ति प्रतानोज्ज्वलं
प्रोद्यद्गौरगभस्ति बिम्बविमलं बुद्धं च बालाकृतिं ।
विभ्रानं करवालमुद्गतरुचिं प्रज्ञां च नत्वादरात्
आत्मानुस्मरणाय लिख्यत इदं तच्चक्ररत्नं मया ॥

[2] लालित्यश्रृङ्गाररसाभिरामं
व्याजृम्भमानाम्बुरुहस्यलक्ष्मीम् ।
वीरं कुमाराभरणं दधानं
ध्यायात् पदं तस्य समीहमानः ॥

[3] अभिरामां

[4] अभिरामं

A number of excellent samples of old wood-carving came out from the tanks and ditches of the ancient capital. A look at the map will show how the city grew on either side of a very broad and embanked road that ran south from the southern bank of the river Ichhamati up to the confluence of the Padma and the Megna, fifty miles south. This old pre-Muhammadan road called the *Kacki Darwaja* is still in existence, encroached upon in innumerable places by land-hungry cultivators. This part of Bengal is subject to heavy annual floods, and embanked roads ought to follow the courses of the rivers and currents, as the Kacki Darwaja did. The Dacca District Board is spending thousands of rupees annually over the Munshiganj-Srinagar road, their own creation, which meets the currents at right-angles,—and allowing this old road to fall into disuse through sheer neglect.

On either side of the northern end of the Kacki Darwaja grew up the ancient capital of the Chandras, Varmmas and the Senas, and the extent of the city can easily be recognized on the accompanying map by the presence of a number of large-sized tanks, so vitally necessary for the water-supplying system of cities in those days,—the earth obtained from them serving the useful purpose of raising the surrounding area above the flood-level.

The portion of the Kacki Darwaja between the bank of the Ichhamati river and the Makuhati canal is about six miles long. On either side of this length, and on the raised banks of these tanks, the citizens built their houses and temples. The great tank at Rampal is more than one-third of a mile in length. The tank called Nairpukur and the east-west tank at Dhamaran are both remarkable pieces of excavations and not much smaller than the tank at Rampal. Numerous stone images came up from these tanks and their vicinity. Today we shall confine ourselves only to the wooden sculptures recovered.

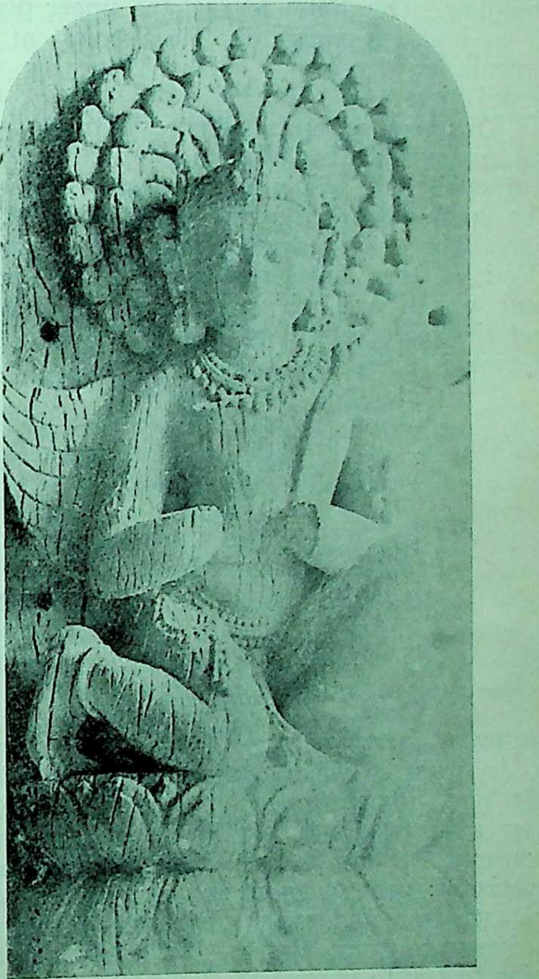
Two brothers Abdul Ghani and Abdul Rahaman, in excavating earth from the southern slope of the great tank at Rampal, recovered two excellently carved wooden pillars from the soft mud. The pillars are 9 feet 5 inches long. Their find place is marked with the Bengali numeral 2 on the map. The carvings on the four faces at the bottom are described below. The pillars have carvings also at the top and in the middle. (*See* Plates).

Pillar I. Face I. A goddess with a short sword is fighting a demon, also holding a sword.

Pillar I. Face II. An erotic picture of an anchorite and an antelope.

Pillar I. Face III. A couchant camel.

Pillar I. Face IV. Figure of a prince in dejected attitude, with his bow and arrow thrown on the ground. Coupled with the theme of Face II, the story illustrated appears to be that of Maharaja Pandu.



The wooden image of Garuda discovered at Raghurampur

Pillar II. Face I. The famous pre-Muhammadan sculptural design *Krittimukha*.

Pillar II. Face II. A woman dancing in the *Atibhanga* pose.

Pillar II. Face III. Two girls are shooting at birds with the string of the bow in the air. A comic fling at the feminine attempt.

Pillar II. Face IV. Scroll-work.

The *Krittimukha* marks the pillars out as pre-Muhammadan productions. Both the pillars are good samples of the carver's art.

The wooden lintel illustrated here was discovered from a tank north of the *deul*—the spacious ruins of an ancient temple at the village of Nateswar. The find-spot has been marked with the Bengali numeral 3 on the map. The motif is the well-known coiled serpents, a perfect sample of which in stone was discovered from the ruins of the old city of Kotivarsha and is now preserved in the house of the Raja of Dinajpur. Our lintel formed the upper portion of a huge *Nagadvara*. The scales of the serpents are even now distinct on this well-carved piece.

The wooden capital illustrated on page 261 was discovered about half a mile to the south, in a small tank adjoining the *deul* at Sonarang. The spot is marked with a Bengali 4 on the map. The deity carved inside the capital is Visnu of the Yogasvami variety. The wood used was of a particularly substantial nature, and the piece is still as heavy as stone. The carving is even now intact in places.

The wooden image of Garuda was out of a tank in the village of R rampur, about half-a-mile to the south-w the great tank at Rampal. The face giant beams with such joy and intelligenc we are filled with admiration for the arti fashioned the image. A wooden image of found at the village of Krishnapur is also trated. (*See* Plates).

As I have already said, a revival of th traditions of Bengal sculpture is perhaps far cry. Stone of the right sort is diffic obtain in Bengal. There is now practical demand for the finished products, which bound to be somewhat high-priced. But same cannot be said of wood-carving. is plentiful in Bengal. Workers in wood artistic bent capable of rivalling their bro artists of pre-Muhammadan days will stan as soon as we evince a taste for their fi products. Then, why should not wood-car be revived in Bengal? Shall we for all tim come remain content with admiring Bur wood-carving and never care to revive Be wood-carving which had such a glorious pas

---

PREPARE FOR PEACE

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

I SUPPOSE there was never a time in the history of the world when there was so much talk of war and preparations for war and certainly there never was a time of peace when so many thousands of millions of pounds were being feverishly spent on guns and armaments. And yet everyone and every Government wants or professes to want peace. But what are they doing to try to secure it?

Herr Hitler in his New Year speech to the diplomatic corps in Berlin explained to the world that the one thing that Germany wanted and would work for was peace. Signor Mussolini, in his speech intimating Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, declared that Italy "would not abandon her fundamental lines of policy aiming at collaboration and peace." It is perhaps rather unfortunate that in the same speech he remarked that Italy's arms had been "tempered by two victorious wars." One was in Abyssinia and the other, of course, in Spain. But Italy is a party to Non-Intervention Agreement. So one begi wonder exactly what Signor Mussolini mean peace. Japan also wants peace—or so she s Her action in China, she says, is "not aggre but defensive" and she goes on to tell us "peace will only return when China h herself to see the error of her ways." rather like the peace of the wolf and the l There certainly is a deep peace when the and the lamb lie down together—the lamb i the wolf.

Too many well intentioned people are anxious to avoid war. But they put far little energy into active preparations to e peace. There are certainly even in this tim peace enough preparations for war. Eve my own cottage in the country—40 miles London—I have been called on officially, o day or two ago, to state how many peopl living in my house so that the requisite nu of gas masks can be issued to us; how many people evacuated from London I could temporarily put up; and what preparations are being made for shelter from air raids. And this at a time when everyone wants peace! As one writer recently remarked, peace has suffered as much from the inaction of its supporters—national and individual—as from the action of its enemies. Our own Government here takes no constructive steps for promoting peace and, with its piling up of armaments, drifts slowly towards war.

In my young days we heard a good deal about the increase in the population of the world and the certainty that there would result at no distant date a scarcity of food and necessaries for the people of the world. Now all that is changed. We have abundance and more than abundance of everything. That does not mean that everyone gets sufficient. It simply means that our problem is not now one of production but one of distribution.

The madness of the world and lack of co-operation is seen when we find that in various parts of the world foodstuffs are being deliberately burned or thrown into the sea instead of being distributed to those who really require them. Wheat is burned: millions of pounds of coffee thrown into the sea; and fish either thrown back into the sea or used as manure, so that prices may be kept up. All that is required is international co-operation for the good of the whole rather than considering only the individual profit of one, be it an individual or a nation.

We have the sad fact in the world today that instead of beating our swords into ploughshares we are beating our ploughshares into guns. What is required is a larger conception of life, a realization that we are all parts one of another and that our function in life, whether as individuals or as nations, is to help one another and that by so doing we would really be helping ourselves and the world as a whole.

It is easy for England, which has grabbed most of the desirable parts of the world for herself, to preach contentment to other nations. But England has also got to learn (and to practise) that the interests to be considered all over the world are not those that will benefit herself but that the sole consideration should be the interests of the population of the country governed.

An interesting commentary on Germany's insistence that she must have colonies because she is over-populated at home was revealed in a cable from the *Times* Correspondent in Berlin (on 18th January, 1938)—that Germany has to import over 100,000 labourers for work on the land and of these 30,000 Italian farm-hands will be arriving very soon.

Does the fact that she has had to import Italian labourers suggest to Germany that her objective—economic nationalism—may after all prove to be a mirage? In this connection it is interesting to note that, for the first time it is said, a foreign criticism of the German economic system has been allowed to appear in General Goering's monthly magazine *The Four Year Plan*. It is contained in an article by Sir Josiah Stamp, the well known economist and director of the Bank of England. He sees the world dividing into two economic groups:

> "(1) Those which produce all necessary commodities themselves, with the exception of a few where circumstances force them to collaborate with the rest of the world; and (2) Those which cultivate open international trade, with the exception of a few cases where vital interests and invested capital must be protected."

And he concludes his article with a warning to Germany

> "not to deprive the world of her genius, her extraordinary gift for handling public affairs, and of her scientific and industrial experience."

It is in fact an absolute mystery to the outsider how Germany, Italy or any other like-minded nation, imagines it is possible to maintain the standard of living in economic isolation. Particularly when all such nations are the very ones who are depressing the standard of living all the time by directing so much of their energies into rearmament! For whatever appearance of prosperity, whatever increase in employment a rearmament programme creates, arms in themselves are unproductive. In the end they have still to be paid for and paying for them can only depress the standard of living. How are Germany and Italy going to pay for their armaments? What return can they expect on them (but war)?

Are the people of Germany, who have all their reading censored these days, allowed, one wonders, to read such illuminating matter as the speeches which are made in England at this time of the year by the Chairmen of the big Banks? The first of these speeches was made a few days ago by the Chairman of Barclays Bank Ltd. and Germans would do well to reflect on what he had to say with regard to imports and exports and their effect on the standard of living. Germans moreover are not allowed to lend money abroad. What then would they think of the statement:

> "British savings invested abroad have played a large part in paying for the imports we need to maintain our standard of living . . . . In 1936 we should have needed

The *Krittimukha* marks the pillars out as pre-Muhammadan productions. Both the pillars are good samples of the carver's art.

The wooden lintel illustrated here was discovered from a tank north of the *deul*—the spacious ruins of an ancient temple at the village of Nateswar. The find-spot has been marked with the Bengali numeral 3 on the map. The motif is the well-known coiled serpents, a perfect sample of which in stone was discovered from the ruins of the old city of Kotivarsha and is now preserved in the house of the Raja of Dinajpur. Our lintel formed the upper portion of a huge *Nagadvara*. The scales of the serpents are even now distinct on this well-carved piece.

The wooden capital illustrated on page 261 was discovered about half a mile to the south, in a small tank adjoining the *deul* at Sonarang. The spot is marked with a Bengali 4 on the map. The deity carved inside the capital is Visnu of the Yogasvami variety. The wood used was of a particularly substantial nature, and the piece is still as heavy as stone. The carving is even now intact in places.

The wooden image of Garuda was out of a tank in the village of R rampur, about half-a-mile to the south-w the great tank at Rampal. The face of giant beams with such joy and intelligence we are filled with admiration for the artis fashioned the image. A wooden image of V found at the village of Krishnapur is also trated. (*See* Plates).

As I have already said, a revival of th traditions of Bengal sculpture is perhaps far cry. Stone of the right sort is diffi obtain in Bengal. There is now practical demand for the finished products, whic bound to be somewhat high-priced. Bu same cannot be said of wood-carving. W is plentiful in Bengal. Workers in wood artistic bent capable of rivalling their bro artists of pre-Muhammadan days will star as soon as we evince a taste for their fi products. Then, why should not wood-car be revived in Bengal? Shall we for all tim come remain content with admiring Bur wood-carving and never care to revive Be wood-carving which had such a glorious pa

---

PREPARE FOR PEACE

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

I SUPPOSE there was never a time in the history of the world when there was so much talk of war and preparations for war and certainly there never was a time of peace when so many thousands of millions of pounds were being feverishly spent on guns and armaments. And yet everyone and every Government wants or professes to want peace. But what are they doing to try to secure it?

Herr Hitler in his New Year speech to the diplomatic corps in Berlin explained to the world that the one thing that Germany wanted and would work for was peace. Signor Mussolini, in his speech intimating Italy's withdrawal from the League of Nations, declared that Italy "would not abandon her fundamental lines of policy aiming at collaboration and peace." It is perhaps rather unfortunate that in the same speech he remarked that Italy's arms had been "tempered by two victorious wars." One was in Abyssinia and the other, of course, in Spain. But Italy is a party to Non-Intervention Agreement. So one begin wonder exactly what Signor Mussolini mean peace. Japan also wants peace—or so she s Her action in China, she says, is "not aggre but defensive" and she goes on to tell us "peace will only return when China be herself to see the error of her ways." I rather like the peace of the wolf and the la There certainly is a deep peace when the and the lamb lie down together—the lamb in the wolf.

Too many well intentioned people are anxious to avoid war. But they put far little energy into active preparations to e peace. There are certainly even in this tim peace enough preparations for war. Eve my own cottage in the country—40 miles London—I have been called on officially, o day or two ago, to state how many people living in my house so that the requisite nu of gas masks can be issued to us; how many people evacuated from London I could temporarily put up; and what preparations are being made for shelter from air raids. And this at a time when everyone wants peace! As one writer recently remarked, peace has suffered as much from the inaction of its supporters—national and individual—as from the action of its enemies. Our own Government here takes no constructive steps for promoting peace and, with its piling up of armaments, drifts slowly towards war.

In my young days we heard a good deal about the increase in the population of the world and the certainty that there would result at no distant date a scarcity of food and necessaries for the people of the world. Now all that is changed. We have abundance and more than abundance of everything. That does not mean that everyone gets sufficient. It simply means that our problem is not now one of production but one of distribution.

The madness of the world and lack of co-operation is seen when we find that in various parts of the world foodstuffs are being deliberately burned or thrown into the sea instead of being distributed to those who really require them. Wheat is burned: millions of pounds of coffee thrown into the sea; and fish either thrown back into the sea or used as manure, so that prices may be kept up. All that is required is international co-operation for the good of the whole rather than considering only the individual profit of one, be it an individual or a nation.

We have the sad fact in the world today that instead of beating our swords into ploughshares we are beating our ploughshares into guns. What is required is a larger conception of life, a realization that we are all parts one of another and that our function in life, whether as individuals or as nations, is to help one another and that by so doing we would really be helping ourselves and the world as a whole.

It is easy for England, which has grabbed most of the desirable parts of the world for herself, to preach contentment to other nations. But England has also got to learn (and to practise) that the interests to be considered all over the world are not those that will benefit herself but that the sole consideration should be the interests of the population of the country governed.

An interesting commentary on Germany's insistence that she must have colonies because she is over-populated at home was revealed in a cable from the *Times* Correspondent in Berlin (on 18th January, 1938)—that Germany has to import over 100,000 labourers for work on the land and of these 30,000 Italian farm-hands will be arriving very soon.

Does the fact that she has had to import Italian labourers suggest to Germany that her objective—economic nationalism—may after all prove to be a mirage? In this connection it is interesting to note that, for the first time it is said, a foreign criticism of the German economic system has been allowed to appear in General Goering's monthly magazine *The Four Year Plan.* It is contained in an article by Sir Josiah Stamp, the well known economist and director of the Bank of England. He sees the world dividing into two economic groups:

> "(1) Those which produce all necessary commodities themselves, with the exception of a few where circumstances force them to collaborate with the rest of the world; and (2) Those which cultivate open international trade, with the exception of a few cases where vital interests and invested capital must be protected."

And he concludes his article with a warning to Germany

> "not to deprive tne world of her genius, her extraordinary gift for handling public affairs, and of her scientific and industrial experience."

It is in fact an absolute mystery to the outsider how Germany, Italy or any other like-minded nation, imagines it is possible to maintain the standard of living in economic isolation. Particularly when all such nations are the very ones who are depressing the standard of living all the time by directing so much of their energies into rearmament! For whatever appearance of prosperity, whatever increase in employment a rearmament programme creates, arms in themselves are unproductive. In the end they have still to be paid for and paying for them can only depress the standard of living. How are Germany and Italy going to pay for their armaments? What return can they expect on them (but war)?

Are the people of Germany, who have all their reading censored these days, allowed, one wonders, to read such illuminating matter as the speeches which are made in England at this time of the year by the Chairmen of the big Banks? The first of these speeches was made a few days ago by the Chairman of Barclays Bank Ltd. and Germans would do well to reflect on what he had to say with regard to imports and exports and their effect on the standard of living. Germans moreover are not allowed to lend money abroad. What then would they think of the statement:

> "British savings invested abroad have played a large part in paying for the imports we need to maintain our standard of living . . . . In 1936 we should have needed

> to have exported £195 millions more in goods, had we not received income from those savings of the past."

The Chairman, finally, advocated

> "three interlocking measures necessary to a return to more satisfactory world conditions, namely, freer trade, a revival of overseas lending, and the stabilization of currencies."

And all these three depended upon one thing—*a revival of confidence.*

How is confidence to be revived in the world? Anyone looking back on the past years will see the successive blows it has received in Manchuria, in Abyssinia, in Spain, and now on such a scale in China that no one can tell what is going to happen there. When the League of Nations failed to prevent the Japanese ramp in Manchuria, it was not merely the League idea that suffered. Peace, as we see now, tumbled down with it. Read your history, screamed the Japanese delegate at Geneva, as he tried to convince the Assembly that Manchuria had always been an affair between Russia and Japan. And the Beaverbrook and Rothermere Press in this country took up the cry and injected the idea into their public that it was no part of our job to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Well, British chestnuts are in the fire now . . . In fact so many chestnuts are in the fire that, in whatever guise it may be served up, the League idea is coming back again.

Indeed one wonders how long the totalitarian countries, in the present state of their finances, *can* go on with their wars and armament programmes. The City Editor of the *Daily Herald* pointed out the other day that Italy's total national income is about £800,000,000 a year and of this practically 50 per cent (including the 10 per cent capital levy) is being spent on budget necessities and on military expenditure in Abyssinia and Spain. Only a little more than half of this expenditure is covered by revenue.

The total national savings of Italy are estimated at about £80,000,000 and the Government expenditure out of loans is about *double* this amount. The result is that the cost of living in Italy is going up at an alarming rate and the people are becoming more and more impoverished. The Government tries to keep down the rising prices with but indifferent success. As in Germany, commodities are being adulterated in order to conceal the rise in the cost of living.

Whereas in Italy budget revenue covers barely one-half of the total Government expenditure, in France it covers about three-fifths, and in Britain about nine-tenths. Britain's Government expenditure is a little under 20 per cent of the national income, in France it is 25 per cent, while in Italy it is practic per cent.

Britain's loan expenditure, £100,000,000 in the coming year, is about cent of the national savings. France's is equal to the national savings at £160,000,000 while Italy's is about tw *amount of the national savings.* Franc more especially Great Britain have vast foreign investments, while Italy has prac no such reserve to fall back on. The puz economists today is to guess how long It go on before the smash is bound to come.

How then can we bring confidence ba the economic and international sphere? have tried one World Economic Con which was a failure solely because the of the world had not learned to subordinate private interests to the good of the Surely the time is ripe and over-ripe for a attempt to try to get out of the present s affairs which is more like a mad house t world of reasoning human beings.

The fundamental difficulty is, of c that so few of us are able to put ourselves the skin of the other man. We see it in walk of life—between employers and emp between governors and governed, between na and nation.

We hear so often in England sur expressed at riots in India, at the in patability of Hindu-Moslem differences so on. We seem to overlook the fact there are heads broken even in England that Europe—I wish I could say the U States of Europe—is seething with anim that may break out in war any day wi notice. And India is larger than Euro we exclude Russia.

International law seems to have go the board. The rule of Law seems to given place to the rule of Might. Intern obligations, solemn signatures to treaties, aside without even an apology if they se interfere with "national" interests. Th of law will only be established when there international tribunal with such authority power behind it that it will be able to the aggressor to come before it. That ca be brought about by the formation of an national police force with something higher a merely national patriotism. The ar all countries in the world would be disposal of that international tribunal. force would not be to make but to p war. Had there been such a force in ex Japan could never have overrun nor Italy Abyssinia. The Civil War in Spain would have been brought to an end practically before it got started and the rights and wrongs of each side would have been considered and adjudicated on by reasoning and law and not by the power of brute force which, in the end, settles nothing. It is not by their arms that the police in England keep order. They are unarmed; but they have the authority of the law and of the whole body of the people behind them. The very fact that the police are there, with that authority, is enough to restrain people from disorder. It would be the same internationally as nationally.

A real League of Nations is a necessity to the world. It is the only alternative to a continuance of the Rule of Might as against the Rule of Right—Force or Law.

The League of Nations has for years been subjected to a campaign of misrepresentation in the Press. Why has it been too dignified to go in for a publicity campaign on its own behalf? Year after year our Government has paid its subscription, but how many people in the country have ever even *seen* the Covenant? It can be bought for a penny from the League of Nations Union, but why isn't it to be found on every bookstall? It is nothing short of amazing to think that the Covenant,, which certainly marked a new departure in history whatever its ups and downs may be, is never to be met with—in our bookshops or our schools or our homes.

These reflections are prompted by the appearance, under the title of the *Peace Act, 1937*, of a most remarkable four-penny worth. For this small amount it is possible to obtain, all together, the Covenant, the Pact of Paris for the Renunciation of War, and the Locarno Agreements. Surely, if peace-lovers in this country knew their business, this publication would have been widely advertised. (It can be obtained from H. M. Stationery Office. The title is *Peace*. It is Bill 35. 1 Geo. 6). It is of course the Bill introduced recently into the House of Commons by a Private Member, Mr. Mander—and alas talked out. It is his conviction, as it was the conviction of the late Mr. Arthur Henderson, that these treaties and instruments of peace, to which Great Britain is a party, should be embodied in an Act and adopted by the British Parliament. To do so, surely, is to bring them down to earth, to bring them out of the realm of high and mysterious foreign policy, and to habituate the ordinary people to the ideas and instruments of peace which are waiting to be used—but which never will be used unless and until there is an informed public opinion behind the Government. Mr. Mander may have failed in the House of Commons, but at least, through his introducing this Bill, we have learned something. And perhaps, if we buy the Bill, and study it, we may see to it that it is not talked out next time.

There is another reason for acquiring this Bill. The nations are on the point of meeting to discuss "reforming" the Covenant. Not only will it be an advantage to have the Covenant by us, so that we can follow how it is proposed to alter it, it is a safe guess that any emendations will be such as will be acceptable to the United States. In which case it will be an advantage to have studied the Peace Pact. Article 16 of the Covenant, which deals with Sanctions, is of course due for much discussion. It is said that the Scandinavian nations, discouraged by the half-and-half methods of the Great Powers as regards Italy, are impatient of their own obligations under this Article. But it is to be hoped that Article 16 will survive in some form. We have Signor Mussolini's own bitter testimony, in the speech in which he announced his departure from the League, to the efficacy of even our half-and-half sanctions.

It is notorious of course that at the time of the making of the Versailles Treaty, President Wilson was much more interested in the framing of the Covenant of the League than in the actual terms of the Peace Treaty itself. To him that was a very minor matter if he could get his idea carried out for the formation of what was really to be a world government exercising authority over national governments. Such a League, with the authority of all the Great Powers, including the United States, could certainly have prevented war in any part of the world. It was a calamity, the effect of which can hardly be measured, when the United States Senate for purely local and political reasons refused to join the World League so hamstringing it at the very beginning. Had there been a League including the United States, along with Great Britain and France, war in any part of the world could have been prevented—and not merely war but the very threat of aggression on the part of any nation in any part of the world could have been nipped in the bud. France would have had that sense of security which she has always sought for and the bitter feeling between her and Germany would have been avoided.

The intention of the League was excellent but without the United States the power to make it effective has been lacking. It is because of that that Germany, Italy and Japan have left the League as it exists today. Nevertheless sooner or later a World League will have to be established with adequate machinery for preserving peace. At the present moment this would be difficult because there is no common denominator amongst the nations as to what is right and no acceptance of what should be condemned as aggression.

The nations will first have to agree on principles of right and justice and then we reach the time, which at present, alas, s far distant, when " nation shall not lift up against nation; neither shall they learn war more."

RELIGION AND MORALITY AS THE BASES OF SOCIETY

By Prof. UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE, M.A.

II

Viewing the world of today, we find that it is not religion alone that has to meet the challenge of modern thought. Morality, too, fares no better. If science and social progress have affected religion—more often adversely than not—morality too has not escaped a similar attack by the same forces.

So far as moral problems are concerned, we know what they are, and the discovery of new problems does not appear likely. The distinction of right and wrong, and the reasons for such a distinction and the question of man's responsibility and freedom—theoretically there are about all that we have to determine in Ethics. These questions have engaged man's attention for nearly twenty-five centuries. We have had different views on them but the problems have not very much differed with the passing away of centuries. The progress of science not infrequently throws new light on them but it does not bring new problems to light. Researches in anthropological sciences have sometimes led to the formulation of new theories about our notions of right and wrong, but even they have not added to our list of moral problems. But science has considerably affected ethical doctrines. Ethics could not disprove what science had proved. It could either adapt itself to the conclusions of science or keep aloof. The principle of causality was one such scientific doctrine.

The question of man's freedom divided scientists and philosophers into two hostile camps for a long time. And the theory of determinism in Ethics was an attempt to make Ethics fall in line with science by accepting the principle of universal causation. The theory of freedom was a challenge to the universality of physical causation. Those who accepted freedom but were yet unwilling to deny the universal character of physical causation regarded moral freedom as an " antimony."[1] From the st point of physical science, causality perv whole of nature and freedom could be de to man : from the standpoint of moral exp ence, freedom was a fact. Freedom was th fact as well as not a fact. It was true was not true according to science.

In recent science, however, the principle causation has been thrown open to doubt. universal character is no longer an unquestio fact. In Heisenberg's *Principle of Indetermin acy* we have a theory that the whole even physical nature is not causally determin Many acclaim this proposition as a scien demonstration of the fact of freedom. If behaviour of an electron cannot be predicted if even an electron is free, how much more men be so! Many of us think that the pe lum has now definitely swung back from d minism to libertarianism. But whether Hei berg's *Indeterminacy* or as some prefer to it uncertainty—or what is equivalent to same thing, our present ignorance of cer things—does really mean a final rehabilit of the principle of freedom, yet remains t seen. Whatever may be the final outcome would only mean a triumph for the time b —and perhaps only for the time being—of theory against another. If Heisenberg's doc becomes the ultimate principle in science. once morality will be benefited by science s doctrine of which moral science is so fond have scientific support.

But science cannot always be expected support our moral convictions. And wh more surprising, even philosophy does not al do so. The leading doctrine in Ethics is objectivity of our moral judgments and ultimate nature. Moral law is objectively valid, independent of the circumstances of our life or the peculiarities of our individual nature; and it is valid ultimately beyond the contingencies of individual life and consciousness and of time and space. But so far as its objective character is concerned, Prof. Westermarck, himself a moral philosopher, arrives at the conclusion that

---

[1] *Cf.* Nicolai Hartmann—*Ethics.*

> "neither the attempts of moral philosophers or theologians to prove the objective validity of moral judgments, nor the commonsense assumption to the same effect, give us any right at all to accept such a validity as a fact."[2]

Further,

> "all moral concepts, which are used as predicates in moral judgments, are ultimately based on emotion" (p. 62).

Westermarck contends that

> "the moral consciousness is ultimately based on emotions, that the moral judgment lacks objective validity, that the moral values are not absolute but relative to the emotions they express" (p. 289).

And the ultimate character of moral values has been challenged more than once. Nearly half a century ago, Fr. Nietzsche gave us the cult of the Superman. He and his followers extolled man as "the noble beast." The animal in man was considered more valuable than the spirit. A sharp contrast was drawn between Rome and Judaised Rome—between Aryan and Semitic morality. The truer morality was the morality of the strong, the powerful, the conquering and the lordly Aryan people; this was the morality of the Romans. But an unfortunate tragedy happened. Rome was Judaised--was gradually converted to the slavish morality of the Jews. The world bows today to three Jews and one Jewess—Jesus, Peter, Paul and Mary, 'the mother of aforesaid Jesus.' Humanity has suffered enough for this conversion. Time has come, so we are told, to make amends for this stupid act.

Nietzsche's cult of superman and superior morality has taken hold of many thinkers and writers—in philosophy as well as in literature. And in practical politics active pursuit of this ideal may easily be seen in more than one country. The drive against the Semitics—the ostracism of the Jews—which Germany of today has initiated, may well be traced to this philosophy of fifty years earlier.

The softer and saner and the more humane moral ideal of the great Nazarene appears to be at a discount today. Individual and national greed and avarice hold sway over the mind of humanity. We seem again to be at the crossing of ways and it is obvious that the future of civilization will depend on the correct choice of ideals.

So long as man remains a moral agent and the distinction of right and wrong remains, such theorising will also continue. A state of social existence in which all men will act uniformly like atoms of matter and will not call for any criticism and valuation, is beyond the range of our imagination. Even atoms do not behave uniformly. They behave differently towards different elements. Hydrogen atoms will combine in the proportion of two to one with oxygen (H_2O) but one to one with chlorine (HCl). The onlooking atoms of nitrogen do not, however, pass any judgment on this behaviour of hydrogen. The behaviour of atoms, call it virtuous or otherwise, is not uniform. But there is no judgment on them—no valuation—no appreciation or condemnation.

But, although it has been the dream of philosophers that a state of society will in the long run be ushered into existence in which *all* men will *always* act *rightly*, when virtue will be the universal law of life—it will be not simply *habitual* but *natural*—*i.e.*, a society from which all wickedness, actual and potential, will be banished—although such an utopia has been dreamed of, yet we cannot imagine man being ever reduced or elevated to the neutral attitude of material existence in which the distinction of right and wrong has ceased to trouble him. And so long as the distinction continues, an enquiry into its nature, validity and foundation will also be there, unless of course the mind of man reaches a condition in which all thought is abjured. Ethical theorising, therefore, will—as far off as we can look into futurity—continue to be of interest to humanity. And so long as such theorising goes on, divergences of opinion also will be unavoidable.

But such differences of view ought not to alarm us. They are after all not so fundamental as to undermine the code of morality that we follow in practice. There may be a quarrel between Hedonists and Intuitionists or between Kant and Spencer, about the meaning of the right, but justice is justice according to both; and in a general way, they do not quarrel about what one ought to do in given circumstances. At any rate, this is what moralists usually affirm. The foundation of the code of morality is usually regarded as well and truly laid. But the history of morality tells a different tale—even here.

In the mazes of theory, we ought not to overlook the fact that Ethics arose as an attempt to find out the meaning of rules of conduct already in existence. Such rules are the practical side of ethics—its raw materials, so to say. And for a man living his life here and now, the more important thing is not *why* something is right or wrong, but *what* is right or wrong. On this question of *what*, the verdict of history is that it is not immutable. Changing times have changing codes of morals. The present century has witnessed vast sections of humanity give up the ancient code of moral and adopt a new. In Russia we have what Maurice Hindus describes as the uprooting of humanity. The old roots of society are torn.

---

[2] *Ethical Relativity*, p. 60.

Old ideas of right and wrong have undergone modifications which are by no means insignificant. Perhaps the right is right for the same old reasons as before; but the right today is not the same thing as 2000 years ago. Need we take examples? Two will suffice. The conception of property and marriage are two of the fundamental ideas on which society is based. Have they remained the same since the foundation of Christianity?

Only recently a love-affair which received world-wide newspaper publicity and in which royalties were involved, showed how fundamental the change has been in the ideas of many men and women regarding sexual propriety. In Christ's morality whosoever cast an adulterous eye on another's wife was guilty of adultery and adultery was an offence against God's law. Today according to many men and also women, there can be heroism even in adulterous love. Is the change insignificant?

With regard to property, too, ideas pregnant with possibilities have cropped up. The relation between debtor and creditor is a relation based on property and also on truth. When you borrow money from another, you take it as *his* money and when you *promise* to repay it, you give him your word of truth. If later, you decline to pay, you violate the principle of property and also the principle of truth. Yet, do we not see in recent tendencies exactly a thing like this? Nations repudiate debts. Individuals also combine and through modern democratic organization and legislatures, manage to go back upon their word. By a stroke of the legislative pen, property that belonged to A, is transferred to B. Specific instances cannot be cited for obvious reasons. They will drag us into current controversies. But recent legislation regarding land-tenure and agricultural indebtedness, which is so much advertised in newspapers, obviously militate against old moral concepts of property and truth. With the help of the legislature, a man is relieved of the duty to keep his promise. A has not to pay to B he once promised to pay. Plighted troth is blighted. It brings relief to the debtor b also relieves him of a sense of obligation the old moral code generated. Such laws give economic relief to some classes or com nities, but they also revolutionise our m concepts. The future potentialities of drastic change, no one has cared to fore Does right remain right for the same old rea if the same thing is not right as before?

Shall we philosophers continue to spin theories as to why a thing is right and n care to ascertain *what* is right? While mank goes on discussing whether suffering a wrong a greater virtue than inflicting one, shall philosophers maintain a complacent calm in belief that whatever may be a virtue, it is virtue for the same reason? Should we not a lead and determine the code of virtue mankind? I am not talking of casuistry am talking of a real problem—a vital practical question of the day. The cobwebs speculation will be useless if they fail altoget to give a lead to the enquiring soul in act life.

They talk of progressive morality, b would not wait to determine the line of progre Progress is not time-flow: the present is n necessarily more progressive than the past and future than the present. The pendulum ma swing both backward and forward. Eve change is not necessarily a change for the bette

Instead of waiting for changes to crystalli the philosopher ought to be able to say what any given situation is right. Kant's "go will" has often been criticised as devoid content and an empty formalism. But does t moral philosopher offer anything better if he not prepared to give a lead to mankind in struggle to find out what is right in the concre

Civilisation today is at the crossway Human society all over the world is pass through rapid and radical metamorphosis. O ideas are yielding place to new. Old insti tions are being thrown into the melting p Social and political structure is being dissolv in the hope of finding a better in lieu of it. this juncture of man's history, should not t moral philosopher point his finger to the cor path to be followed!

There is another and more import direction in which the moral philosopher sho cast his glance. We know well enough th virtue—or what the moral philosopher asks to take as virtue—is not always rewarded. F unrequited virtue like unrequited love is desperate thing. Moral philosophers of therefore fell back upon religion and invoked the belief in a future life and a God. Virtue will be rewarded and there is God to guarantee it, and if the reward does not come here and in this life, it will come hereafter. To put it like this would make morality hypothetical. It is just possible that a man may not *want* future reward, for him virtue will have little inducement. Virtue, therefore, was proclaimed to be its own reward. Unless we consent to be put off with rhetoric, we must admit that virtue is not a spring of action. The virtuous man—the just man—therefore, must have a price for being just.

As opposed to scientific world-view, the moralist thinks that the universe on the stage of which the moral actor moves, is not an ephemeral show and that morality is not an empty and meaningless endeavour. It has a reality and a permanence. It is not confined to the span of a single life—three score years and ten—but extends beyond the grave. The struggling soul is immortal and its endeavour to become better and better will be continued beyond this life; and the universe in which here and now as well as hereafter and in future, it will pursue its ideal, is itself subject to a moral government and was intended to foster morality.

All this is fine sentiment—may even be fine poetry. But each one of the propositions here adumbrated can be and has been challenged. Even if they were all true and demonstrable beyond doubt, can the lure of future glory be always and for all men be enough compensation for the shortcomings of the present? Does suffering humanity today submit to its lot in the hope that it will have a blessed future? Does poverty feel elevated at the prospect of seeing heaven? Does wealth feel cowed down with the fear of encountering difficulties in entering heaven?

That the hope of a better future is and has been to many of us a solace in our distress, is not denied. But it is after all a question of balancing our account. Present enjoyment and future deprivation against present privations and future joy. Unless the future is enormously better than the present, any practical-minded man will say " a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." Besides, why should the reward of virtue be deferred? Why may it not have the sweets of this life? Why must it go unrewarded here? Or, to put the same question in another way : why must present life and social organization be such that the virtuous man can have no scope in it?

In Plato's ideal state, the philosopher who is also the moral philosopher—for he has his gaze fixed upon the eternal good—is to be the king. For the good of the state this must be so. Else a state would never attain the ideal condition. Of course, a state may damn itself and refuse to be an ideal one and continue to be ruled by unphilosophic rulers. If it ever chooses to become an ideal state, it must place itself under a philosopher's guidance.

But why should the philosopher be a philosopher at all? The usual answer is because philosophy and also virtue—is its own reward : because of the mental calm that philosophy ensures; and so on.

But as between these two, the moral philosopher has to face another question, *viz.*, how to place the virtuous men at the helm of affairs? How to secure that only good men get up to position of trust and responsibility in society? Surely this is a more vital question than merely defining the meaning of goodness.

In all civilized countries, recruitment to public services is regulated by certain principles. There are tests everywhere : though they are not the same. Yet after all they are always tests of intelligence and not of character. We have devised intelligence-tests, but have we any system of character-tests? In politics, the conflict between mere goodness and worldly greatness is rampant. A mere good man has little chance there.

In modern life, money yields tremendous advantages. And it is an uncanny truth that the God of money prefers soiled hands to hands unsoiled. Honesty is not always even the best policy. In trade and commerce and in the profession, a type of honesty undoubtedly prevails. To a large extent, that type of honesty is the best *policy*. But in the first place, it is only a *policy* and secondly, even this it always is not. In the third place, it is commercial or professional honesty—not honesty in itself—not general honesty.

In the struggle for existence, which undoubtedly there is, and which is daily being accentuated by the forces of civilization, the typically good man—the scrupulous, the honest and strictly virtuous man—the conscientious, considerate and selfless man—is always at a disadvantage. It is always well-nigh impossible to lead him to the top. It is difficult to bring success to him. In politics this is perilously true; and it is not untrue in other walks of life. Even in intellectual pursuits there are such things as plagiarism, which when it succeeds, means the triumph of dishonesty. The triumph of what is other than moral is not infrequent. And what is worse, life is so conditioned today, that pure and straightforward morality always finds it difficult to maintain itself. Is it any consolation to the moral man to be told that there is a future for him?

Society puts a premium on intellectual superiority. A University graduate has certain advantages which a non-graduate does not enjoy. This is the reason why a man strains his every nerve to become a graduate. Do we detect a similar straining of nerves for the attainment of virtue? Does society provide sufficient incentive for such straining of nerves?

Money means manifest advantages in society. By hook or by crook, men are bent on acquiring money. Have we ever seen a similar general effort for the acquisition of virtue? Of course, virtue is not an external thing like money and cannot be possessed independently of our activities. But do men always place it above other considerations in their activities, say, the pursuit of wealth and power? Is virtuous activity the means by which things desired in life may be acquired? Are they not rather acquired by means other than virtuous? This is the crux of the question.

The moralists' dilemma, therefore, is either to have the machinery of society so adjusted that none but the virtuous can attain to position of trust and responsibility or to frankly declare that virtue is not virtue. It is an unholy thing to have one code of morality to be taught in schools and another code followed in life!

But can we really say that virtue is not virtue? Emphatically no. The alternative open to us, therefore, is to bend all our energies to the reconstruction of society. No one has ever said that the existing social machinery is anywhere perfect. Efforts, more or less systematic, have always been made for the betterment of social organization. But the mere philosopher has oftener than not been only an onlooker. The day has come when there should be a closer bond between Ethics and Social Philosophy and when the moral philosopher should actively lead in all efforts of social amelioration.

The talk of social reconstruction is in the air. We talk of the uplift of the masses. If we are honest, we certainly do not mean to use the muscle-power of the masses for giving effect to the brain-waves of the select few. If we are honest in this, we mean to place power in the hands of the many—or to borrow an expression from Plato without subscribing to Plato's feeling of contempt about it—to place power in the hands of the multitudes. The domination of the weak by the strong—the exploitation of the poor by the rich, must become, if our new scheme succeeds, a thing of the past.

But the moral philosopher must remind the world which is now agog with enthusiasm ab social reconstruction and economic plann that the rich as such are not vicious and poor as such are not virtuous : the few are necessarily wicked and the many—sim because they are the majority—are not nec sarily righteous. If we have had oppression the poor and the many and the masses by rich, the few and the classes, it is equ possible to have the reverse process, *viz.*, opp sion of the few by the many. Surely one k of oppression and exploitation replaced another doth not make an ideal society. W is necessary is to do away with *all* oppres and exploitation, all abuse of power, and establish the reign of justice—to establish kingdom of heaven on earth, or to have, Kant's language, the kingdom of ends reali

This cannot be done if power sim changes hands. It can be done only if you make virtue and righteousness triumph not the class-room only—not in theory—but every walk of life, in the professions, in pub life, in politics and in the Government of countries. Perhaps we are thinking of the Platonic conception of the philosopher-ki But we do not emphasise the mere meditat on the idea of the good, but actual pursuit it in life.

In physics they have denied absolut motion. In Ethics similarly it seems that must deny absolute right and absolute wro The theory of relativity has pervaded eve realm of our thought. And neither in relig nor ethics can we allow that the elders h thought out our thoughts and that our probl have been solved for us—that once for all code of life has been determined for us; and that we have to do is to live up to it according to it. On the contrary, each age m have its own problem to face and must f them boldly and squarely. Each age and e of us must think its and his own thought. must determine what is right for us in mate mental and spiritual life and live accordin A religion or a morality that considers itsel eternal and universal, is, *ipso facto*, dead unworkable. And the task of the moral ph sopher is not to recapitualte old, worn-out i but to teach mankind what is just, proper righteous to do in the prevailing conditi life.

Any social reconstruction in order to stable must devise a machinery to select good in preference to the wicked for positio trust and responsibility. Can such a machi be devised? Well, that is just the question moralists in the class-room as well as in w politics, in the relations between individuals as well as in international affairs, have to tackle. It is often claimed that British public life is purer than that in many other countries. And this is said to be due to the enlightenment, the honesty and the sanity of British public opinion. That a healthy public opinion is a steadying force in public life is an apparent truth. And if society as a whole is to reap the fullest advantage of the moral code, it seems that the only immediate and practical means is to have a healthy and honest public opinion. Cannot philosophy create it?

Religion is having either no importance or an excessive importance in the societies of today. It should have its proper place. And morality as the code of life must not be merely a class-room affair. It must actually regulate life. How can it do this unless the good and the just have their rightful place in society? And this can hardly be effected by any cut and dry machinery that we can readily think of—any scheme or devise, except perhaps by the proper education of public opinion, and the fostering of a genuine belief in the truth of moral differences. The education of public opinion is the most important practical work that the moral philosopher can perform.

In Plato's simile "the present governors of mankind" may justly be compared to the mutinous sailors in a ship who have thrown away the true pilot as a good-for-nothing star-gazer and have taken the piloting of the ship in their own hands. And the philosopher is

> "like one who, in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along, retires under the shelter of a wall; and seeing the rest of mankind full of wickedness, he is content, if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil and unrighteousness, and depart in peace and goodwill, with bright hopes."

But it seems that this aloofness is no longer pardonable. "Far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife" there is an amiable peace and tranquillity. Yet the state offers a fuller opportunity of self-realization which even a philosopher cannot ignore. "The ruler" to quote Plato again, "who is good for anything, ought not to beg his subjects to be ruled by him." Yet the state must be so shaped that it feels the need of the philosopher-king.

The affairs of the world are seldom guided according to the highest moral principles. Whether at Brussels or at Geneva, whether at Shanghai-Nanking or Addis Ababa, whether in the League of Nations or in the Provincial Councils, it is interests rather than principles of justice that determine peoples' conduct. It is the mailed fist rather than the olive branch that commands respect.

But the clouds that darken the horizon have one silver lining. In the welter of turmoil, dissension and distrust into which the world has been thrown today, in the midst of national, racial, religious and communal strife that disfigures human society today, a lofty moral philosophy has come into existence. In M. K. Gandhi, the saint of Sabarmati, we have the embodiment of a philosophy of non-violence which though too lofty for many of us to pursue, is yet the highest political philosophy that the world has yet known: and which, if ever translated into practice, will make easier the work of social and political reconstruction which changing times will always demand. The political and legislative endeavours of mankind towards nation-building and reform, will acquire a new and hitherto unexperienced illumination, once the nations of the world can be drilled into the acceptance of this creed of non-violence. Whether we think of nations or of individuals, the only cure for the ills which beset the world today is perhaps Kant's good-will coupled with Gandhi's principle of non-violence. Thus alone can the Kingdom of Heaven be realized on earth.

CONGRESS AND DEMOCRACY

By S. RAMASWAMI IYER, M.A.

SINCE the assumption of office by the Congress in some of the Provinces, the cry is frequently raised by its critics that democracy is in danger, that parliamentary institutions in the country are on the verge of collapse. In the course of this article, a brief attempt is made to examine the force of this criticism, under three headings: 1. What is democracy? 2. How far is it obtained in India? 3. How has Congress work affected Indian political conditions?

What is democracy? The question has been agitating political thinkers almost from the dawn of the political and social conditions the word endeavours to signify. As President Wilson says, it is impossible to define democracy. Lord Morley remarks that

> "It is the name for a certain general condition of society; not only involving the political doctrine of popular sovereignty but representing a cognate group of corresponding tendencies over the whole field of moral, social and even spiritual life within the democratic community." "Simplification of life, the sovereignty of the people and the protection of a community by itself, the career open to the talents, equality and brotherhood; the substitution of industrialism for militarism; respect for labour; such are some of the attempts that have been made to seize in a phrase the animating spirit of the profound changes through which the civilized world has for a century and more been passing not only in the imposing institutions of the external world, but in the mind and heart of the individual man."

In more concise language, it can be said that absolute legal sovereignty of the nation and the exercise of that sovereign power by the majority of the people are the indispensable features of a democracy. The first is impossible without political freedom and in strict theory a country that does not possess this elementary mark of nationhood cannot be called a state at all.

The second, the exercise of sovereign power by the people usually takes two forms; one through their elected representatives and the other through the direct method of referendum and initiative as it is obtained in Switzerland and America. With the latter, the representative system is less popular; but the ultimate difference between the two modes of expressing the popular will is only apparent: what the referendum decides in one country the general election settles in the other. Either way, the will of the majority prevails and it is the inevitable best that has been invented by political practice. As long as differen opinion are bound to occur on all public and no question can be settled to the sat tion of all, the greatest happiness of the gr number has to be decided by the gr number of votes.

Democracy has also come to mean other things as the rule of law as distinct the rule of executive regulations; the strict ordination of the executive to the legislatu which the former should always be respon the independence of the judiciary and wh supposed to possess a socialist sting in it minimum means of existence for all those go to form the community. Laski would that liberty should provide every man atmosphere wherein he can be the bes himself.

How far political conditions in India ar these requisites? The answer is obvious simple. Most of them are absent and as those that seem to exist they are but shad with no life within. Is India politically fr No. Is her foreign relations and inter administration completely under the contr Indians? Again a humiliating negative. D rule of law prevail? Does she afford free of speech and of person to all her sons? ordinances and imprisonments without stare us in the face. Do they get two full m a day? The majority have to be content one and some not even one. True, we h legislatures, cabinets, foreign agents and Ind in the summits of the League of Nations. the grim facts of our constitutional history political relationships refuse to be subm under such vast pretences. A country gov under an Act passed by the British Parlia enjoys no more exalted constitutional st than a municipality governed under another of the same parliament. Theoretically, whole of India is a huge municipality of G Britain. A British municipality can hav elected chairman of its own; in India h appointed by the Imperial Government, he is in theory responsible exclusively to t who have given him his position.

As regards her internal relations, the the well-guarded autonomy of the pro with not even the name in the centre. In provinces, before the Congress took up o minorities were ruling against the express will of the electorate. Both the fundamentals of a democratic government were missing. And as this country can excel no other except in her dire poverty, we were also having the unedifying combination of political subordination with grave economic malaise.

What has the Congress done for or against Democracy in India? By accepting office the Congress established majority rule in the seven provinces where congressmen have formed cabinets. One essential is thus achieved. And the Congress rules in such a way that the attainment of the other is always kept in view and to which all other transient issues are strictly subordinated. Measures are also being designed to improve the condition of the poor and to lessen the glaring inequities of Indian social and economic life. These are the tangible achievements of Congress, in furtherance of true democratic ideals and practices.

The argument that the Congress is paying scant regard for parliamentary forms of government demands notice. This criticism is built on the grounds that the sovereignty of the legislatures is neutralised by the Congress executive committees, that the absence of an effective opposition takes away the wholesome restraint so much necessary to curb the autocratic impulses of a single party executive and that the Treasury benches are intolerant and dictatorial in their dealings with the opposition, minorities.

First of all, we will do well to be constantly reminded of the fact that the Congress has accepted office not in deference to any political precept or constitutional dogma but as an inevitable step in their own programme which is exclusively and primarily designed to achieve political independence. They don't find democratic institutions in the country just for the reason that there is no democracy. Whatever might be the potential destructivity of the Congress, they cannot destroy things that do not exist.

The Congress is not dealing with a settled order of things. The country is in a period of transition, a transition from unparliamentary to parliamentary government; the niceties of the latter will be of use only when the change is accomplished and they will only provide obstacles if they are attempted to be employed during the process. The present enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions resembles the fondness and silliness of an aged father who quarrels with his wife over the colour of the skirt with which they will clad their son, just unaware of the fact that the lady is only four months in labour and the issue when born can be either a son or a daughter! Perhaps a doctor's assistance may become necessary and if the delivery is not easy, a surgical operation can alone save the mother; and who knows whether the child may survive it?

We are in grips with the problem of not how to run the state but how to create it. A parliament can run the machine but it cannot create it. It is like a motor car that will run splendidly over a smooth road; but the road should be there; and the car cannot be used in constructing it. India has decided that the road should be built. The country called for tenders and several came forward; the Congress tender was accepted and the construction has already set in and the people are satisfied that the Congress can do its work well. Those who want to run their automobiles before the road is finished are spoiling their machines and delaying completion of the road. The Congress has received the sanction of the people for their programme in unequivocal terms. The idea which the Congress stands for and the methods it employs to attain them are understood and approved by the masses. It is often said that a subject nation has no politics. It is an untruth. Only a subject nation striving to shake off its subjection has politics. The issues are simple and easily grasped. Not like the gold standard or the Bank of England rate which not even the greatest financiers of the world profess to understand thoroughly.

The shifting of popular attention and interest from the halo of wealth and officialdom to the interests and aspirations of the masses is another distinctive achievement of the Congress towards democracy. Till the emergence of the Congress as an active force in Indian life the masses were a neglected factor and the problems of the nation had a snobbish hue about them. It was entirely the result of Congress labour that the masses have been roused from their lethargy and self-consciousness instilled into them with marvellous results.

These are some of the more tangible consequences of Congress work. The intangible results will be the more abiding. A glance over the history of democracy will reveal that wherever it has been ushered into existence, the path has been uniformly stormy and destructive. The devout catholic, the ardent Puritan, the philosopher and the poet, have all championed the cause of freedom and has taken up cudgels on its behalf; but neither art nor religion have been able to eschew violence or avoid bloodshed in the process. Millenniums have passed ere the world became first aware of the birth of democracy. But every rebirth is attended with a major surgical operation and the instruments employed for this are as crude and primitive, perhaps more destructive, in the present century as they were centuries before the Lord. It is the unique and momentous achievement of Indian nationalism to forge a new weapon at once humane and staggeringly powerful, non-violence. Gandhiji's discovery and initiation of this new principle, blending religion and politics in the most harmonious way and keeping constantly in sight the essential unity of life, in all its varied activities, marks a new era in the history of democracy and a revolution in the history of political thought and practice. Passive resistance and non-violence had already been promulgated as rules of public conduct, in different ages of human evolution. But during those times, they were no more than hazy dogmas often exciting the cynical indifference of the practical politician and fighter. It was left to Gandhiji to rescue the doctrine of non-violence from its status of a discarded truism and to make it a living creed, a gregarious habit and an effective instrument for political purposes. The cost of the transition which used to be appalling on almost all previous occasions is now absolutely wiped out; and when the cause of Indian nationalism triumphs through non-violence, democracy shall have gained the most enduring and the most wonderful asset it can ever have. Democracy will then be a real mode of living instead of a tragic and efficie mode of dying and perpetual preparation f and against death. Bernard Shaw calls dem cracy "stupidity armed with a gun." "Voti only changes names; revolutions are worked b shooting." The Congress will disprove bot It is striving to show that revolution can b carried through without shooting and democrac need not sustain itself on its guns. I Gandhism in which all the virtues of the Co gress political creed can easily be perceive there is much more of real democracy, re education and real religion than the world car to understand. It also lays the most sol foundation of democracy not only for India, b for the whole of the world. Democracy cann exist without liberty and true liberty can onl be founded on true religion. William Eb writes in *Hibbert Journal*, October, 1937:

> "If men are to enjoy liberty without imperilli order they must find some centre other than self ab which to integrate their lives; and it must be the sam for all men; it needs little argument to show that th can be found only in God. Faith in God is an u failing source of liberty. The man who claims freedo to obey God rather than man cannot proceed to use h freedom in disobedience to God. And God is the fathe of all men and His Will is the welfare of all His childre Apart from faith in God, freedom cannot survive. Apa from faith in God, it cannot deserve to survive; th causes of freedom and of faith are one."

The Congress ideology is not far removed from the one depicted in these words.

ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA, 1937

BY K. S. VAKIL

It is, indeed, gratifying to report that the subject of Adult Education received more attention during the year than it ever did before, particularly in some of the provinces in which responsibility for Government passed into the hands of popular leaders who regard provision of elementary education for the entire mass of the population as their first duty.

Provincial Departments of Public Instruction which did little or nothing for the encouragement of Adult Education are now being goaded on to make a move in this field by the new popular Ministers of Education. For instance, one of the first acts of the new Bombay Ministry was, within barely a fortnight of its accession to power, to include in it budget for the second half of the current yea a provision of Rs. 10,000 specifically for Adul Education and, soon afterwards, to get i distributed to different divisions of the Bomba Presidency and put to use for the purpose fo which it was made. The plan adopted for th purpose is to encourage voluntary associatio of social workers in the different linguisti divisions to establish Adult Education Centr under the supervision of the Divisional Educ tional Inspectors and to give them grants-in-ai Several Adult Education Centres have alread been established in that Presidency accordingl and it is hoped that the experiment will succe and will lead to further progress of the movement. In the Central Provinces, too, apreciable progress has been made. 55 Adult schools have been established by local bodies during the year, 50 in rural areas and 5 in the Nagpur Municipality. The Government has undertaken the entire cost of maintenance of the schools in *rural* areas and one-half of it in *urban* or municipal areas, and has placed them under the supervision of its inspecting officers.

In Bengal, the Minister of Education has rendered available a sum of Rs. 1000 obtained from a private source for the formation of a Central Committee in Calcutta to guide and advise the working of Adult Education Centres recently established in rural areas by the Department of Public Instruction in co-operation with the Registration Department. A non-official Bengal Adult Education Association has also been recently formed in Calcutta.

Among the Indian States, Mysore has 78 schools for adults with 1858 pupils against 74 schools with 1699 pupils last year. They are conducted by Local Education Authorities under the general supervision of the State Education Department and are reported to be doing really good work. Travancore provided Rs. 21,300 in its budget for the introduction of a State library system and established libraries and reading rooms in 60 selected State primary schools (57 Malayalam and 3 Tamil), mostly situated in rural areas, where library facilities did not formerly exist, It allotted Rs. 100 for furniture for each library and supplied 200 books to each, and has appointed the Headmaster of the Primary School as Honorary Librarian and has been paying him Rs. 3 per month as honorarium.

Among the Municipalities, Calcutta conducts 5 night schools for carters and sweepers and aids privately managed night schools to the extent of Rs. 10,000 per annum; Patna aids free libraries to the extent of Rs. 2,420 per annum; Poona maintains 1 night school and aids two others; and Karachi has 28 night schools to which it gives grants amounting nearly to Rs. 3,000. Bombay shows the greatest progress. The Bombay City Literacy Association started under the lead of Mr. K. F. Nariman is now conducting 65 Adult classes (20 Marathi, 12 Gujarati, 18 Hindi and 15 Urdu) staffed with 90 teachers and attended by about 2,000 adults. They cost over Rs. 10,000 per annum. The Secretary reports that the classes have been working satisfactorily and have led to a demand for the opening of many more, which cannot be met for want of funds. Were more funds available, it would be possible to increase the number of classes to 100 and their attendance to 3000 within a couple of months.

The work of the Universities in the field of Adult Education consists in the organization of Extension Lectures not only at the University Centres but also at other places within their territorial jurisdiction. The one outstanding defect of these lectures, however, appears to be that they are mostly on higher subjects of University study and research, of interest to University students rather than to the ordinary adult inhabitants of urban areas. Lectures on subjects, such as "Currency and World Chaos", "The Linlithgow Commission and After", "Cultural Synthesis of India", "Great Poetry", "Mysticism in Religion", "The Future of the Tamil Language", "Kalidasha Sandesha", "Karnatak Samskriti", "Contemporary Socialist Theories", "Race Origins and Differentiation", "The System of the Universe", "Lineage of Man", are far beyond the comprehension of most of the people for whose benefit they are intended.

The Y. M. C. A., The Bombay Presidency Adult Education Association, Bombay, the Adult Education Institute, Vile Parle (Bombay suburban area), the Adult Education League, Poona, the Raiyat Shikhan Mandal, Satara, and the Central Night Schools Association, Muzaffarpur (Bihar), are all pursuing their useful activities with the same zeal as before.

Poona has recently organized a Saksharta Prasarak Mandal (Association for Spread of Literacy) and has already commenced work. It has been proceeding on the plan evolved by Prof. S. R. Bhagwat, Chief Officer of the Poona Municipality, who is known for his keen interest in the subject, with the active co-operation of well-known local educationists. It achieved success in its work at the three places at which it started it and, encouraged by this success, extended its activities to six other places and brought nearly 300 adults within its sphere of influence at the beginning of this year. Since receipt of a grant of Rs. 4,450 from the present Bombay Education Ministry in October last, it has opened six more classes. To ensure success, the Association has arrnaged to train teachers on its own plan and has already produced six special reading books at a cost of over Rs. 3,500 for the adults receiving instruction in its classes. It has got films prepared to assist it in its work and has purchased a motor lorry to carry on propaganda on the subject from village to village.

An "Indian Adult Education Society" has also been started at Delhi with Prof. J. B. Raja and Mr. H. B. Richardson of St. Stephen's

College, Delhi, as President and Secretary respectively, under the inspiration of Mr. and Mrs. T. F. Williams of the National Adult School Union, England, who came out to this country last winter and toured round several educational centres such as Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Nagpur and Bombay. Its motto is "Lighted to Lighten". Its aims and objects are :

(1) To remove illiteracy from India,

(2) to enable the masses of the Indian people to become better citizens in every respect, and

(3) to promote in all possible ways the personal development of the men and women of India so that they may attain the fulness of their bodily, mental, and spiritual stature and more especially those who had not the opportunities of education in their early life.

Its methods are :

(1) To open and conduct classes for imparting instruction in the three R's to those who are illiterate;

(2) to start and maintain more advanced classes of instruction to meet the need of those who are literate, but who have not had the opportunities for higher studies;

(3) to discover and inaugurate suitable courses of vocational training of direct economic value to the poverty-stricken masses, and more especially for the unemployed, and as a subsidary occupation for agriculturalists;

(4) to devise and introduce general cultural courses on such themes as the National Heritage, Fine Arts, Health and Sanitation, Citizenship and Co-operation;

(5) to supplement the regular courses enumerated above by stimulating periodical discussions, discourses, demonstrations, debates, dramas, concerts, competitions, *melas* or fairs, markets, tournaments, crafts, country dances, fancy shows and exhibitions of arts, cottage industry and agricultural products; and the maintenance of reading rooms, stationery and itinerant libraries, museums; and in other kindred ways calculated to promote the aims of the Society;

(6) to provide for all who seek instruction in the Society's institutions sound moral and religious instruction in their respective faiths, to be imparted by the best qualified persons available for the purpose;

(7) to organize adequately equipped gymnasiums, wrestling pits and playing fields for healthy physical exercise.

It has deputed Miss Cryan who is professor in Lady Hardinge Medical College, Delhi, to report the work of the Association to this meeting. I am glad to welcome this measure, on the part of the Association, to establish contact with the All India Federation and discuss the subject with it.

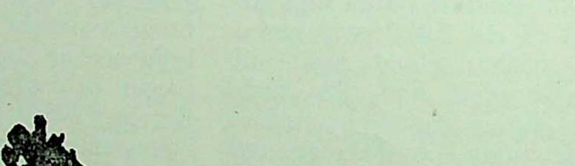
During the current year, some interest in the subject was aroused by Dr. Frank Laubach who introduced into the Philippines a new method of teaching reading to illiterate adults. He showed at several places which he visited during his tour round this country how his method could be applied to the education of Indian illiterates, and assisted in forming local committees for preparing reading books for adults. The Gujarat Committee has already prepared and published the first book and is now planning to revise it for the second edition.

It seems to me that time is now ripe for the consideration of the question of co-ordinating all these activities and bringing them within the purview and jurisdiction of one Central All-India organization. Their integration is necessary, if a united effort is to be made in the field of Adult Education.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity to acknowledge with thanks the active interest that Mr. Earnest Champness of the National Adult School Union of England has taken in our proceedings. I am glad also to note that the World Association for Adult Education has continued to evince the same sympathetic interest in our work as it did before. It published a summary of our last year's proceedings in its Bulletin, Second Series, Number IX and in its Occasional News Sheet No. 12 for March, 1937.*

---

* Report as Secretary to the Adult Education Section of the All India Education Conference, Calcutta, on December 28, 1937.



THE PROGRESS OF RURAL RECONSTRUCTION WORK IN THE MYSORE STATE

By G. RUDRAPPA, M.A. (Oxon.), BAR-AT-LAW

THE problem of improving the moral, material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists living in rural areas in India and the urgent need of action in the matter, have engaged the earnest attention of enlightened and patriotic citizens of India for over one quarter of a century. The appointment of the Royal Commission on agriculture and the report that has been published as a result of their labours served as an eye-opener to town and city dwellers earning their livelihood by trade and other occupations. The report is an impressive and monumental document and will serve as a valuable and authoritative reference book for a long time to come for all those who are really and sincerely interested in raising the average standard of life and culture of the citizens of this country. The conclusions of the Commission and their earnest and far-reaching recommendations do honour to the members of the Commission. This remarkable report gave further inspiration and strength to those who were thinking and working in the same field. Then came the Round Table Conferences with a view to giving India a democratic form of Government with federation to give unity to the country, and the need of educating the masses, so that they may know the great value of franchise and exercise it intelligently as responsible citizens of the country, was acutely felt by some awakened citizens of India.

And now that democracy has actually dawned upon India and bureaucracy is at an end and the State looks to the individual citizen for guidance in shaping the policy and destiny of this great country, the need of improving the standard of life and education of the average citizen has become all-important, and every popular government in India is earnestly trying to solve the rural problems to accelerate the progress of the country and create a favourable atmosphere and soil for the democratic plant or idea to take root and thrive and grow.

When politicians in British India are just beginning to do something in the matter, and particularly when it has become a fashion on the part of leading politicians in India to regard the native states as untouchables for associations for all-India purposes, it may not be inappropriate to say a word or two on the great progress that has been achieved by a constitutional monarch in his State with able and patriotic ministers at his service.

Perhaps it may not be unpleasant to remember that about two hundred years ago every bit of land in India was ruled by some Chief, Prince, Raja, Maharaja, Sultan, Nawab or Chakravarti or Emperor and they were constantly at war with one another. Some of these rulers were wise, good and God-fearing, and the Indian literature abounds in the inspiring accounts of such rulers. The folklore, legends and *puranas* are full of their accounts, The names of Dharmaraya, Shuka Muni, Lord Buddha, Harischandra, Nala, Chandragupta, Asoka and Akbar readily occur to my mind and most of them were not only kings but were also profound scholars and philosophers and saintly in their character, and their names are still remembered and honoured in this country, so much so, that India knew only one form of Government, and that was Monarchy, and the Indian still retains this traditional love and loyalty for his King, just as the English love their King in spite of a democratic form of Government. I also venture to say that some Indian States are very much ahead of British India in the progress they have made, and that is because the States have full sovereign powers and the interests of the ruler and the ruled are identical.

It is needless for me to mention that about three decades ago little interest was taken by a town or city dweller in the rustic or cultivator of land. It appeared quite natural that the cultivator of land was illiterate, ill-clad and ill-housed and lived in the midst of filth and insanitary conditions. The villages attracted the attention of the public and the governments only when rains failed and famines prevailed or floods occurred or epidemics broke out. And so in 1914, it occurred to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his then prime-minister who was no other than Sir M. Visveswaraiya, that something should be seriously attempted to change this apathetic attitude on the part of Government officers and the public towards these unfortunate subjects of the State who form 90 per cent of the total population of the State, to improve the moral, material and intellectual conditions of the agriculturists, and the Village Improvement Scheme was introduced by an administrative order. A determined and dynamic campaign was launched to improve the sanitation, health and happiness of the rural population. Village improvement committees were formed throughout the State for each village or a combination of villages with the heads of the villages as chairmen, to attend to sanitation and other immediate wants and requirements of the village. The Government generously contributed one-half of the cost of works of public utility such as draw-wells for drinking purposes, village halls, chavadis, cattle-pounds and school-buildings, forming approach roads to villages, and erecting gate-pillars and sign-boards to indicate on the road-side the location of the villages. The villagers were also asked to devote one day in a week for communal labour, *viz.*, for removing prickly-pear, lantana and other rank vegitation and filling up insanitary pits with stagnant water, constructing drains and culverts and repairing school-buildings, temples and chavadis and planting avenue trees, etc.

Very satisfactory work was turned out by these village improvement committees. Thousands and thousands of draw-wells were sunk to provide pure, fresh and sweet water (God's or nature's wine), for drinking purposes and miles and miles of village roads were constructed by communal labour in addition to school-buildings, ornamental gate-pillars and name-boards, culverts and drains. The work of the village improvement committees under the supervision of the revenue officers continued to be satisfactory and H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his prime-minister Sir Mirza Ismail thought that the time had arrived to give each village a statutory basis and a constitution and the village panchayats took the place of the village improvement committees under the Village Panchayat Act of 1926.

The Panchayat Act has conferred full local self-government on the villages. The members of the panchayats are elected once in three years and many of them have elected their own chairmen. They have power to levy taxes and spend the income for necessary social services *viz.*, sanitation, health and education and works of public utility. They have also power to levy optional taxes for increasing the amenities of life such as getting electric power for lighting the streets and also for industrial and agricultural purposes.

The village panchayats are holding meetings fairly regularly, framing their annual budgets and attending to the ordinary social services and collecting taxes also although their collecting work cannot be said to be satisfactory. Special officers are being appointed for collection work wherever it is not satisfactory and also subordinates of the engineering departments for the execution of works of public utility to make use of the large balance at their disposal, including the annual government grants.

For the purpose of giving the public and the world at large an accurate impression of the work that these panchayats have done and are doing in this State so far, I cannot do better than quoting the concluding remarks of the Revenue Commissioner of Mysore who is the chief controlling authority in the matter in his annual report for 1935-36 :

> "It is a little over nine years since the village panchayats scheme was brought into force. The number of village panchayats have steadily increased from 7,9 village panchayats on 1st July, 1927 to 11,255 village panchayats inclusive of hamlets at the end of 1935-36. The total income of these panchayats during this period was nearly Rs. 89,21,100 while the aggregate expenditure incurred by them was Rs. 67,31,500. It may be interesting to note that during this period nearly 4½ lakhs of rupees have been spent on conservancy and sanitations, Rs. 9,36,400 inclusive of government and other contributions on water supply and maintenance charges and Rs. 29,21,500 on improvement works. Much remains to be done . . . etc."

It would therefore appear according to this authentic document, that there are 11,2 miniature parliaments working in rural areas with a democratic form of government. The report speaks of things only from 1927, and we want the public to take into consideration the work done and the amount spent for village improvement from 1914 to 1927, to form a correct idea of what the State has done so far. This account of the village improvement progress will not be complete if particular mention is not made of other important activities of the village panchayats.

The panchayats in addition to attending to social services are also in charge of all local village institutions. They are managing village forests and tanks and *musafirkhanas.* They are also enjoying additional postal facilities by employing runners on a small pay, wherever locked-bag system has been introduced. Most of the village panchayats have opened reading rooms and libraries and are also subscribing to newspapers and magazines, and libraries and reading rooms are increasing from year to year in the rural areas.

MEDICAL RELIEF

The village panchayats have also shown that they are not unmindful of affording medical relief. They are distributing quinine pills freely to the villagers wherever malaria prevails. A large number of village panchayats is contributing their quota towards the maintenance of Ayurvedic and Unani Vaidyashalas and District Board dispensaries. Some villages have also arranged for weekly visits of the local medical officers to their villages and what is more interesting and gratifying is that the village panchayats are evincing great interest in maternity and child welfare. Maternity wards and maternity homes have been opened in villages with the assistance of the District Boards and the Mysore branch of the Indian Red Cross Society. A large number of them have sprung up throughout the State. A few philanthropic gentlemen have also given handsome donations for the construction of maternity homes and dispensaries in different parts of the State. Milk centres have also been started in different places for the supply of pure milk to the children of the poor. 150 village panchayats held baby shows, and gave prizes to parents whose children were found to be healthy.

PLANNED VILLAGE EXTENSIONS

Attention is also being paid by the village panchayats to the laying out of village extensions on a definite sanitary plan, and tiled roofs are taking the place of thatched roofs. For some years past the electrification of villages has been going on, and a large number of villages are using electric power for lighting the streets and houses and also for industrial and agricultural purposes. It would also appear that many villages have taken kindly to the scout movement and that scouting has been introduced into 40 villages in the State. It may be a pleasant surprise to some that the village panchayats have been evincing a very great interest in the humanitarian activities of the Mysore Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society. They are contributing a substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 and odd to the local branch which has made it possible for the society to further extend its humanitarian activities.

I have so far endeavoured to give a general idea of the important activities of the village panchayats. It only remains for me to say a few words on what the State has done and is doing to reduce illiteracy among the agriculturists and improve their material and economic conditions.

THE SPREAD OF PRIMARY AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

The problem of educating the masses and giving them a political training has become more important than the problem of providing bread for eating, since the advent of the democratic era in India, by the inauguration of autonomous and self-governing States on a democratic basis in India. This State is fully alive to this great need of educating the masses and rapidly extending primary education in the State, so that literacy may spread among the agricultural classes. The number of primary schools is increasing from year to year. As most of the school board authorities have expressed their inability to rapidly increase these institutions for want of funds, the Government have been encouraging voluntary efforts in starting private schools by converting them into aided institutions by sanctioning special grants for this purpose. Owing to this additional help and encouragement, the number of primary schools for boys in the State has risen from 5,735 to 5,783 and the number of girl schools to 503 within a course of one year. In addition to this, attention is also being paid to start adult schools on a large scale. There are at present 74 adult schools under State control. Some private individuals have opened adult schools both for men and women. This is a very encouraging feature. Some hold night classes and others afternoon classes. There are also 497 indigenous village schools serving 15,243 pupils.

The Government are maintaining 18 practical instruction classes in agriculture and 4 practical instruction classes in sericulture. In addition to this there are 80 practical instruction classes attached to middle schools and high schools to give a vocational turn to the education of boys in these schools and it is reported that all these are doing very useful work.

IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

The traditional and conservative habits of the agriculturists and their fatalistic outlook and contentment with things as they are and happen, is being gradually changed by the efforts of the agricultural department for some years. The agriculturists are now realizing the advantages of using scientific agricultural implements and ploughs, better seeds and manures to increase the output of their agricultural produce and its quantity; the result is that many village panchayats are purchasing more improved implements for the use of the villagers and are also maintaining agricultural depots in many rural areas, and what is more gratifying, they have also realized the need of improving their cattle which is one of the major factors of their agricultural wealth. They have come to realize that mother cow and father bull should be beautiful and majestic in look to get more milk, and strong working animals to draw their carts to the market with their produce, and plough their lands. They are therefore listening to scientific advice and are not objecting to inoculations when cattle diseases break out, to the castration of the inferior variety of bulls and are purchasing superior pedigree bulls on a large scale. Most of the village panchayats are purchasing such bulls for common use in the village at concessional rates. Can it be a matter of wonder, if with better implements, better seeds, and better cattle, the agricultural prosperity of the country should increase !

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS AND HOME INDUSTRIES

Again in order to provide the agriculturists with some subsidiary occupations when there is little to do on the land for many months, home industries are being introduced on a large scale. It is a well-known fact that the Government in Mysore has given the greatest encouragement to the honest work of spinning, weaving and khadi work. Khadi cloth is used by all Government servants to whom cloth is to be supplied annually by the Government. What this means to the poor, although it means no more than four annas a day, can be easily imagined.

Framed looms are also brought into use by demonstration work by the Department of Industries and Commerce. Soap-making for which Mysore is so famous is also taught to these villagers so that they may earn a few pies or annas more a day. Bee-hiving industry and poultry farming are also taught to the agriculturists by the agricultural department and many other useful arts and crafts to spend their leisure hour profitably.

These are some of the normal activities of the State in the welfare of the agricultural population. I may also say that the Government of Mysore are earnestly trying to tackle the problem of agricultural indebtedness by means of debt conciliation boards on a volunt basis with the help of co-operative societies a land mortgage banks, and the Government h also appointed marketing officers to help t agriculturists in selling their produce in the b markets without middlemen who consume near half the value of their produce.

Not contented with this and the progr made the Government have recently sanction the following schemes with a view to achiev greater immediate results :

(1) The authorities of the National Council Y. M. C. A. are in charge of the rural reconstru centre at Doddaballapur for which a recurring grant Rs. 4,000 per annum has been sanctioned by Governm for a period of 5 years in their order dated the 21st September, 1934. It would appear that eight memb of select panchayats in Doddaballapur taluk were gi training at the centre during the official year 1935-36.

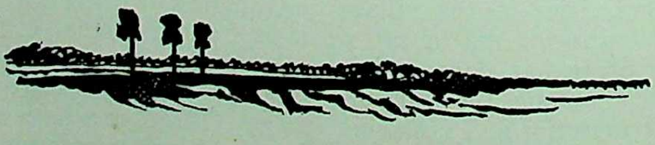
(2) The Government in their order dated the 9 May, 1936, have sanctioned a scheme of concentra propaganda for rural welfare in 189 selected villages i the different districts of the State in order to give further push or impetus to the work of rural reconstru tion, and the half-yearly report of the work done und this scheme is very interesting and raises great hop of rapid results.

(3) In pursuance of Government order dated t 1st of July, 1935, a rural health training centre w established at Closepet in co-operation with the Rockfe Foundation to serve as a model unit of efficient ru health service and as a training centre for the person of the Health Department, and the Centre began wor in 135 villages.

The Government also established a rur welfare centre at Closepet, on 10th July, 193 to work side by side with health work. T work done by these special institutions is ve interesting and worth reading.

It will thus be seen that the Government o H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore are payi very special attention to the work of ru reconstruction or regeneration of the people accordance with progressive modern ideas.

If in a short newspaper article, I have b able to bring out the salient features of t immense work done since 1914, which seems be of a pioneering nature from a comparat point of view, my labour of love will not be vain, and by this work alone Mysore m perhaps vie with other modern progress States apart from phenomenal developments other directions which the politicians of Brit India have generously and unhesitatin recognized and commended.



SOCIAL ILLITERACY

By A. ARONSON, B.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D.

Visva-bharati

As the title of this essay might lead to misunderstandings, we want, in a few preliminary remarks, to make the aim of our study clear. Commonly the word " illiteracy " is used in a somewhat narrow sense; in official statistics, reports and public speeches, it indicates the inability of a person over six years of age to read and to write. The social data provided by statistics and reports are altogether of a too general kind; the economic and cultural background are not sufficiently taken into consideration. Illiteracy being one social phenomenon amongst many others, it should be studied in connection with its original and natural surroundings, namely, the life of a social group. Illiteracy considered from a social viewpoint, becomes something quite different. It no longer indicates the inability of a person to read or to write, but it provides us with the necessary data as to the means of intellectual communication between the adult members of a society, primitive or civilized. It, furthermore, indicates the evolution of illiteracy from the pre-literate stage of a primitive tribe to the highly developed literate stage of an urban civilization. These two stages of illiteracy should be carefully distinguished : we may call the one, the illiteracy of the uneducated, which is to be found in all primitive and as yet undeveloped social groups, such as in India; and the other, the illiteracy of the educated, which nowadays is to be found in all " civilized " countries in the West as well as especially in America. Both are in the proper sense of the term social phenomena; in order to interpret them, one has to go back to the social, economic, and general cultural structure of the social group in question. This essay therefore, aims at an interpretation of the data provided by a study of illiteracy in the framework of a general sociological survey, and the question we want to solve here is, how those data can be used for further investigations.

We have found the clearest formula for the use of illiteracy statistics in a publication of the United States Bureau of Education, a formula that emphasizes all the social and cultural implications of the illiteracy problem; we quote it by way of introduction as it represents a viewpoint which we have taken up ourselves throughout our whole study :

> **"Illiteracy statistics form one of the several indices used in the science of demography to measure roughly the degree of a people's culture. They indicate to a considerable extent the effectiveness of its school system, the pride which the race in question takes in its language and literature, and its determination to open to all its citizenry the medium of written communication. They reflect the national attitude towards the education of women, indigenous peoples, and minority groups ; the enforcement of compulsory educational laws ; and the general progress of educational policies. They are of use to the administrator in formulating policies of government. They are in a definite sense an indication of country's financial and economic status. They are a valuable supplement to the more detailed and more frequently gathered statistics of education published annually or biennially by most countries." (James F. Abel and Norman J. Bond : Illiteracy in the several countries of the world. United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bull., 1929, No. 4.)**

These remarks can, of course, be applied both to the illiteracy of the uneducated and the educated. The latter is a new form of illiteracy unknown to the pre-literate tribal stage of society; it is, in fact, to be found only in highly developed civilizations, and only after the war it has been recognized as a new form of social isolation in Western countries as well as in the United States. A child before reaching school-age can be called " illiterate " in the West as well as in India; after leaving school, children in India frequently fall back into their former primitive state of illiteracy, because the opportunity given to them to read and to write is very negligible indeed; from a sociological point of view that means that there is no actual need for inter-societal communication and that in a primitive stage of society people are very well contented with an oral transmission of news as well as of " literature ". A child in one of the Western countries or in America has first of all to go through a most complicated and involved educational machine with its standardized curriculum, and after leaving school, although it usually does not forget how to read and write, it does not find any serious connection between the actual life of society and the subjects taught at school : its ability to read and to write is not used in inter-societal communication (except for writers, journalists, politicians, etc.), but, in the average case, for the acquisition of wealth; at the same time this ability makes the child or the young adult undergo all sorts of influences emanating from all these social phenomena with which a normal adult in Western civilization comes in daily contact, such as all reading and writing matter, general cultural interests, social and religious activities, and the way of getting a living. A normal adult in that type of society will accept indiscriminately those influences from outside. He will no longer find any relation between them and his former school life; and this experience which every normal adult has to undergo nowadays will bring about a new kind of "illiteracy", one which is more complex than the mere inability to read and write, but which is altogether more dangerous; for, after opening the child's mind in an elaborate educational process, the social group is incapable of providing the right kind of intellectual material for the child's further development; and material of the wrong and indiscriminate kind inevitably leads to a "higher" form of illiteracy, which may be called the illiteracy of the educated. It is, as we have said before, a new form of passive isolation in a civilized and industrialized society. We shall presently give instances of this kind of intellectual isolation. It needs, however, hardly mentioning that there are no statistics available for this form of illiteracy; only sociological surveys on a much broader basis can help us; whenever they have been used here, they will be mentioned in the course of this essay.

It should be clear by now that the ultimate aim of this essay is to present the evolution from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated as seen from the standpoint of a sociologist. As both are to be found side by side in the present state of civilization, and the East (with the exception of Japan) on the one hand, and America on the other, represent the two alternatives in a most illuminating manner, and as the two are separated by several centuries of "progress" in the West, this study is of actual as well as of historical interest. Statistics and meaningless numbers will be avoided as far as possible; no "scientific" investigation has been attempted here; from the few suggestions found in the following paragraphs, the reader will have to draw his own conclusions.

It has been said that illiteracy both "primitive" and "evolved" is a form of isolation. Our first aim therefore will be to consider the "primitive" isolation of an adult illiterate together with its social implications. Written symbols are unintelligible to him; therefore he must limit his social intercourse to his immediate social group and many stimuli will pass unnoticed. Contemporary civilization depends to a large extent on written symbols; therefore the illiterate adult will be handicapped in reactions to stimuli; and, furthermore, onl limited number of stimuli, namely, t independent of written symbols, will be conv to him. These few remarks indicate that pr tive illiteracy, above all, belongs to t phenomena of human existence which by com consent are called "societal". In an Amer study on illiteracy we have found the relati ship established between illiteracy as a soci phenomenon and other elements of social such as race, nationality, school system, b rate, infant mortality, early age of marri size of family, mobility, suicide, and urban tion. (Sanford Winston: *Illiteracy in* *United States,* Chapel Hill, 1930). Altho there these elements were quantitatively de mined, we shall be contented here with conclusions drawn from the very comp material. And if we keep in mind that all conclusions are intimately connected with sociological fact of individual isolation a gr deal of what we shall have to say on illiteracy of the educated will become clear.

In order to show the relationship betw "primitive" illiteracy, economic status, educational facilities, two examples will be gi here both taken from Mr. Winston's book. O is at present of very great importance in mo civilized countries, a problem with which all t various forms of government have to strug and which is, for obvious reasons, unknown the "uncivilized" East: the steady fall of t birth-rate. Here Sanford Winston comes to t following illuminating conclusion:

> "To sum up briefly, one may say, then, that only were low birth-rates found to be related to hi economic status, and to a high percentage of urbaniz but also to low illiteracy rates. Moreover, since urba tion and economic status were thought to be factors disturbed the truer relationship of birth-rate and ill acy, these two affecting factors were mathematically trolled. When this was done, a significant relatio between illiteracy and birth-rate was still found to e It would appear then, that illiterate women tend to more children. To what degree this is due to lack knowledge of birth-control in its various forms, to w degree it is due to lack of other sources of interes a separate study in itself . . . If this relationshi true then, with the gradual decrease of illiteracy conversely, with the gradual increase in the educat status of women, it would appear that we have he important factor in explaining the decreasing birth in the United States." (*op. cit.*, p. 92.)

This conclusion refers to a social ph menon of a rather collective kind. For our study it indicates that there is an increas birth-rate to be found in a social group w the illiteracy of the uneducated prevails that the reverse is true for a "civilized" cou with preponderate illiteracy of the educa

Another phenomenon which concerns the individual rather than a collective body is mentioned in Mr. Winston's book: the relationship of suicide-rates, economic status, educational facilities, and illiteracy; although this problem is still of minor importance even in the West, it draws, however, our attention to the fact that illiteracy as such, individual isolation, and lack of inter-societal communication, does not necessarily lead to mental deficiency. Indeed, we read there that

> The illiterate as compared with persons of higher educational status, do not commit suicide to an important degree. When the regression equations are utilized, the suicide rate may be predicted as rising as educational status rises. To what degree this is due to the increased complexity of stimuli which confront the person of higher educational status is an important study in itself." (*op. cit.*, p. 131.)

These two instances may appear ambiguous. It seems, in fact, as though "primitive" illiteracy were a kind of *retour a la nature*, a simple and harmless form of ignorance, or a refined Rousseauism. That this is not the case, could be easily proved by the fact of economic exploitation of the illiterate by the educated. On the other hand, however, society itself, or at least a large number of its adult and educated members, considers illiteracy as something utterly despisable, a disease in the cultural life of a nation. How can these two points of view be reconciled? Why does society at present attack illiteracy, although it seems fairly clear that illiteracy as such and especially considered from a social viewpoint is quite harmless to society and even to a certain extent "profitable"? Is it pure humanitarianism and philanthropy? What social motives lie behind the word "progress" which wants to utilize literacy in the service of a social group? Why should the mind of the millions and millions of illiterates be opened to new stimuli, and if so, who will be responsible for those stimuli, who will set up standards for the right choice of stimuli?

The answer to this most important question is to be found in the history of literacy itself. The cultural stage of social groups in Europe, which by common consent is called "literate," has been reached there only in the course of the last hundred years or so. Literacy was considered throughout the European Antiquity, Middle Ages, and to a certain extent the modern times as well, a social "luxury," a privilege of the leisured class; all those who did not earn their living by manual work and who were by their social status, caste, or intelligence above the crowd were entitled to a free remuneration for their services rendered to the cultural life of a social group; to this minority belonged the clergy, teachers, writers, philosophers. So, for instance, in the great cultural centres of antiquity, Athens and Alexandria, a high percentage of illiteracy prevailed, and in the rural areas the mechanism of oral transmission was still in force. The cultural characteristics of the preliterate tribal stage are to be found all over Europe right through the Middle Ages. The apparent efforts of Charlemagne in 789 to extend literacy to the masses only signify unsuccessful attempts to exterminate illiteracy among the clergy. A strong movement against illiteracy is to be found in 19th century Europe, especially in all those countries with a powerful and enlightened monarch. In this particular instance, abstract or philosophical interpretations are very misleading: this movement was not due to some kind of progressive "enlightenment" or to humanitarian ideas, but it was an integral part of the larger technique of nationalist revival. In the case of the Hapsburg, the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser, in Turkey and in Japan, this nationalist revival is more than obvious: the citizens became the willing tool of some ruling caste and on the other hand the range of mob behaviour was greatly widened by universal literacy. Japan's attempt to exterminate illiteracy in her own motherland is most illuminating in connection with her nationalist revival in the last 50 years. The very low illiteracy rate in Japan (0.88 per cent) does not indicate anything so far as Japan's general cultural level is concerned; for, the census figures for Japanese living abroad are much higher indeed, those in Canada are 20.4 per cent illiterate, those in U. S. A. 11 per cent. (For more details see James F. Abel and Norman J. Bond: *op. cit.*). Even if we neglect the relationship of nationalist revival and illiteracy, another more important factor must be taken into consideration. The notable extension of literacy in the last two centuries, especially amongst the middle classes, was due no doubt to the industrial and capitalist revolution, the development of foreign trade, and the awareness that good and continual information gives a good and continual economic reward. Literacy thus became a means for the acquisition of wealth. As for the "reading habit" among the middle classes in the late 18th and early 19th century, the popularity of Goethe in Germany, Byron in England, and Chateaubriand in France, it seems to be from this point of view at least altogether a negligible factor. The extensive sales of new literature at that period (especially between 1800 and 1830) do not necessarily indicate a higher level of culture; they rather represent new and more powerful methods of "cultural" advertisements through the economic and social position of the printing press in modern society. It is at that time that literature and science began to be popularized to a great extent; whether this popularization of literacy was something good or whether it was harmful to the social group at large, we shall have to consider later on in connection with the "illiteracy of the educated". Enlightened monarchies and the desire for economic power of the individual were the two forces that literally "pushed" the masses towards literacy. A third factor should be mentioned. Governments in the early part of the last century were troubled by mob turbulence, strikes and terrorism; from 1816 onwards select committees of the House of Commons revealed a "shocking degree" of illiteracy among the lower classes in England; they were, in fact, forced to promote education so as to teach the working class "to govern and repress their passions". And it is perhaps interesting to know something more about the teachers engaged in teaching the working classes how to read and write, and who opened their minds to new and powerful stimuli; so we read in a pamphlet published in 1856 :

> "In my John's (Russel) speech on this part of the question, there is a very startling statement made on the authority of Sir John Pakington—'that 700 teachers did not sign their own names, but merely affixed their marks'—thereby intimating their inability to write their names." (The education of the Masses, Can it be accomplished? A question addressed to the Lords and Commons of the British Parliament, London, 1856, pseud.)

All the three factors which insist on the importance of literacy, either as means for nationalist propaganda, or as a means for acquisition of wealth, or lastly as a means for the suppression of mob turbulence, do not consider literacy as an aim in itself. Only in the last 50 years we find this tendency represented in humanitarian or philanthropic movements of a more or less international kind. The key-word for all these movements is "Mass education on a democratic basis"; and here we are back to our first problem : what is the real reason of the educated members of a social group to open the minds of the illiterate to new and powerful social stimuli? The three factors which have been at work until now do not give a satisfactory answer. The humanitarian and the philanthropist, however, are quite different in their mental outlook. Here universal literacy becomes an aim in itself, and, according to them, it should be attained for unselfish and purely "ideal" reasons. It seems hardly necessary to go on quoting some of those vague and ambiguous statements which we read daily in Indian newspapers. In the Proceedings of the first biennial conference of the World Federation of Education Associations held at Edinburgh in 1925 (*World Education*, edited by G. C. Pringle, vol. II, p. 639) the following disconcerting remark is to be found :

> "I have been told that educating illiterates is just like letting them into an unlocked garden, but I said to me it was more like opening prison doors and letting them out of the dungeon."

This attitude towards literacy did not undergo many changes during the last decade; illiteracy is still commonly considered to be "ignorance" and literacy "knowledge" and light and what not :

> ". . . the transition from illiteracy to literacy in the case of any person is not so much a transition from one level of ignorance to another, as it is a transition from one world to an altogether different world, from a world of superstition and acquiescence to a world of light and independent judgment . . ." (In a recent number of *Tribeni*, quoted in : A Scheme of Adult Literacy for Allahabad Municipality, by Babu Sangam Lala Agarwala, 1937.)

Frequently also the lack of ideals among the illiterates is emphasized. Illiterates are all those

> "who have not the ideals that open the way into this education which is the interpretation of Life, the interpretation of life in terms of nature, the truth of man as a social individual, and the interpretation of Life in terms of Beauty." (*World Education, op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 661).

And when the same speaker is asked whether precisely the illiterates in Germany or France plunged almost the whole of Europe and 50 per cent of America into the War, she finds a most illuminating answer, an answer, in fact, which strongly supports our own argument:

> "They were spiritual illiterates, because they did not know their fellows." (p. 664.)

It is indeed a pity that this statement passed more or less unnoticed. For its deeper implications are that education as it exists at present is far from being "an interpretation of life in terms of truth, nature, and beauty," and that the transition from illiteracy to literacy is in reality "a transition from one level of ignorance to another," or in our own terminology it is a transition from the illiteracy of the uneducated to the illiteracy of the educated.

It is a common and regrettable mistake among modern and "progressive" educationalists to neglect the economic background of education; many of them do not as yet realize that there is an intimate relationship between the desire to provide education for all and the economic abilities of the social group. The economic ability stands frequently in an overwhelming contrast to the purely "ideal" desire for education. Thus, even Governments of democratic countries are not in the least ashamed to draw the attention of its adult and educated members to this fact. The United States Bureau of Education in a publication entitled *The Deepening Crisis in Education,* gives us the following interesting educational data for the year 1933 :

> 100,000 more children are this year denied all educational opportunities because of closing schools, (especially in the rural areas), school terms will put at least a million other children on learning rations close to the level of mental starvation; one of every two cities has been compelled to drop some important school (especially all the classes on art, physical exercise, civics, hygiene, etc.); one of every three teachers must work this year for less than the "blanked code" minimum for unskilled labour; 200,000 certificated teachers are unemployed; 259 school districts in 29 states have been compelled to default on bounds. (Leaflet, No. 44, 1933).

We think that these disconcerting remarks are sufficient proof for the link which apparently exists between the economic ability of a social group and the education provided for its members; but there is even a deeper link between the two, one which again strengthens our argument : economists at present realize that mass-education automatically raises the economic abilities of a country; and in the same year 1933 a high American official pronounced the following statement, which, after all, no longer surprises us :

> "I wonder if it is'nt a fair statement that while we have indulged ourselves liberally in education, we have not done this so much for the sake of education itself or to add to the culture and graciousness of life, but because of the general belief that by educating ourselves and our children we have been making it possible to win in the race for acquisition of wealth." (Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, addressing the National Education Association at Chicago, July 6, 33; cf. *New York Times,* July 7, 1933.)

The above Leaflet and this address form a perfect vicious circle, out of which there seems to be no hopeful escape possible. As mere literacy does no longer satisfy the adult member of a social group, as on the other hand, whenever there is an economic crisis, the educational services are curtailed in the poorer states rather than in the richer ones, and as, lastly, education for the rich as well as for the poor becomes simply a means for the acquisition of wealth or for an assured social position, one has a quite natural right to ask where all this education and literacy ultimately leads to, and whether there is a genuine and sincere response to be found among the "masses", especially among the middle classes of a civilized country, such as America. A sociological survey of very great importance and interest has helped us here to collect the necessary material. (Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd : *Middletown, A Study in American Culture,* 1929). We have found in this survey a satisfactory answer to our two questions. Of what kind is the response of the masses to literacy provided by mechanized and standardized mass-education :

> "Parents insist upon more and more education as part of their children's birth-right; editors and lecturers point to education as a solution for every kind of social ill . . . Literacy, yes, they want their children to be able to 'read the newspapers, write a letter, and perform the ordinary operations of arithmetic,' but, beyond that, many of them are little interested in what the schools teach." (p. 218.)

And in the same chapter of the book we find the answer to our first question, where does the over-emphasis on education and literacy lead to?

> "The city boasts of the fact that only 2.5% of its population ten years of age or older cannot read and write, and meanwhile the massed weight of advertising and professional publicity are creating . . . new forms of social illiteracy, and the invention of the motion picture is introducing the city's population, young and old, week after week, into types of vivid experience, which they come to take for granted as parts of their lives, yet have no training to handle . . ." (p. 222.)

By "social illiteracy" is obviously meant the new illiteracy of the educated. The stimuli to which an adult member of the social group has to respond, are in no connection whatsoever to the stimuli of his actual or former school life. The educational process the aim of which it was to make the transition from the primitive illiteracy of a new-born child to the literacy of an adult as easy and smooth as possible has evidently failed to fulfill its purpose. Instead of using the abstract knowledge of languages (see the preponderance of Latin in American schools), of civics, of philosophy, of science, the adult's mind, after leaving school, is in his "business" hours solely occupied with the means of acquiring wealth, and in his leisure hours either with reading newspapers (written symbols that convey to him news from his own social group as well as from other social entities—"nearly two-third of the morning paper bought by the great bulk of Middletown families is composed of advertisings") or with listening in to the wireless (a mechanized and centralized transmission of news and of cultural goods to the members of the social group) or with going to cinema (a combination of oral and ocular transmission of experiences mostly unknown to the average adult of the average community, a heightening of the artificially imaginary life divorced from the actual experience of the group itself). The reading of a newspaper, the listening in to the wireless, the visit to a picture-house, are purely individual actions; at the time when those actions are actually performed the individual is completely isolated from his social group; although the same news and experiences are conveyed to all the members of the same community, there is no societal intercourse between the members of that group; it is an interesting fact to know that no other profession is more neglected in the common social life of Middletown's adult citizens than that of the teacher; both educationalists and teachers are "in terms of the concerns and activities that pre-occupy the keenest of the city's leaders" (p. 209) non-entities. If there is any "social" activity at all in this highly-civilized group, it takes place in the interest or the name of some political, masonic, or religious association; it serves on the one hand the monetary or "social" ambitions of the individual member of the society, or on the other hand it helps to pass one's time in an agreeable and quite pleasant manner. But the individual isolation of the adult member of the group persists all through his business and leisure hours. One may say, in fact, without much exaggeration that the individual isolation today is of a much more dangerous kind than in the pre-literate tribal stage of civilization; today the individual characteristics of oral transmission of news and cultural goods are no longer to be found either in the newspaper, or in the wireless programme, or in the cinema; the mechanization and standardization of societal intercourse robs the individual of his genuine capacity to mix freely and "innocently" with other members of the social group. His capacity to read and to write rather prevents him from doing so: it only provides him with a powerful weapon against all those members of society who are weaker and therefore unable to resist his attacks. The commonplace that "knowledge is power" cherished by all those who fight against primitive illiteracy becomes utterly absurd and essentially destructive in modern civilized society. For, if "power" means "wealth"—and that is the case in all "advanced" societies—then this commonplace should be abolished altogether. It leads, as we have tried to prove, to a new form of individual isolation harmful to men, to an illiteracy of the educated, the d ness and intellectual misery of which see sometimes to be much more appalling than t dullness and intellectual misery of an uneducat illiterate. And does "knowledge" in mo advanced societies really mean power? Are n those social groups, that deliberately went ba to the pre-literate tribal stage of society, pro of their ignorance? Do they not cultiva primitive illiteracy as a means to attack and fight against the nearest social community b means of new scientific discoveries? "Kno ledge" in such countries is only for the ve few; the great bulk of the people for wh compulsory education and "mass education o a democratic basis" was introduced, should b kept in ignorance. And the paradox becom true, namely, that "ignorance is power", t ignorance of the educated in particular, or i our terminology, the illiteracy of the educat Clear formulas for the relationship of ignoran and power are to be found in the writings of t greatest statesmen of today as well as t newspapers :

> "It is not necessary to fill the students' brain w ancient and modern learning. Learning can only b special Swedish drill necessary for the training of t brain, and the quicker it is forgotten in its useless a superficial details the more useful it will be." (Mus lini, in a Speech in vol. V, of his *Scritti e Discorsi.*)

In the East we find the same though expressed in a cruder and more sincere way:

> "We must rid the schools of the spirit of free i quiry; . . . our schools are educating a rising gen tion which in the next war will form part of the ar and must be closely connected with it." (In Nik a Japanese newspaper.)

The next generation all over the world cheerfully marching towards ignorance. T "prison doors" of illiteracy have been open now the "blessings" of literacy descend up the masses. The individual in his new soc isolation encounters and has to deal with unknown powerful stimuli. Literacy is a burd upon him. No genuine response to soc stimuli can be expected from him. He beco suspicious, sceptical, and intellectually impote In his behaviour he is proud, pretentious, s self-satisfied. In his mentality he is advan civilized, and essentially progressive.

WOMEN'S EQUALITY

BY PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, Ph.D.

Visva-bharati, Santiniketan

III

THE right of women to the free choice of an occupation if it stretches to the extent of excluding motherhood (from their choice) presents features which are quite unique and as such cannot be treated by the leaders of a state (whether men or women) on the same footing as the right of the free choice of occupation of males for the simple reason that here a certain contingency may arise (*e.g.*, if all the women or a substantial majority of them or all the educated women in a society refuse to take up the responsibilities of motherhood preferring professional careers) when the State may in the interests of its very existence have to interfere with the freedom of choice of occupation of women. I have only mentioned the refusal of responsibilities of motherhood (by women) as the only contingency in which the State may have to interfere with and modify this right of women and have intentionally excluded their choice of refusing wifehood from such a contingency because I think we ought not to yoke unwilling women to matrimony if they consider the status of a wife as derogatory and (as I hope to show in a separate paper "The future of the institution of marriage") we can do so without incurring any loss to our racial future.

Untrammelled by the responsibilities of office or state-duties I would personally (on grounds of perfect political justice) like to go to the length of even granting women the right to evade motherhood if they find solace and realize the utility of womanly existence in scientific and professional careers, because I would consider the imposition of motherhood on a woman unwilling to shoulder its burdens with eagerness and love as wasting a precious favour by thrusting it upon one unworthy of being enthroned on the sanctuary of motherhood. Not till she feels the utter futility of her existence without motherhood has a woman earned the title to motherhood and when she feels that certainly then she will not accuse men of thrusting this evil upon her. On the contrary she will be thankful to man for enabling her to realize her highest spiritual self through motherhood. Such mothers alone are assets of a race. Unwilling mothers are national liabilities. They will not build up sweet homes; they would create obnoxious bedlams.

It will be evident from the issues raised and points discussed in the foregoing pages that there exist an inequality of ability and dissimilarity of taste (between the two sexes) brought about principally by their dissimilar sex-function placing the female sex in a permanently disadvantageous position so far as reputation-earning and career-building (through the exertion of the body and mind) are concerned. These dissimilarities of sex-functions (which puts an unequal burden on the female sex) are however not of man's making and if anybody has any grievance, complaint must be lodged not against man but against the Maker, for he is not responsible for it. On the contrary, amidst all his follies, blunders, excitements, irritations, and failings man has tried to the best of his abilities to make up for the comparatively more favourable position in which Nature happens to put him by allotting him lighter obligations in the process of the propagation of the race, by willingly taking up on his shoulders hardier and more difficult jobs.

These dissimilarities have given rise to different standards of morality, education, conduct and behaviour for the two different sexes in society. To a certain extent these differences are inevitable and even where it may be found that a different standard is unnecessary it is not always men who have been responsible for perpetuating the differences. History will show that more often than not it is women who are persistent in demanding a different standard of conduct and behaviour for males and females sometimes even from childhood. Which mother will not take care to see that a just adolescent daughter (who does not yet know the facts about the sex-life and is yet old enough to be curious about it) does not mix freely with her equally youthful boy-companions—as freely as she allows a son of that age to move about because

"the boy cannot be so abused that the consequence is life-long shame and impairment of career and destiny."[1]

---

(1) Sumner and Keller : *Science of Society*, p. 117.

And even if in future it be possible for a really enlightened state to remove the obloquy on illegitimacy and unmarried motherhood with which these are at present stigmatised by society no government however enlightened can repair the loss that she suffers in health and attractiveness by having had to go through the ordeals of a forced motherhood at a tender age. This, we will say, is not fair, but it is neither fair that women alone should suffer the pangs of childbirth.2

For this injustice and unfairness the Maker alone is responsible and I see no possibility of removing this injustice unless He finds it convenient to repeal the first section and clause of His First Act of Creation. Speaking scientifically in other words

> "the only way to make the sexes equal would be to get back along the course of evolution and interfere at the point where bi-sexuality first appeared."[3]

Unable or unwilling to accept these unalterable facts the leaders of women's emancipation in our country (and in other countries as well) found it convenient to hurl the whole blame on the shoulder of man by concocting, what I like to call the "myth of systematic male tyranny,"4 which under the spell of a false sense of courtesy or chivalry has come so dangerously near getting established as a fact by receiving indirect encouragement instead of refutation from men that when very recently women demanded seats in the Executive (Working) Committee of the Indian National Congress even the most outspoken and courageous of Congress Presidents appeared apologetic and was unable to tell them plainly (a quality with which his male friends are but too familiar) that they cannot hope to secure any seat in the Congress Cabinet unless they produce women of the cabinet calibre.

They have bullied us to such an extent to the belief that we have habitually ill-treated them that even our best journals (edited by men) try to make amends for our supposed omissions and commissions in the past by taking recourse to such acts of subtle flattery to the fair sex as publishing the career (with photo) of Miss So-and-so who has perhaps distinguished herself by doing no other uncommon feat than securing the B. A. degree or obtaining the title of a "nightingale" from a music club, though it is common knowledge that the (wicked?) male father of the said Miss So-and-so had left no stone unturned to provide her with all her requirements including perhaps half-a-dozen private tutors including those for *tabla* and piano.

Far be it from me to suggest that women of merit and distinguished achievements should not receive public recognition or that heroines should not be honoured. But it is up to us to make it clear to women that a heroine is one who courageously fights life's battles against heavy odds and not one who wins a Bachelorship of Arts or a nightingalehood of Bengal under such favourable conditions. Instead of that we add to their false vanity by lionising them as intellectual "Stars". It spoils an already spoilt band. It adds a fillip to bourgeois ostentation and vainglory.

I want to make it perfectly clear at this point that I should not be mistaken for a reactionary or anti-emancipationist. The very knowledge of the fact of the inequalities of the sexes, of the disadvantageous position to which women have been put by Nature makes it incumbent upon me to become *a thorough and uncompromising champion for the removal of women's disabilities* (*such as are removable by the efforts of man*), and my views on that point have been very plainly stated elsewhere.5 Our *success or failure in that direction will determine the quality of our civilization.*

But a movement and specially a social movement to be successful must bear the stamp of honesty, sincerity, fixity of purpose and above all its leaders must be in touch with the realities of life. When in the face of the patent fact that the movement of women's emancipation owes its origin to the inspiration and initiative of men and that in almost every family a father or a brother is fighting for the greater liberty of action and freedom of a young daughter or sister in choosing her station in life as a mother or grand-mother, women forge the myth of male tyranny, I am constrained to say they are lacking in honesty. When they pass resolutions in Women's Conference (as they did recently in the Panjab) demanding that men should leave the management of society and the administration

---

(2) Sumner and Keller. *Ibid*, p. 117.

(3) *Ibid*. p. 116.

(4) It is most refreshing to note that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (the ablest and perhaps the only woman public servant who has won a place among the leaders on her own personal merits) has never given any encouragement to the spread of this myth and has always exercised her vast influence in curbing the propensity of her less experienced sisters of degrading any Women's Conference of which the guidance was left in her hands to an exhibition of hysterical vilifications of the sturdier sex which appreciates and admires her unerring instinct for justice and feminine chivalry with gratitude.

(5) Mukerji: "Some aspects of female education in India," contributed in *The U. P. Education*, May, 1 (15-23), pp. 18 and 21.

of the country to their hands and sit at home caring for the children they betray a colossal lack of sincerity of purpose and instead of advancing their cause make themselves the laughing-stock of the whole world. When responsible women leaders publicly complain that instead of treating woman as the companion of man's leisure she is made to play in her family the role of a 'glorified cook and head servant' I am obliged to think that they are not in touch with the realities of life and this last mentioned drawback on their part is also dangerous because suffering under them women are led more easily to put all the blame for their disadvantageous position in society on the shoulders of man and lends support however innocently to the myth of male tyranny. Let me illustrate.

The best proof of lack of the sense of the realities of life is evinced by the feminist leader when she starts with the general proposition that women irrespective of the economic position of the families to which they may belong can form (for the purposes of their social and educational uplift) into a homogeneous social class and that every class of women are suffering under the same disadvantages. This is a fiction. The fact is that the wealthier the stratum occupied by a woman in society the greater the number of roles she wants to play and greater the disappointment she feels in the event of failure to play the maximum number of advantageous roles. In an admirable article[6] Mr. Clifford Kirkpatrick has divided a married woman's roles in the family under three heads: The first is the *Wife-and-Mother role* (the traditional role of the married woman) which was the only imaginable role for a woman in primitive times and which is still the only role which can be filled up by the overwhelming majority of women (belonging to the economically lowest and the lower middle classes) whose whole energy and time is taken up in procuring the bare necessities of life. With the growth of wealth and intellectual awakening woman's mind begins to be conscious of two other roles, the *Companion and Partner roles* which are leisured-class phenomena. In the words of Mr. Kirkpatrick the Companion role among other things consists in "sharing pleasures with the husband," "receiving a more romantic emotional response," "being the object of admiration," "preservation of beauty," etc. It will be readily seen that not to allow a leisured-class woman to fill the role of a companion is certainly depriving her of many precious pleasures and to force her to do the works of a household drudge will be surely putting her under great inconveniences but it will have to be equally acceded that that very role (of a Companion to the husband, so desirable for aristocratic woman) may prove totally undesirable and even vexatious for a woman of a poorer class whose whole time has got to be spent in filling the Wife-and-Mother role. Neither is there any inequity from the inter-sexual standpoint (though there may be good deal of it from the inter-class standpoint), because if the wife in a poor home is only a dignified cook and head servant the husband to be sure is nothing better than an *undignified* porter, office clerk or a foreman. There are very few pleasures in their lives which are capable of being enjoyed in common companionship between the husband and wife excepting the board and bed of which, I have reasons to believe, they do take the fullest advantage. What this class of women (and they comprise the vast majority) are suffering from is not male-tyranny but they (together with their male relations) are suffering from the tyranny of poverty and ignorance and to this great relief may be given by richer class women leaders if instead of trying in vain to prove the guilt of man for all the woes of poorer class women they sincerely try for the economic uplift and education of their unfortunate sisters (not forgetting the sad plight of their equally unfortunate husbands).

Much as I appreciate the willingness (rather eagerness) of leisured-class women to play their roles as companions and partners of their husbands I should like to remind them of their *limitations*.

Firstly, even leisured-class women (not to talk of their sisters of the poorer class) cannot absolutely dispense with the duties and obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role so long as the institutions of marriage and family exist in society.

Secondly, the evolution of the ideas of woman's emancipation in her playing the roles of a companion and partner (of man) in society are dependent upon the extent to which it has realized in its corporate life the humanizing principles of civilization mainly through the effort and consent of man. Two misconceptions therefore have to be readily rejected: (*i*) that every society is fit enough for the same extent of women's freedom irrespective of its progress in the fields of education, administration of justice, etc., and (*ii*) that man is the enemy from whose unwilling hands freedom and just treatment have to be wrung out by the organized forces of women. On the contrary man's civilizing efforts have been the greatest factor in paving the way for a movement of women's freedom.

---

[6] Clifford Kirkpatrick: "The measurement of ethical inconsistency in marriage." Contributed in *The International Journal of Ethics*, July, 1936, pp. 444-460.

38—7

> "The extermination of wild life, the harnessing of the forces of nature to the service of humanity, the inauguration of the rule of law, the improvement of the technique of the administration of justice—these are the century-long positive achievements of men on which alone can be laid the foundation of a movement for women's emancipation."[7]

Thirdly, the exercise of the rights and the performance of the obligations pertaining to the Companion role must of necessity be confined, in the main, to the few leisured-class women who and whose husbands and male relations alone have the requisite wealth and leisure to be able to enjoy the pleasures of such a role. The proper functioning of such a role must of necessity entail, at least to some extent, the negligence of the obligations of the Wife-and-Mother role and as such circumstances may arise in which the sacrifice of the latter role for the former by a woman of poor class family may result in positive discomfort (instead of increase of comfort) both for the woman and her husband (and other relations in the family). No husband of a poor class family will feel happy if instead of finding his meal and bed and clothes well prepared finds on his return home after the day's toil that in imitation of her millionaire sister his dear wife has spent the whole day over a painting of Venus and Cupid and in maintaining her best appearance with the hope of *evoking a romantic emotional response* in the over-worked husband. Neither will a wife of a poor family appreciate the blessings of this Companion role if she is required to *preserve her beauty* by taking recourse to costly artificial means ("under the penalty of marital insecurity") when she finds herself so engaged with her household duties (absence of servants presumed) that she gets hardly any time for rest or recreation. The absence of such "privileges (?)" are a blessing rather than a cause of grievance for a poor woman. That we hear about these "grievances" is due to the fact that the richer class women who come forward to voice the grievances of their race are hopelessly ignorant of the realities of life which, living in the sheltered atmosphere of male generosity, they have never learnt to face bravely. They come from that vain and irresponsible class among which, to be adorned in gorgeous georgiette and silk brocades bedecked and jewelled with all modern luxuries, each one of them—from the vanity bag to the motor car—bought with the hard-earned money of a man (not a very conclusive proof of male tyranny) and address a lady's meeting preferably on the perennially interesting theme of male treachery and wickedness, is considered an *achievement* and the dainty act of cutting a silken ribbon with a pair of golden scissors to declare a new road open is considered as an act of great *public service*. No wonder they mislead their less fortunate sisters.

I have discussed these points here at some length because I wanted to point out that the feminist movement has proceeded into wrong channels under a wrong leadership. I am sure a rightly directed movement can succeed in removing all the disabilities, social and legal, under which women suffer. But removal of disabilities is not attaining equality. It may mean legal equality but not a position of equal importance and respect in the social order. Because real equality of status, reverence, and respect can be won only through the performance of equally important (not necessarily identical) functions and services for the advancement of the common good, through the records of achievements for the benefit of the human race. Without trying to justify any restriction that has been put to debar women from as much freedom as is enjoyed by man in any field, we maintain that that equality of status in society through the performance of equally important social functions can never be attained by women if after getting their rights of free choice of occupation they take into their heads to misuse this right by wasting their energies in competing with men in the physical and intellectual fields in which their achievements can in no way be compared with those of men.

If therefore women do not in addition find out and concentrate in some fields of action where they can claim greater natural facilities of success (in adding to the social good) my fear is that they will not only fail to achieve that equality (of status and importance in society) for which they clamour but they will merely succeed in reducing themselves into man's female valets, stenographers and ornamental private secretaries.

What that field of superior facility of registering greater achievements is, is best for women to think to discover. I have, however, reasons to think that the same allotter of unequal generative functions who encumbered woman with such

---

(7) Krishna P. Mukerji: "Some aspects of female education in India." *The U. P. Education.* May, 1936, p. 19.

extraordinary responsibilities in the process of the propagation of the race, has perhaps endowed her with a mind which does not (in a normal state) look upon child-bearing and its concommitant disabilities as a periodical obnoxious disease. I have heard a very enlightened and educated friend[8] (who is the proud mother of three sons) say in all earnestness that she would willingly undergo the pangs of child-birth thrice more (specially to get a daughter which she lacked in her home) and that dancing and the company of fine young men are all right till 25 but after that the craving for babies is a "great hunger." I do not pretend to have understood in its real depths the sentiment expressed in the above statement (perhaps no man can understand them) and I would not go through the botheration even once for all the treasures of the world. But the picture of that big German woman pressing her breasts with her own hands and expressing her craving for motherhood as a great hunger (pronounced in the emphatic German way—'hoonger') made an abiding impression on my mind and pointed the way in which women may really find that equality and importance in society the absence of which they resent. To me it seems therefore that that way is the *way of enlightened and willing motherhood and love* with a double emphasis on the words *enlightened* and *willing* (including within its meaning the right of a woman to refuse to submit to wifehood and determine the number of children she will like to bear).

---

(8) She is a widow of independent means and not dependent on any male financially.

All rights of reproduction and translation reserved by the author.—K. P. M.

HOW EGYPT GOT RID OF CHOLERA

By Dr. DHIRENDRA NATH BANERJEE, M.B. (Cal.), M.D. (Berlin)

INTRODUCTION

CHOLERA in Egypt is a long story. Although cholera is now a disease of the past in Egypt still her name will always be associated with cholera on account of the epoch-making researches of Robert Koch in 1883 which resulted in the discovery of the specific agent of cholera —the cholera vibrio—and that took place in Egypt. The advantages of this fundamental work of Koch which lead to rapid diagnosis of the disease by reliable bacteriological methods have been utilised to their fullest extent by Egypt in such thoroughness that she has been able to rid herself from invasion of cholera within such a short period of only 20 years.

I was amazed to find, from the reports as appearing in the publications of the League of Nations, that there had been no case of cholera in Egypt since 1902 although she is in close proximity to the countries very often frequented by cholera in epidemic form, and she herself was found to have been heavily infected before that date. In order to study how she had been able to achieve this end I had the pleasure to write to the Ministry of Health, Egypt, requesting to give me opportunities to know the details of the methods adopted by the Department of Public Health to control the disease, during my proposed visit to Egypt. I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Almed Helmy Bey, the Under-Secretary of States who received me very cordially and as he himself was formerly in charge of the Quarantine Board, I had the greatest privilege to know the details firsthand from him direct and also from his other officials who very kindly demonstrated to me the actual working in the Public Health Laboratories. My best thanks are to them also. The Official Reports on the works of the Department of Public Health and also the book *Instructions on Procedure in Outbreaks of Cholera* published by the Ministry of the Interior, Egypt, which have been very kindly presented to me by the Minister in charge of the Public Health Department had been of great help for this study. These publications form the basis of the present article.

HISTORY OF CHOLERA IN EGYPT DURING THE LAST 100 YEARS

During the last 100 years there had been nine epidemics recorded in Egypt. They took place during the years 1831, 1834, 1848, 1850, 1855, 1865, 1883, 1895 and 1902. The last one occurred in 1902 and no case has been reported during the last 35 years. Thus it is found that the fruitful researches of Robert Koch have been so advantageously applied that within the brief space of 20 years Egypt has been able to deal with the epidemics and is also successful in safeguarding the country aganist cholera infection.

This history may be conveniently divided into three periods. First period—1831-1883; second period 1883-1902 and the third period from 1902 to-date.

First period (1831-1883).—During this period very severe epidemics occured in Egypt but as is common with other countries very little detail and no reliable figures are available concerning these epidemics. In 1831 Egypt was heavily affected as the disease spread in pandemic form extending over the whole of Asia, Europe and Africa. As is the misfortune for India this pandemic is ascribed to have spread westward from Bengal, the Ganges delta being regarded to be the true home of cholera.

Second period (1883-1902).—This period of 20 years marked the most eventful period in the history of cholera in Egypt, nay of the whole world. The year 1883 saw the fifth pandemic of cholera which extended its ravages into many parts of the world. During this pandemic Robert Koch was deputed from Germany to study on cholera. The mystery regarding the cause of this fell disease was revealed by Koch when he for the first time discovered the comma-shaped organism occurring in the contents and in the wall of the small intestine of cholera patients. After some months of fruitful work he came to a definite conclusion that this germ is the cause of cholera and afterwards had to come to Calcutta to convince the workers here. Later epidemics confirmed Koch's statements and now it is a settled truth. The epidemics which took place in the years 1895 and 1902 recorded the number of deaths amounting to 16,251 and 34,595 respectively which give the appalling death-rate of 88.0 per cent and 85 per cent respectively. In addition to the appalling death-rate, the two epidemics furnish us also the data which are worthy of note from epidemiological point of view.

In 1895 the disease was discovered in September and spread to the villages on the right bank of the Nile. During October and November the epidemic was fairly brisk, the number of cases recorded being 950. In December it declined and by the end of the year had practically died out in these localities. Alexandria, however, became infected late in December. Throughout the first four months 1896 the only cases recorded were dropping ca in Alexandria, but during May the dise suddenly flared up in Alexandria and spre rapidly all over the country, both Lower a Upper Egypt, reaching its maximum in Ju By the end of September it had practica disappeared. The number of cases record from April to October, 1896 was 19,370 and t number of deaths during the same period w 16,251. The number of infected towns a villages was about 726.

In 1902 the disease was introduced at t end of May by returning pilgrims. By the e of July it had spread to Cairo, and in the mid of August it had burst forth throughout t country. It reached its maximum by t middle of September and by the end of Octo it had practically disappeared. The to number of cases recorded was 40,613 w 34,595 deaths with a gross death-rate of 8 per cent. The number of infected towns a villages was 2,026. There is reason to belie that the actual number of cases is much m than the figures recorded above.

From the above findings it is evident that

1. The point of maximum intensity h always been in the summer or early autumn- between the months of May and October.

2. The disease is not endemic in t country and an epidemic is invariably the res of importation of the disease from without.

3. Once the disease has been introduce if the factors for its development, especially t season of the year, are not favourable, it sh itself in the form of dropping cases until s time as favourable factors occur, when it bu swiftly into a devastating and a widespr epidemic.

Third period (1902-1937).—This per signifies the triumph of the Public Hea Organization in preventing and safeguard the country from invasion from outside. I c mention here the steps taken by the author in 1927 during an outbreak of cholera in I as that will show sufficiently the move of w and efficiency of the Organization.

The Official Records state that on July 1927 a notification was received from Quarantine Board, regarding the occurrence five cases of cholera at Basra during the w ending July 23, 1927.

OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN IRAQ

The official information received by department showed that cholera first appe in Abadan, a port in Persia which is situ near Basra; from there the disease was conveyed to Basra; thence it spread to Iraq. Owing to the measures taken, the disease did not appear in Baghdad until October 9, 1927, when only 7 cases and 5 deaths occurred. The disease disappeared on December 23, 1927.

ROUTES FROM IRAQ TO EGYPT

There are four routes leading from Iraq to Egypt.—*(1)* By motor car and railway to Beyrout and thence by sea to Egypt. *(2)* By motor car and railway through Damascas and Palestine to Egypt *via* Quantara. *(3)* By aeroplane. *(4)* By the Red Sea to Suez and other Egyptian Ports. The Department in conjunction with the Quarantine Board, applied strict measures recorded below, to passengers arriving by the above routes in order to prevent importation of cholera in Egypt.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY MOTOR CAR *via* BEYROUT OR QUANTARA

The medical officers of the Ports and Quantara examined the passports of passengers arriving from infected districts and any passenger who had not passed five days from date of his departure from Iraq, was detained to complete the five days; specimens were taken for examination and the passenger was not released until his stools were free from cholera vibrios. Passengers unable to prove the date of their departure from those districts, were detained and the same precautions taken. With regard to the arrival of passengers who had passed more than five days, their luggage was disinfected and those travelling first and second class were allowed to enter Egypt if they were found to be in good health. Third class passengers who could not give satisfactory and well-known addresses, were detained and specimens were taken for examination. In every case, foodstuffs and drinks found in the luggage of passengers were destroyed.

Instructions were also issued to Medical Officers to be on the alert and to observe strictly passengers arriving from those districts daily for a period of five days from the date of their arrival; those found to be suspicious cases were isolated and specimens taken for examination; such information was reported to the Department by wire.

An arrangement was made between the Department and the General Headquarters of the British Army by which British Troops and their families arriving at Port Said, Alexandria, Suez and Quantara from infected localities, should be detained in the Army hospitals for a period of five days, or until it had been proved that they were not cholera carriers. The native attendants accompanying them should be handed over to the Public Health representatives; the Department and the Medical officer concerned were to be notified of suspected or positive cases occurring among the British troops and their families arriving in Egypt from infected localities.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY AIR

The Department agreed with the International Quarantine Board that all passengers and crews of the Imperial Airways line who arrive before the lapse of five days from the date of their departure from the infected localities should be isolated in the aerodrome and their stools examined bacteriologically. Parcels registered or otherwise, arriving in Egypt by aeroplane must be examined for foodstuffs and drinks and the necessary measures taken according to their condition and nature. With regard to parcels in transit for other countries these were not to be opened but the countries of destination were to be informed that these parcels had not been examined.

BRITISH AIR FORCE

The British Air Force was asked to stop, if possible, flying between Iraq and Egypt during the presence of the epidemic and at the same time to isolate all arrivals of the Air Force in a special camp at Heliopolis. This was carried out and a camp was erected for the purpose near Heliopolis aerodrome.

PASSENGERS ARRIVING BY THE RED SEA

With regard to passengers arriving by the Red Sea, the Quarantine Board took stringent measures and the necessary instructions were given by the Board to its medical officers in this respect. In addition to the above, an agreement was made with the Director of Public Security, Ministry of the Interior, to the effect that he will notify by wire the Department and the Quarantine Board of names of all passengers coming to Egypt either from Persia or Mesopotamia.

AGREEMENT CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE HEALTH SERVICES OF IRAQ, SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT

In order to ensure the protection of the country against infection, the Department deemed it necessary to keep in touch with the Health Services of Iraq, Syria and Palestine; the last two countries are situated between Iraq and Egypt. This was arranged and these services undertook to notify this Department through the Quarantine Board, of passengers passing through the above-mentioned countries on their way to Egypt and of the measures taken against them. These services also agreed to take the same sanitary precautions as are carried out in Egypt. The Health Service at Baghdad kept the Department informed by wire of the progress of the disease and supplied all information deemed necessary. All routes from Iraq to Syria with the exception of one, were closed in order that passengers might be under the strictest control.

For the purpose of rendering co-operation between these countries and Egypt as complete as possible, the Quarantine Board invited delegates from Palestine and Syria to come to Cairo to meet the delegates of the Quarantine Board and discuss all measures regarding the protection of Egypt and their own countries and the measures which should be taken in case of the appearance of the disease in one of these two countries.

CREATION OF THE CHOLERA COMMITTEE

A special committee was formed of the concerned officials of the Department to note the progress and spread of the disease at Iraq, to enforce the necessary measures and to supervise the conditions.

CONDITIONS OF IMPORTATION OF FOODSTUFFS AND DRINKS

The Department agreed with the Quarantine Board that the following measures are to be carried out by the Department of Public Health.

FOODSTUFFS

All dry foodstuffs are to be admitted into the country. The action to be taken with regard to fresh foodstuffs depends on their nature and method of packing. They must be clean and they must not be contaminated. Dates are to be admitted if they are firmly packed and the Department has the right to prevent the sale of dirty or moist dates or those which are found to be in a suspicious condition.

DRINKS

All non-alcoholic drinks must be examined and they may be refused or admitted at discretion. The admission of alcoholic drinks depends on the quantity of alcohol they contain. Dates, foodstuffs and drinks in transit are to be examined by the officials of the Quarantine Board and the Department of Public Hea they must not be despatched to the recei countries except after ascertaining that t foodstuffs are free from any infection.

EXPERIMENTS MADE ON DATES

Owing to a diversion of opinion regard the period of viability of cholera vibrio in da the Department deemed it necessary to m experiments in this respect; the Inspe General of Health, Baghdad, was asked thro the Quarantine Board, to send by sea a quant of dates infected with cholera dijecta for t purpose of carrying out necessary investigati

A sample of these dates was examined the Quarantine Laboratory at Suez; anoth sample was examined in the Departme Laboratories at Cairo. The result showed t no cholera vibrio survived in these dates. the infection of dates had been made wi peptone water cultures of the vibrio at Baghd and not with the stools of a patient, that is t say, the normal method of infection, the In pector General of Health Services, Baghdad, w asked to send another sample contaminated wi the faeces of an undoubted case of choler He sent the required specimen and the resu was also found to be negative. The Department agreed that the consignments of dates and 'Agwa' imported from Iraq should not b released before the lapse of 21 days from dat of despatch.

THE TERMINATION OF QUARANTINE MEASURE

As no new cholera case occurred at Ira after 23rd December, 1927, the Quarantin Board decided to stop the isolation of passenge leaving Iraq after January 7, 1928, and inste to place them under medical observation.

PASSENGER CONTROL

During the year 56,034 passengers arrive at Egyptian ports from cholera infected district of these 55,945 were observed and 89 could n be traced, *i.e.*, the percentage of those found w 99.84 per cent. 23,829 passengers arrived at t country *via* Quantara, of whom 23,697 we observed, *i.e.*, a percentage of 99.44 per cent.

PILGRIMS

During the period from April 11 to Ju 1927, 15,071 Egyptian pilgrims and 2,2 foreign pilgrims departed from Egypt to t Hedjaz. In addition to these 6,064 pilgrims i transit passed through the canal to Hedj during this period.

Vaccination of Pilgrims

Instructions were issued to vaccinate every pilgrim twice against cholera. An entry to this effect is to be made in the pilgrim registers and in the passport of the pilgrim concerned.

Measures taken during the return of Pilgrims

The Egyptian State Railways was requested to allot a platform in Cairo Station for the arrival of pilgrim trains. The Railways issued instructions to its staff concerned to the effect that they should inform Medical Officers of any pilgrim who breaks the journey at any station other than that to which he has booked his ticket in order to be observed at the localities in which he has detrained. The Ministry of Finance approved the granting of a reward of L. E. 5 (about Rs. 66) to every person intercepting any pilgrim returning to Egypt through an nknown route.

I have gone purposely into the details egarding the actual procedure taken in 1927 to rotect the country from cholera which was aging in Iraq, only because the Egyptian Government is always on the alert regarding the anding menace which invariably reaches Egypt through importation by pilgrims and ssengers, of which the importation by pilgrims urning from the Hedjaz represent the most nstant danger and have been found to be sponsible for the last four epidemics in Egypt. e., those of the years 1865, 1883, 1895 and 1902. Then comes the importation by passengers from e near East. The long sea voyage between Egypt and the countries of the Far East inimises the ordinary danger to Egypt from ese sources.

Preventive Measures

The details of the passenger control system oth as regards pilgrims and ordinary passengers e very thorough and exhaustive. The main ject of this system is to discover the first case cholera as this discovery is of utmost portance in regard to the means of prevention its epidemic spread.

It has been observed that the actual method f conveyance of cholera takes place in the rsons of passengers arriving in the country d only very rarely by the importation of fected materials such as water. The only own standing danger from the importation of fected material exists in the pilgrim's custom bringing back water from the "Femzem" ell of Mecca. Arrangements exist for the sterilization of all flasks containing this water by the Quarantine authorities.

The Quarantine measures are also adopted in cases presenting even slight diarrhoea. A bacteriological examination of the specimen is invariably done as these cases are regarded to be easily undetected and may be responsible for the importation of the disease. It is for this reason the medical officers are so trained that they are thoroughly familiar with the procedure to be adopted in discovering any suspected case of cholera among all classes of persons, or an unexplained death among persons still under or just emerged from the passenger control.

The passenger control system is becoming more and more extensive as the means of communications are being improved, the latest being the motor car and the aeroplane. Formerly, the means of communication existing between Egypt on the one hand and Iraq and Persia on the other, consisted of sea and land routes only, the journey by the former taking 20 days and by the latter not less than 2 months. Now, by means of motor car one arrives in not more than 3 days and by aeroplane only a few hours. This has greatly increased the danger of importation of cholera in Egypt. It has become thus, essentially necessary for the Egyptian Government to arrange for uniform measures with the Iraq Government. Further, all passengers from Iraq must pass through Syria and Palestine in order to reach Egypt. So similar arrangements have also been agreed to with the Sanitary authorities of these countries. These arrangements are mainly those whereby the neighbouring governments inform the Egyptian Government by cable of all new cases and the localities in which they occur. Further, they require all persons leaving for Egypt to be vaccinated against cholera and they are not to take their departure unless five days have elapsed since their vaccination. The department is also informed by wire of the names of all passengers coming from Iraq and Persia, immediately on their departure from those countries. As regards foodstuffs and drinks brought with passengers arriving by aeroplanes or motor cars, it was stipulated that these should be destroyed. Postal parcels for Egypt arriving in aeroplanes were opened in the presence of a delegate from the Department of Public Health for the purpose of ascertaining that they did not contain foodstuffs. If any parcels arrived in Egypt in transit consigned to persons abroad, the Department wired to the Postal Administration of the country concerned intimating that the parcel was received from Iraq, a country infected with cholera.

It is satisfactory to note that the above measures were entirely successful in their object and fulfilled the purpose for which they were laid down. They successfully protected the country against infection with cholera.

Apart from the source of danger through passengers and the articles carried by them, another article, the dates of various kinds, rather the most important article of food imported by Egypt from Iraq has also attracted the serious attention of the Department. The Department has laid down the necessary conditions which ensure that consignments of dates should not be rebased before the lapse of 21 days from the date of their departure from Iraq, provided that the dates are properly packed.

HOW A SUSPECTED CASE IS DETECTED

The procedure adopted by the authorities is also thorough and is as follows :

1. Take a specimen of the faeces and send it for examination to the Public Health Laboratories.

2. Isolate the patient. First cases or suspected cases may be isolated in the infectious sections of Government Hospitals, but if more cases occur other arrangements must be made. Disinfect the house and the contacts' clothing.

3. In all cases in which a specimen is taken for cholera examination the contacts should be put under daily medical observation where there is a definite evidence of a suspicious nature, all persons living in the house and immediate contacts must be at once isolated. Record the number and character of motions of each contact daily.

4. The Medical Officer will go into the history of the case and take any necessary action in view of the facts elucidated. If it is found that the case was sick in or acquired its infection in some other part in Egypt, write details for action to the Public Health auth in such place. If acquired in the plac residence, find out from whom or from source. Inquire for suspicious cases or re deaths among the family, contacts neighbours.

5. If the original case turns out to positive, the following action will be taken

(*a*) All the immediate and remote conta if any, who had previously been under obser tion outside will be isolated.

(*b*) All the contacts, immediate and rem will be given a saline purge and a speci will be sent to the laboratories for examina

(*c*) If any death occurs in the village the dead person is not medically exami before death, a specimen will be taken examination, unless the cause of death obviously not suspicious of cholera.

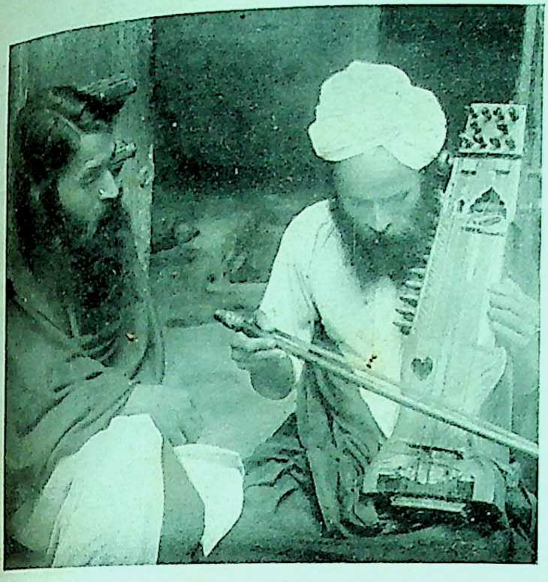
The question as to when the patient be discharged from the hospital is important in first or early cases in a previo non-infected locality so long as it is hoped to prevent the disease spreading. T rule to be followed under these circumstan is that a negative bacteriological result sho have been returned for three successive spe mens taken after purging at intervals of a we

The standing menace to the country is m by the above-mentioned methods to deal wi a suspected case. It has been found that t danger becomes more acute from time to ti Under these circumstances, when the coun is acutely threatened but not actually infec precautions in addition to those alre described are taken which puts everyb concerned on the alert.

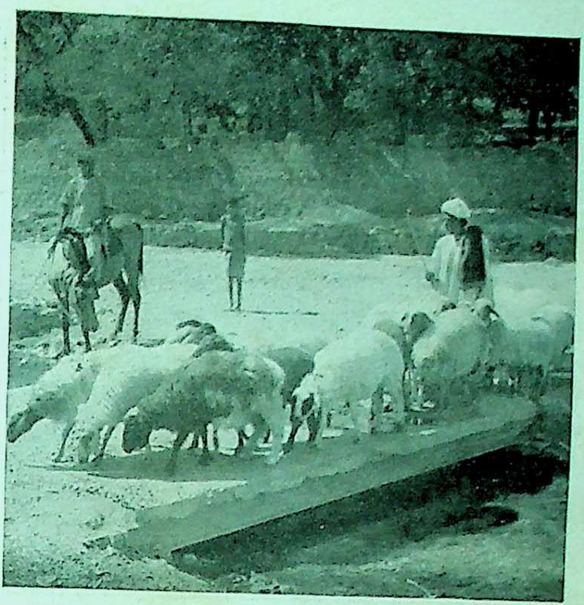
The details regarding the anti-cho measures adopted in Egypt when the coun is declared infected form the subject of ano report submitted by me to the *Calcutta Med Journal* for publication.

SONGS FROM MY VILLAGE

[*See* page 308]

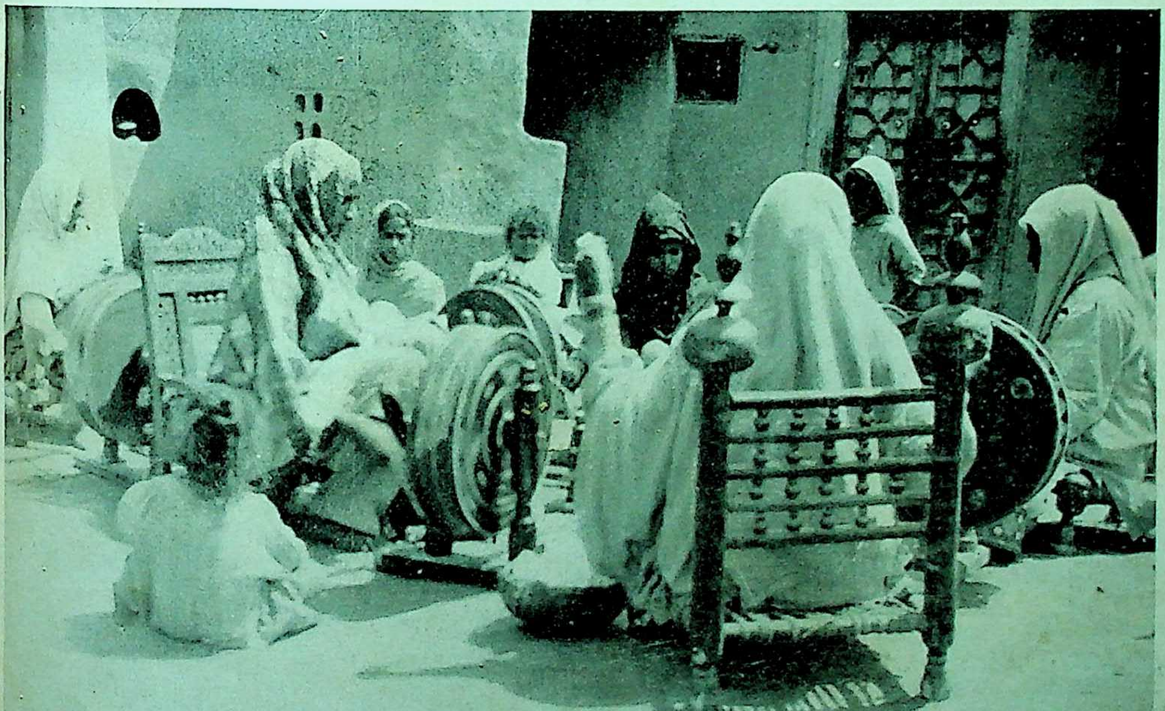


Devendra Satyarthi listens to the song of Sundar,
With his eyes lowered, over the strings of his Sarangi
Sundar, the wandering minstrel, sings romantic songs



The outing of a flock

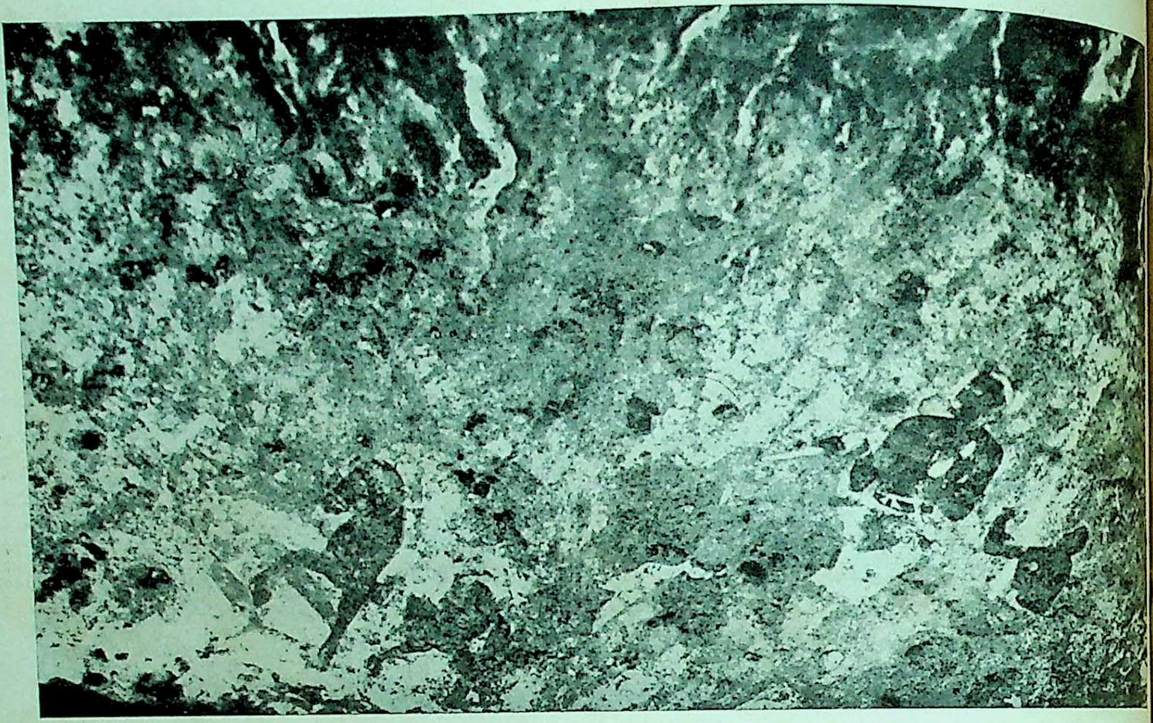
[Photographs by Mr. Z. D. Barni, Lahore]



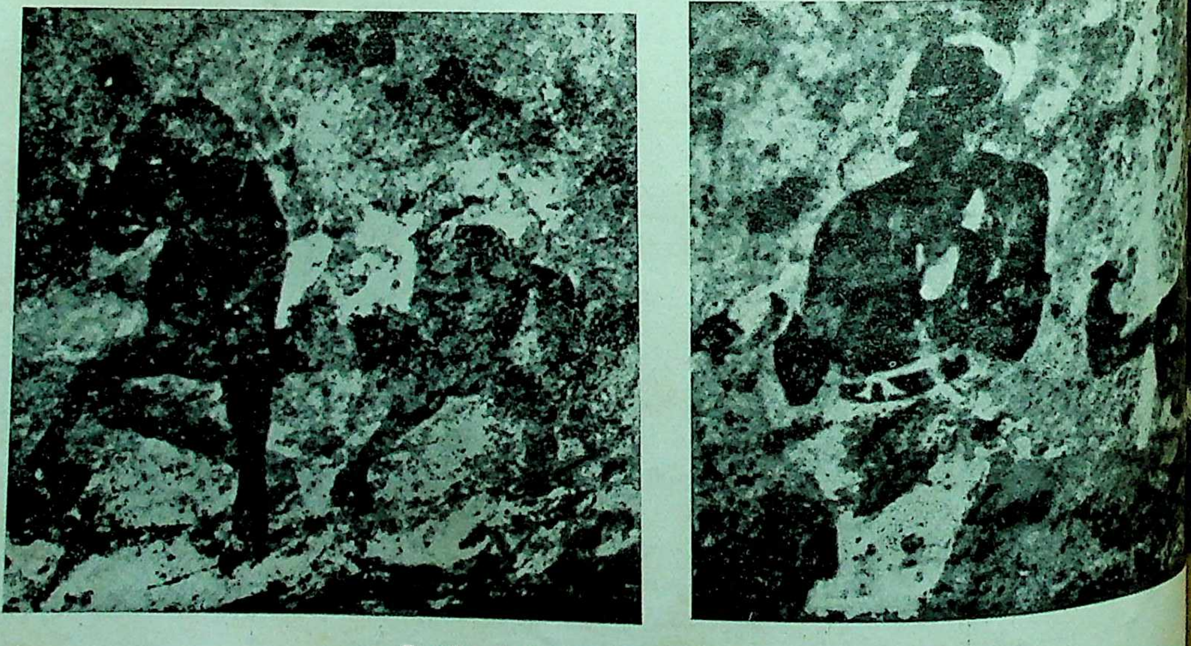
A Trinjan

The village women assemble here to spin together. They may come out in a body to hear the songs of the wandering minstrel

EXPLORATION OF DENGAPOSHI IN KEONJHAR STATE



Fresco representing war expedition

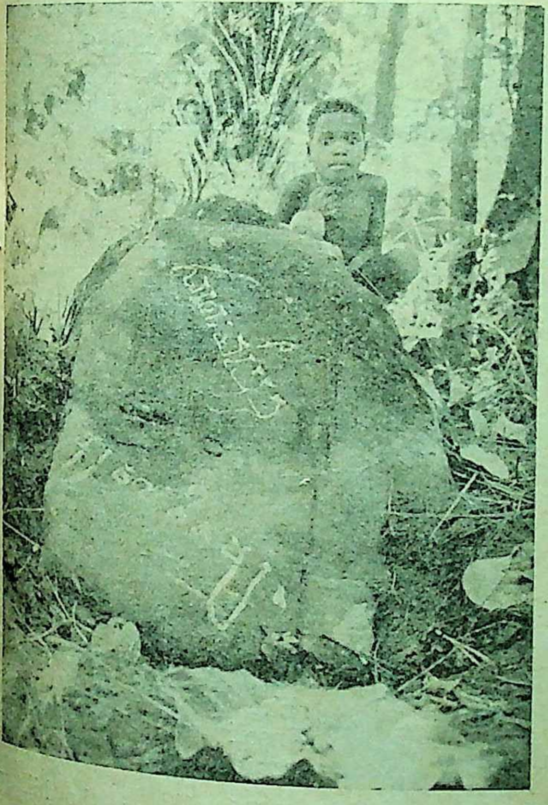


Details of Fresco representing war expedition

EXPLORATION OF DENGAPOSHI IN KEONJHAR STATE

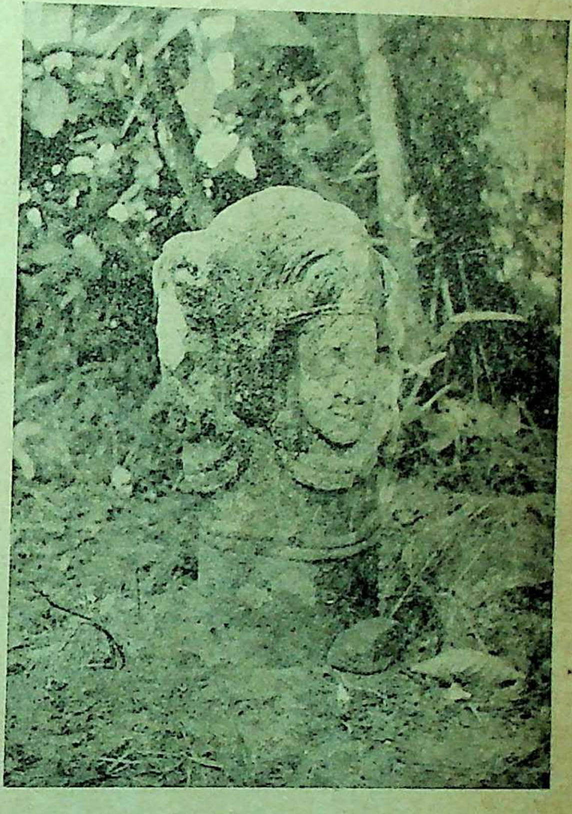
By Pandit BINAYAK MISRA,
Lecturer, Calcutta University
AND
Mr. KRUSHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

Credit must go to the enlightened Chhotarai Saheb of Keonjhar for making discovery of important relics of a flourishing civilization that prevailed in a hill recess which is now covered by forest and contains a thin population of primitive Gonds and Savaras. It is due to his enthusiasm that Dr. Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta, M.A. Ph.D., was able to notice in brief these relics in a Bengali magazine in 1933. We are also much indebted to him as well as to the Ruling Chief, his elder brother, for the facilities afforded for our visit to the place.



Rock-inscription

According to the tradition the Ruling Family of Keonjhar has emanated from the Bhanja dynasty of Mayurbhanj. It is related that in ancient times the *Bhuyan* population of Keonjhar experienced difficulty in approaching the Ruler of Mayurbhanj for the settlement of disputes that took place among themselves. Thereupon they stole a younger son of the ruler and installed him as their own Ruler in Keonjhar. Thus the separation of Keonjhar from Mayurbhanj took place.

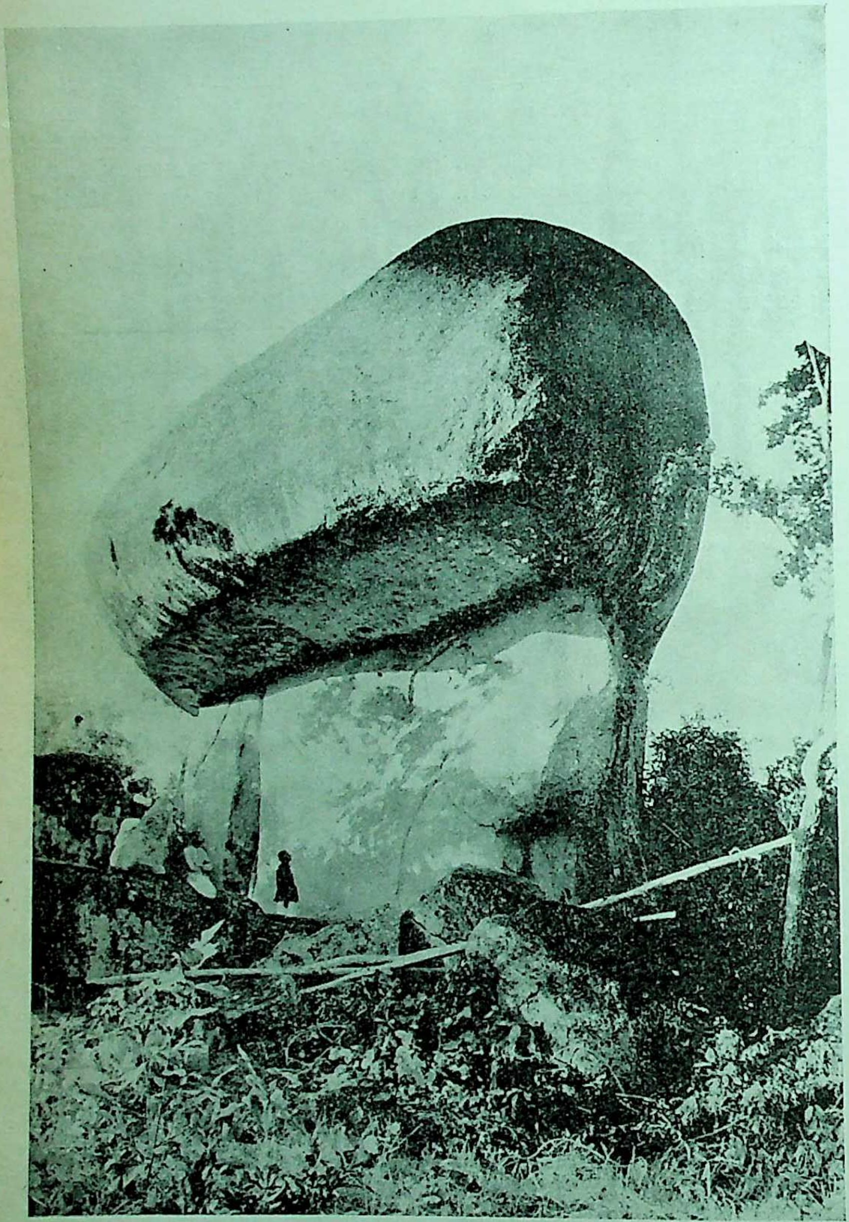


Mukha linga

The headquarters of Keonjhar is about 72 miles north-west of Jajpur Road Station on B. N. R. and 26 miles south-east of Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja territory. A good metalled road leads and a motor bus plies daily along it from Jajpur Road to the headquarters. From Dhenkikot, a road side village about 54 miles from Jajpur Road, leads a footway of about 4 miles in length to Dengaposhi the place of antiquities. A fair weather road of the same length recently constructed by the State joins Dengaposhi with Katrabedha another road-side village about 58 miles from Jajpur Road. Dengaposhi lies to the south-west of Dhenkikota and south-east of Katrabedha.

Dengaposhi is a small village situated on the north bank of a hill-stream called Sita. On the south bank of the same stream there is another small village called Sitabhanji. These two villages are one mile apart from each other. Though Dengaposhi has a separate entity its identity is merged in that of Sitabhanji. This is probably due to the fact that Dengaposhi grew up later as compared to Sitabhanji.

To the east of and at a distance of about a quarter mile from Dengaposhi is situated a small hill called *Valmiki-ashram* (the abode of the sage Valmiki). This hill occupies about a quarter mile in length from east to west along the north bank of the Sita. The distance between the hill and the stream ranges from 200 to 400 yards. On the eastern slope of the hill there is a spacious natural cave. Again at the eastern foot of the hill are fonud six unhewn small rocks containing inscriptions. Each inscription consists of one line. The letters are deep cut and each measures about 2″×2″. The rocks are in their natural positions on the earth and occupy an area of about 30 sq. yards. By the side of them there lie two brick mounds. The bricks are immensely scattered along the southern foot of the hill and each measures about 10″×8″×2″.



Ravana-chhaya

As there is no rest house at Dengaposhi we had to pay a flying visit. So the time at our disposal being short we could not attempt to decipher all the inscriptions. We made an attempt to decipher only one inscription. This inscription reads:

पुरुदस छिछ मरुत

(Maruta, the desciple of Purudha)

The reading of this inscription suggests to us that all other inscriptions record, like the Barhut and Sanchi inscriptions, the names of some ascetics along with those of their preceptors. The cave on the hill was probably set apart for the practice of Yoga mode of meditation.

At the southern foot of the hill is found an image of a Mukha-linga. Four human faces represented on a phallic emblem are distinct. On the western end of the southern foot of the hill there stands a gigantic wall-like rock facing south and having on its top a projecting boulder. This rock is called *Ravana-chhaya* (the shadow of the demon king Ravana) by the local people. It is so called probably on account of its enormous dimension. On the ceiling of the projection are found the precious fresco and writing in brown colour.

The ceiling is at a height of about 18 feet from the ground and measures about 25″×10″. The fresco represents in profile a row of three men on foot, one on horse-back and two on an elephant, all in a marching posture. They cover about half the area of the entire plane of the ceiling. Except the horse and men on the elephant other figures are comparatively indistinct. The fading seems mainly due to the earthen nests built on the pictures by the hornets.

One line of writing commencing from below the hind legs of the horse is discernible. There are faint appearances of other letters to suggest that damage has been wrought on the precious record. We, therefore, draw the pointed attention of the Archæological Department of the Government of India to give proper advice to the State as to the preservation of this unique treasure of Indian Art from further decay and ruin.

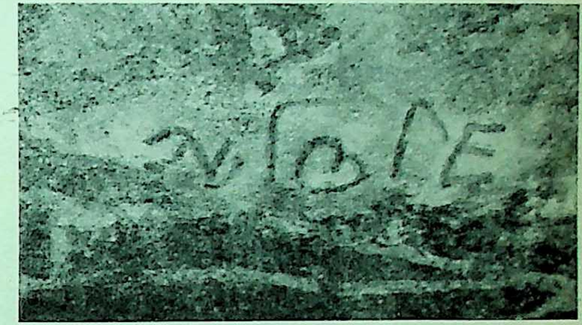
The fresco represents a war expedition. The man sitting on the fore part of the elephant's back wears a white half pant, a loose brown coat, a white textile girdle over the coat and a decorated cap on the head. He is tall of stature and holds a dagger in his right hand. His eyes are as large as those of the Ajanta frescoes. He is probably a king.

The man sitting behind the king wears a coat and holds a staff probably flying the flag. His lower garment is indistinct and the head is bare. He is short of stature. His forehead is low and the nose at its root is depressed to some extent.

At the head of the horse the surface is monochromatic. The crest is therefore shown there by thickening the colour. On the whole, the pictures are life-like and exhibit the excellent artistic skill.

As we are not equal to the task of comparing these pictures with those of Ajanta caves, we leave it to the connoisseur of art. But they are so accomplished in execution and so vivacious in form that we esteem them too highly as Art and say that they are dumb witnesses to the past glorious culture of Orissa. They indisputably establish the fact that in ancient times the hilly tracts of Orissa were as civilized as any other region in India.

It is difficult to read with precision the 1st letter of the writing. It looks like N having an additional stroke parallel to the lower part of the right limb. The second letter is distinctly रा. The third letter can be read as ग. Then follows the word राजा which is succeeded by the name श्री दिशा भंज. Here दिशा may also be read as दिशर. Because the आ mark touches unlike that of रा (second and fourth letter) the base of letter and looks like र. It is important to note that the म form found in this record is earlier than that



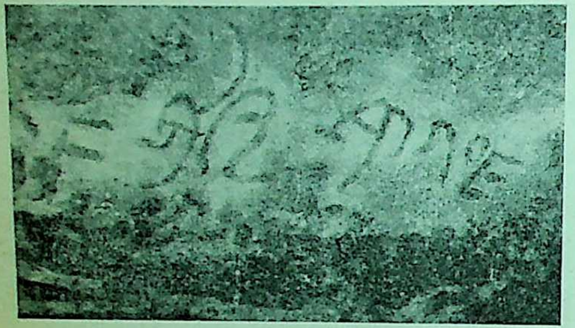
1st part of writing

occurring in the Patiakela grant of the 6th century A.D. (E. I. Vol. IX. Pp. 283. ff. l. 1). The forms of ग, ज, श and र of the Kushan period are also worth noticing in the present record. We can therefore assign the fresco to the 4th century A.D. on the palæographic ground. This conclusion receives confirmation from a hoard of Kushan coins discovered at Dengaposhi by the coolies engaged in the earth work of the road. These coins contain no legend like the other Kushan coins discovered in Orissa. Each coin contains on the obverse a standing human figure and on the reverse the representation of a man on elephant.

It is now evident that the record bespeaks the past achievements of the Bhanja dynasty. Not only the Bhanja family of Keonjhar but also all the Bhanja families of Orissa must feel proud of this unique monument of their past culture and glory.

It is interesting to note that छिव् the Prakrit form of Sanskrit शिष्य is found in the rock inscription while in the writing below the paintings the Sanskrit sound of श्री is not Prakritised as सिरि. The former record belongs to a religious community who adopted the dialect spoken by the common people and the latter one to the ruling family. The ancient Sanskrit dramas represent the common people as speaking the Prakrit dialect and the members of the ruling families as using the Sanskrit language. That these dramas represent the true character of ancient Indians in the matter of their spoken dialects now gains support from the epigraphic records at Dengaposhi.

A ruler named Digbhanj is mentoined in the copper-plate records discovered in Mayurbhanj. This Digbhanj cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date earlier than the 9th century A.D. Evidently he is not identical with Dishabhanja mentioned below the paintings who cannot be supposed to have flourished in a date later than the 4th century A.D. With the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine whether this Dishabhanja flourished before or after the separation of the Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj family. According to the traditional history of Baud, a scion of the Keonjhar Bhanja line came to Baud and founded another Bhanja line. That the foundation of the Baud Bhanja line antedates the 9th century A.D., can be gathered from the copper-plate records discovered in the Baud State. Again the traditional history of Keonjhar relates that two brothers—Adibhanj and Jyotibhanj—hailed from Rajputana and founded two principalities; Adibhanj, the elder brother, at Adipur on the north bank and Jyotibhanj, the younger one, at Jyotipur on the south bank of the Vaitarani. The Keonjhar Bhanj line is said to have descended from Jyotibhanj. All these traditions point to the fact that the separation of Keonjhar line from the Mayurbhanj line took place a short time after the foundation of the Bhanj family in Orissa. But they reveal no definite date.



2nd part of writing

To the west of Dengaposhi there stands another hill which contains a large natural cave. The local people call it Sita's *antudi-shal* (lying in room). In this cave are found three phallic emblems along with two peculiar bronze figures. One of the phallic emblems is worshipped by the local people as Sita wife of Rama and the others as her sons—Kusha and Lava. At the foot of this hill lies a beautiful figure of an elephant carved out of stone.

There can be no doubt that in ancient times Dengaposhi was a centre of Saivism and contained a flourishing town to which the coins and the bricks found there bear testimony. It is probable therefore that the historical data would turn up, if the brick-mounds are exploited, which may help us in filling up the gap in the history of Orissa extending from the extinction of Kharavela's dynasty in the 1st century A.D., to the foundation of the Bhauma dynasty in the 6th century A.D. Not only Dengaposhi but also Sialimal at Anandpur in the Keonjhar State is an important archæological site where are found some excellent Buddhist and Hindu sculptures dating back to the 8th century A.D. The excavation seems, if carried on here, to be profitable to a large extent. Again another place known as Patna about 16 miles north of Dengaposhi contains remote antiquities. Here another hoard of copper coins has been discovered, each containing on both sides *Svastik* symbol. These coins are smaller and thiner than Kushan coins and probably the earliest of all the ancient coins hitherto discovered in Orissa.

We may be forgiven for adding here a note on the Palace Library at Keonjhar, which has no bearing on the main topics of our report. This Library possesses some valuable palm-leaf manuscripts. One of them contains some Sanskrit *Slokas* regarding the dates of erections of the famous temples of Orissa. The dates concerning the Puri and Konarak temples are in this manuscript the same as known from other sources. But the *Sloka* in the manuscript, recording the date of Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneshwar is slightly different from that heard by late Mr. M. Ganguly and other antiquarians from the temple priests. We quote below the *Sloka* from the manuscript.

गजाष्टाष्टमिते जाते शकाब्दे कृत्तिवाससः ।
प्रासादं कृतवान् धीमान् ललाटेन्दुश्च केशरी ॥

(In the Saka year 888 the temple of Krittivasa was built by Lalatendukesari).

According to the *Sloka* heard from the temple priests the Saka year is 188 which is not worthy of credence from the architectural standpoint. Now the Saka year 888 (A.D. 966) does not militate against that standpoint and as such we can accept it as credible. Lalatendukesari seems to be identical with Uddyotakesari.

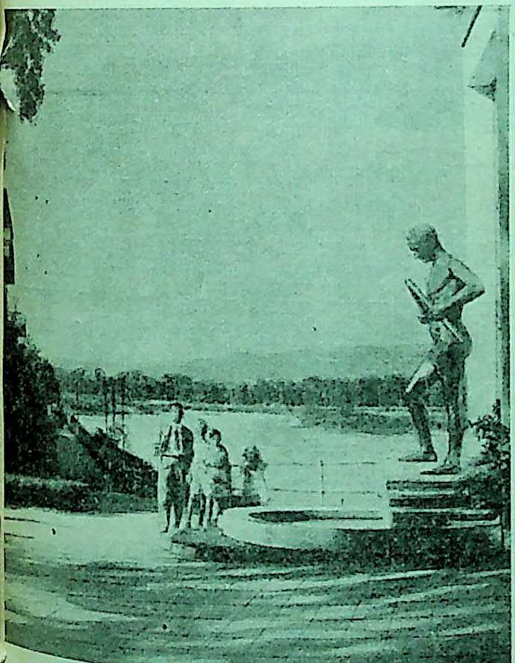
ecause the cave in the Khandagiri hill, which ntains an inscription of Uddyotakesari, is own as Lalatendukesari cave.

In conclusion we offer our thanks to ndit Banamber Acharya, Sahityacharya, who is enthusiastically endeavouring to edit the rare manuscripts under the patronage of the Ruling Chief and encouragement of the Chhotarai Saheb for bringing to our notice the *Sloka* quoted above.

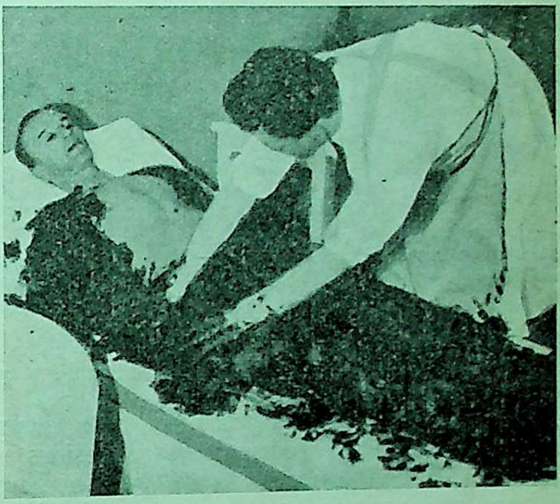
PISTANY—THE BENEFICENT ISLAND

By E. SCHENKL

ROM the Tatra mountains in Czechoslovakia prings the river Waag. An island is situated the river—Pistany, the famous bath-place d health-resort of Czechoslovakia. This untry is specially rich in health-resorts and arlsbad, Franzensbad and Marienbad are today own throughout the world. Also Pistany has be named among them and may be, it holds e first place. It is a unique place among alth-resorts. From a depth of about 5000 eet rise hot mud and thermal springs which ome to the surface on the island and also in he river. The mud and water have a comparatively high temperature and have to be cooled rtificially so that they might be cool enough or being used. The place is known for centuries and has already in ancient times been used as a health-resort. Already in 1551 A.C., Georg Wernherus has written a book on Pistany—*Hypomnemation de Admirandis Hungariae aquis* in which he praises the healing power of the hot springs and its wonderful origin.



The "Crutch-breaker", the symbol of Pistany

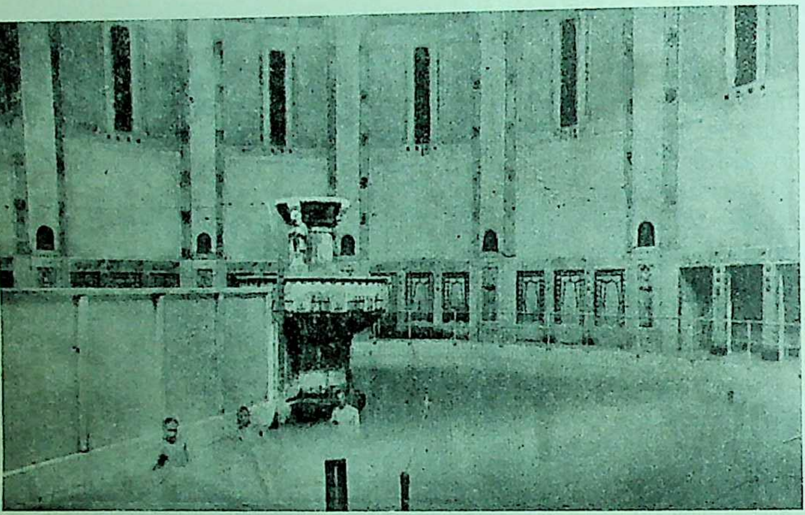


Mud-application

At that time people used to come there and pay the settlers and peasants a few coins who would then dig a hole for them in the ground on the embankment of the river. This hole got filled in no time with mud and hot water and people used to sit there for several hours daily and benefit by the healing factors of the mud. Modern times have not changed the custom much, only in so far, that modern technique has equipped these bathing-holes with luxury and new inventions to make it as comfortable as possible for patients. Above the hot springs and mud-craters a fashionable Hotel has been built so that patients living there can directly descend inside the building and take the baths.

There are different kinds of treatment suitable for all sorts of ailments. Specially noteworthy is the big mud basin. Its floor consists of very smooth sand through which continuously fresh mud and thermal water can rise and fill the basin. Up to the calf or knee the patients stand in mud and above is the warm thermal water reaching the breast. The water is radioactive and the mud contains sulphur.

Besides the big basin which allows the patients to move about freely during the time of the bath, there are cabins for those who cannot move alone and have to be helped by nurses. Each of these cabins contains a basin for mud and one for thermal water besides a douche for thermal water. A bed is also there for those patients who get partial applications of mud. In many cases it is necessary that the patient is covered with mud and then wrapped up in blankets and has to remain lying on the bed for several minutes.



The mud-basin of "Irma-Bath" which is fed directly by the mud and thermal-spring

There are various ailments which are treated and also healed in Pistany. Specially gout and rheumatism. But also gall-bladder trouble, kidney trouble, bladder trouble, inflammations of the joints, women's diseases and skin diseases are healed. According to the illness concerned, the patient will either get partial mud applications, or mud bath or simply thermal baths. A number of experienced doctors are prescribing treatment of all sorts.

But it is not always absolutely necessary to come to Pistany to get the treatment. Naturally a cure on the spot is much better and has probably a better effect, because all sorts of factors act there together, climate, quietness and water and mud. But today all the big and hospitals on the Continent have tak 'Pistany cures' and achieved very good r The mud is dried and either compressed or in linen bags. The compressed mud is dis in hot water and then applied to the bo the place affected by the pain. The linen are boiled in hot water to heat the mud and the particular place is covered with it. might be shoulder, arm, leg, thigh, hip, joint etc. Pistany has its bureaus today all over the world. Agents are selling the compresses so that people can have the ment even in their hom case they cannot affor come to Pistany.

For Indian readers will be very interesting learn that the late Dr. A has discovered Pistany his countrymen. One day passed it just by chance stayed there for two days guest of the Director. was shown round the p and institutions and greatly admiring everyth When he was brought to river and held his finger in the icy-cold mountain wa and found that below surface the water was ra hot in several places, was very astonished took great interest to get acquainted all details. The next summer he sent sev Indian patients who were greatly benef by the treatment of Pistany. The man ment of the place have therefore dec to celebrate a memorial in honour of the fa Indian physician—Dr. Ansari—this sum They want to invite an Indian doctor who be their guest and get also free treatment that he might experience the benefiting e of Pistany on his own body.

Pistany is now one of the most fashion bath-places of Europe. Big hotels have built, private houses accept guests and have been made all the necessary arrangem and provisions so that the guests may feel and comfortable. There is occasion for r and playing tennis and all sorts of out games. A big swimming pool, fed by the water is provided for those who can move freely without being bound to the invalid During the season competitions and festivals arranged. One finds all shades of complex there and hears all languages.

The surroundings are also lovely and there can be made wonderful excursions by car or on foot to visit old castles which crown the surrounding hills. It is also easy to reach Pistany today. From all the European capitals there are very comfortable and good train connections available. From the frontiers of Czechoslovakia to Pistany wonderful auto-roads have been built so that one might easily come there with his private car. And if desired one may also come by aeroplane for Pistany has an aerodrome which is only a few minutes from the centre of the town.

Pistany is about 500 feet above the sea-level. The climate is sunny, dry and warm and therefore specially suited for those who are suffering from rheumatism. For all these reasons it is worthwhile to visit Pistany—the beneficent island and get relief there from all sorts of ailments.

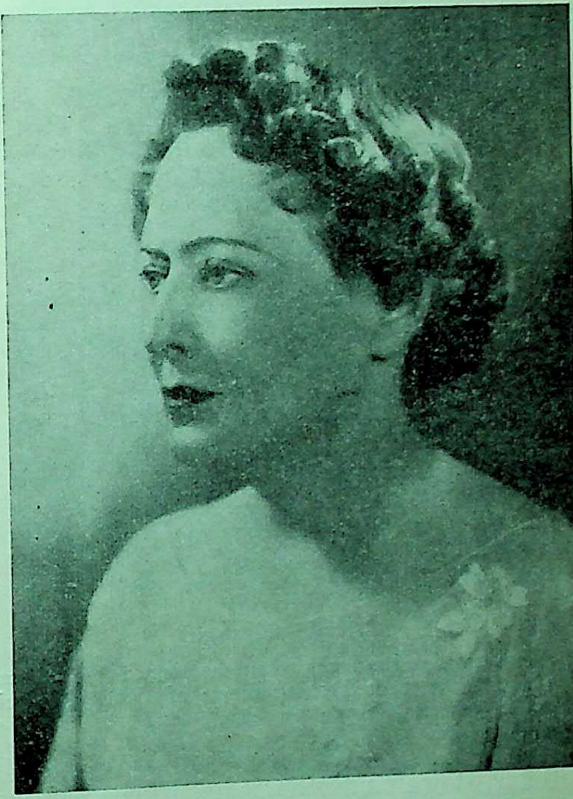
WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

MRS. Clarence Gasque, the International Director of the World Fellowship of Faiths, sailed for India *via* Colombo, with a party of seven people of different nationalities, by S. S. *Orontes.* One of the main objects of their visit is to discuss with the leaders of different religions a plan for holding a World Parliament of Faiths in India in 1940, following the International Congress of Faiths to be held in the summer and autumn in 1939, in New York at the time of the great World's Fair, and in San Fransisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition.

Mrs. Gasque comes from a wealthy American family and has her residence in London and also a home in Paris. She divides her time between the United States and Europe, working for the World Fellowship of Faiths and other organizations promoting peace and brotherhood.

"Peace and Progress through World Fellowship", the proceedings of the International Assembly of the World Fellowship of Faiths, recently held in London and Paris under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, is just published. It contains inspiring addresses from sixty leaders of many creeds and countries, with many illustrations, songs and readings.

Mr. Laurence Housman, the distinguished English dramatist, is the present Chairman of the British National Council; Hon. Herbert Hoover is the President and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, the Chairman of the American National Council. Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta and Mr. Charles Frederick Weller are the General Secretaries of the World Fellowship of Faiths, with headquarters at Savoy Hotel, London, and Hotel New Yorker, New York.


Mrs. Clarence Gasque

SONGS FROM MY VILLAGE

By Prof. DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

One day when I was returning to Nai Abadi near Khalsa College, Amritsar, I heard a *tanga*-driver singing a Mahia song : *"Sione da kill mahia; Lokan dian ron akhian, sada rondaee dil mahia."* The words came straight to my heart, "Lo! here is a nail of gold, my love; the people's eyes weep, but mine is the heart that weeps, my love."

"It is a Pothohari song," remarked my friend Prof. Mohan Singh, "travelling from Pothdar, Rawalpindi side, it has reached Majha, the Central Punjab." This was, of course, an indication of the popularity of the Pothohari Mahia songs so dear to my friend. "This is the type of songs that appeals to me most when some simple boy or girl sings in my father-in-law's village," he commented. "And you see, in the present song how suggestive are the words of the first line : 'Lo, here is a nail of gold.' The nail of gold here is, perhaps, the symbol of love. Love is so golden in appearance but then it is often nail-like, pricks the heart."

A simple village-girl

How sublime she looks when she sings : "Come, my love, and enjoy the refreshing breeze of home. Now bid adieu to remote China, my love." And she sings of Hir and Sohini.

I knew Prof. Mohan Singh to be a r sentative writer of modern Punjabi p but now I realized that he loved folk- more than his own poems.

Mahia is an abridged form of *Mah* (literally, one who tends buffaloes). Hir Ranjha, the romantic ballad of Punjab, we find Ranjha engaged as a mah in his beloved Hir's house. But as Ranjha more of a lover than a servant, the

The village swain

He may turn out to be another Ranjha or Mah one day. He sings of the romantic tales of Hir R and Sohini Mahinwal.

Mahinwal lost its original meaning and tur into a synonym of lover. Most of the Ma songs are love-songs; they are compo extempore. Like the fresh flowers of sp they blossom to wither away after a per But they are never really lost. There is sweet music about the Pothohari dialect, *Mahia* forms a valuable chapter of Pun folk-literature. There are other forms of s in Pothohari but Mahia songs are the m popular. The words are simple, but some them are lengthened and accentuated in the tune.

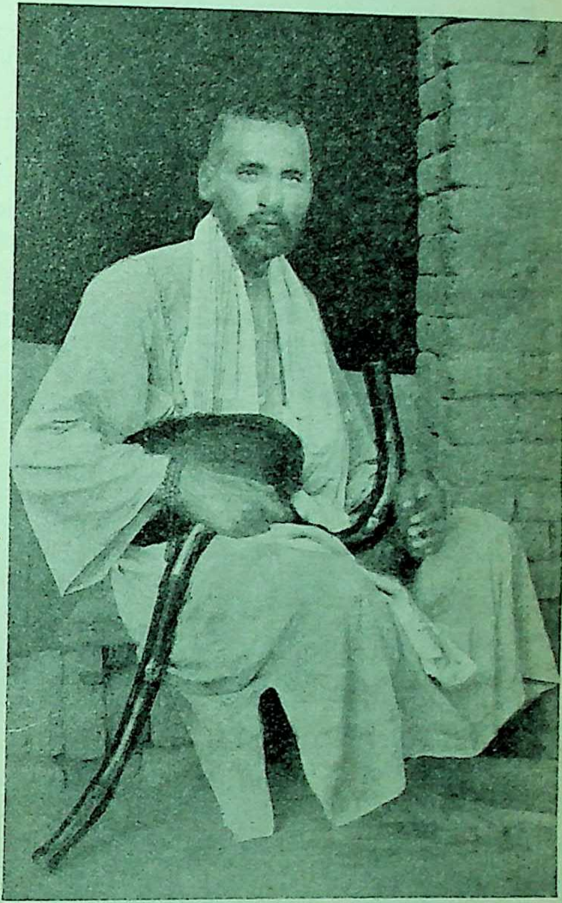
Prof. Mohan Singh teaches Persian at the Khalsa College, Amritsar. But he always dreams of the beautiful Pothohar country-side with its songs full of romance. A single line of such a song fills him with inspiration and he seeks to express it in his modern poems. Within his world of ideas and dreams enter the words of the Mahia singer: "*Do tappe gawendian; Tappe shappe Kujjh ni chana, Dil de sar Kadhenian.*" 'I am singing a few couplets. Don't take them as mere songs, my moon-like man, they are just the flames of love coming out of my heart.' And these words reveal to him the deep, silent heart of a country-woman. He sang to me another of his favourite Mahia songs: "*Sadke te rudh battia; Jhine yari nahion laee, Ohne dunian ton ki khattia?*" The words got alive with meaning—'Roll along the road, O stone. One who has no sweetheart, what has he gained in this world?' "Just see," he remarked, "The village poet even invites the stone to share the romance in life. A country *tanga*-driver, who sang this song to me, explained that the stone rolling rhythmically on should love the road, for life without love is meaningless. Again and again the words of those songs knock at my heart whenever I sit to compose a new poem in Punjabi. I open my heart and offer cordial welcome to them. I believe, poetry to be great must be impregnated with the life of the people to whom I belong."

A member of the old generation

The wheel of change is there. His grandson may perhaps put on a new dress. But there must be an anti-illitracy campaign.

"Let us hope, Mohan Singh, that you will become another Robert Burns one day in the sphere of modern Punjabi poetry," I said. And the whole room was full of merry laughter.

The language of the songs from my village represents the Malwai dialect of the Punjabi language. Sometimes the Malwai pronunciation of certain words is quite strange to the people of Majha (Central Punjab) and Pothohar. The dialect of the Central Punjab happens to be the nearest approach to literary Punjabi. But then in the language of poetry a touch of Pothohari dialect is always welcome. And Prof. Mohan Singh being himself from Pothohar most successfully makes his poems alive with the colour and movement of Pothohari dialect.

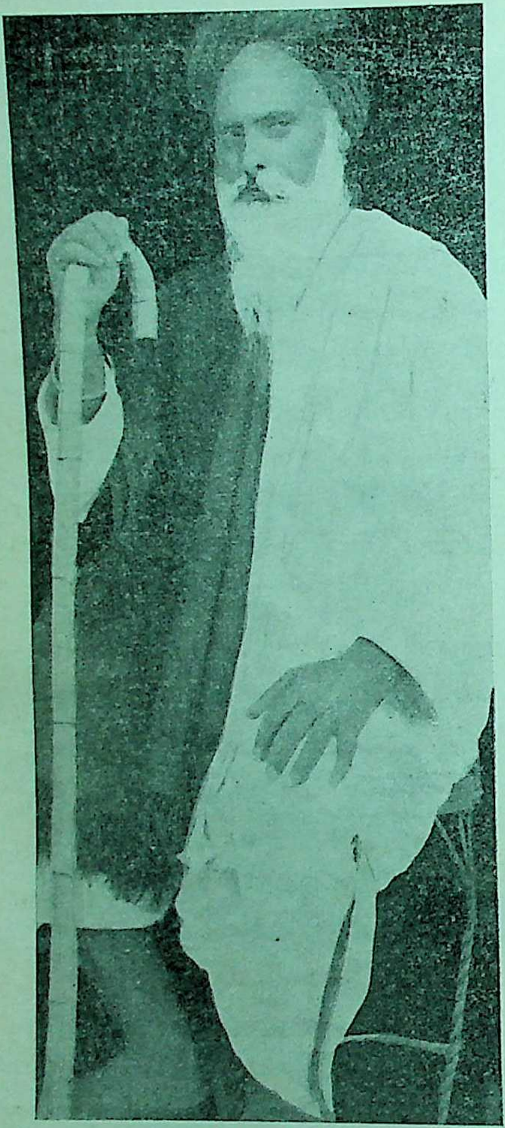


A village mystic

He has the power to give a sublime interpretation of some of the so-called vulgar folk-songs

I had decided to pick up necessary knowledge of the Central Punjabi dialect at Amritsar. Also I began adding to my stock a number of Pothohari songs collected from Prof. Mohan Singh.

"It is true, Mohan Singh, that Pothohari dialect and songs are sweet," I one day ventured to say, "but do you think that a rough dialect like the Malwai can contribute nothing to Punjabi literature?" And he replied: "No dialect should be treated as Harijan in the sphere of literature. I use the word Harijan with care for I know that to remove any sort of untouchability we require a change in our mentality rather than a new name for the untouchable. And I am not unaware of the genuine character of your native dialect, the Malwai, for I actually lived at Ludhiana in younger days with my father who was there his medical service."



A village headman

His is more or less an autocratic outlook. And you'll not find him joining in the songs of the people. However, he figures as a character in some of the contemporary folk-songs.

I was glad to hear that and I sang to friend :

Na paeen rabba
Na paeen rabba
Mainu jatt di joon
Na paeen rabba.

"Make me not a peasant, O God,
Make me not a peasant,
In any future birth of mine, O God,
Make me not a peasant."

It was a different kind of song and new my friend inasmuch as it expressed present-day pathos of the peasant's life. asked me to sing a few more of these. And sang :

—'So poor look my crops (just glance)
O how can I jump in the Giddha dan
—'They have confiscated my plough and y
And the corn I kept for seed I sold t
feed my fam
I have failed to pay the revenue-tax!
Where is the profit of a peasant's labo

Here I quoted the translation of a s from Muttra countryside :

The Ratua insect has eaten up all my
wheat cro
My gram crop is spoiled by the Sundi.
Even the field of Arhar is attacked by
the inse
So tragic on all sides, my fate has turn
All naked my children are going about
But you care not for me, O money-len
You can see your own side alone.
O sue me in the court of justice if you c
Don't turn up to my door so often lik
a h

At my friend's request I sang a Punj song of this kind :

Banian ne att chukk li
Sare jatt karzaee keete.
—'Extremely involved we are in the han
of the money-len
All peasantry (suffers) under their deb

Then I sang to my friend another inte ing song of contemporary life in my na countryside to the rhythm of Giddha, popular folk-dance :

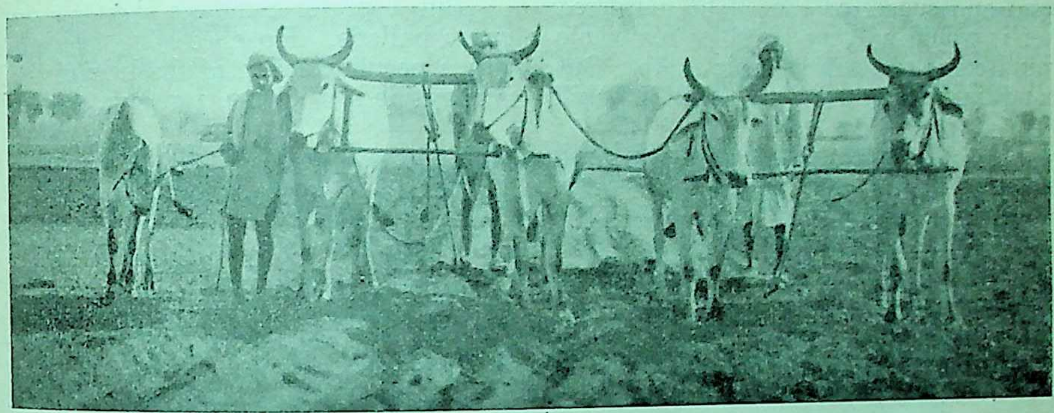
—'Lo! Here arrives the railway train
the sta

And the engine whistles;
Here comes Shamo near the gate
She is the Havildar's wife.

The train has already started
And Shamo is left all helpless,
Shedding tears on the platform stands
Shamo, the royal houri.'

"Why the villager sings this song of Shamo's sorrow to the joyful rhythm of his Giddha?" My friend enquired. "It is not very difficult to answer," I said. "The reason is clear. Her husband, the havildar, has become, more or less, a symbol of tyranny and oppression to the villager, who makes rather a sarcastic remark calling her 'a royal houri'. The singer of this song is seen here exactly in the mood of a school boy who enjoys the plight of an unpopular schoolmaster getting into trouble."

"Through the impact of the outside world, when the villager is going to be transformed beyond recognition," remarked my friend, "We should really hurry up to save his songs of joy and sorrow before they are lost for ever. For I know that these songs reveal to us much more than the official records and historical documents do of the real life of the people. And folk-songs, I believe, can create for us an atmosphere congenial to the growth of progressive poetry."



Sons of the soil

The peasants will soon be re-born it seems. Some of the contemporary songs show that they are going to understand many things better than before.

Here is the description I gave to my friend Mohan Singh of a wandering minstrel.

With his eyes bowed down over the strings of his *Sarangi* the minstrel goes about from village to village. Often he comes to my village. And I have known him for the last seven years. For the entertainment he offers at every door he receives a formal reward in the shape of corn. Someone offers him even a small coin. Whatever he is given he receives with joy. I do not know his original name. My friends often call him Sundar. I like this name. Sundar, the beautiful. Certainly, he is beautiful. And he sings beautiful songs. He often sings ballads—songs of romance, chivalry and fraternal love. You can still see Hir, the beloved of Ranjha, going to the forest where her sweetheart tends the buffaloes. And more than of Hir he sings of Sohini, the beloved of Mahinwal, whom you still see crossing the river Chenab. When the unbaked pitcher of Sohini which supports him on the water gives way, she is drowned. Sundar, the singer of Sohini's romance actually sheds tears as he sings. But there is one consolation to him. He says that Sohini is immortal and that still on the waves of the Chenab her soul swims in search of Mahinwal who lives on the further bank. And when he sings of the sister who awaits the arrival of her brother at her father-in-law's place, his song touches the heart of the womenfolk more quickly. At once they come out of the Trinjans, the assemblages where they spin together with a spirit of competition, as the notes of his *sarangi* reach their ears. Every countrywoman takes it to be the expression of her own heart for it reminds her of her own brother who must come to her one day to take her to her parental house. To show a contrast Sundar sings the song of a cruel sister as well. "After all this is a strange world," he remarks introducing the cruel sister's song, "and every sister cannot be equally good. Nor perhaps is every brother equally good and kind towards his sister. However, the present song of the cruel sister should warn the daughters of this village against such cruelty." Then he sings laying stress on certain words and phrases. The story runs thus.—A woman had only one son and one daughter. The girl was given in marriage and the boy went away to some far-off land in quest of wealth. Years passed by before he earned money to his heart's content. Then he started for home. On his way home he broke his journey for a day at his sister's father-in-law's place. Apparently she gave a good welcome to her brother who met her after many years. But she was a selfish woman. At night she went to her husband and suggested that if he murdered her brother it would be very good for his whole wealth would come to them as their share. But the husband refused and said, "Well if I kill him who'll be my brother-in-law?" Then she went to her son and suggested the murder of her brother. He was a good boy. He refused, saying, "Mother, I won't do so for thereby I'll lose my only maternal uncle." Then she incited her *Dewar,* husband's younger brother, to murder her brother in cold blood. The brother's murder took place at dead of night and the dead body, cut into pieces, was hid within a Gahira, a heap of cakes made of cowdung or buffalo-dung for fuel. Now the soul of the murdered brother appeared in a dream before the old mother and she hurried up to her daughter's place. The daughter told her a false story. "Yes, mother, brother was here last night. left for the native village very early morning. He should have met you on the w God knows what has happened to him," remarked. As the mother shed bitter tears Gahira in front of the house cracked and down. The dead body of her son, cut to pie in cold blood, was thus revealed to her. cursed her daughter for such an act of crue So far the song runs all tragic but then in end we find the brother's body being broug out of the cowdung cakes by the villag Every part of the body is put in its proper pl The whole village joins the old mother in prayer to the Almighty Father to restore life the dead body. Thus the song ends with miraculous touch of folk-genius. And actually see the brother standing up before eyes.

A folk gathering

But I prefer Sundar's shorter songs to longer ballads. He once sang to me a coup with a peculiar touch of the love of the Punj countryside : "Come, my love, and enjoy refreshing breeze of home. Now bid adieu remote China, my love." And in another so I found him addressing the railway train :

Nature at home
Such beautiful scenes in the countryside fascinated the author in his younger days

> "Run hurriedly, O railway train,
> For I yearn to enjoy the refreshing
> of my villag

This was, perhaps, first sung extempore some villager who happened to live in Calcu Bombay or Lahore as a labourer and leaving the place for his native village he sang of his yearning. Sundar, perhaps, into the mood of the original singer when sings it again and again thrilled wit

I find him on the poet Walt Whitman's ground : "My tongue, every atom of my blood, formed from this soil; born here of parents here, from parents the same and their parents the same."

Sundar aims not too high and falls not too low. He is a villager, first, last and always. I love his turban over his broad forehead. And as he touches the strings of his *Sarangi* his song vibrates with life. And he possesses a peculiar receptivity. Sing him a new song today; tomorrow he will reproduce it before you. He may sometimes visit the neighbouring small towns, but he says that he feels more at home in the countryside. He loves the men who live by the sweat of their brow, and he sings to them songs nurtured in traditions of long standing. Somehow he imports to his listeners his own receptivity and with Sundar by your side you respond more to the joys and sorrows of the people.

Mohan Singh, perhaps, would like to meet Sundar one day, and one day I must take him to my village.

* * *

Seeing my flowing hair and beard some of the people in my village take me for a mystic, but soon they are disillusioned when I ask them to sing romantic songs.

The wheel of change is there. The peasant will soon be reborn it seems. Like the peasants all the world over, he must put on his new garment even in my village. Some of the contemporary folk-songs show that he understands many things better than before. But who will lead the anti-illiteracy campaign? However, the old proverb, *Jatt machla khuda nu lai gai chor*—' outwardly the peasant looks a simpleton, but actually he understands you; what is it to him even if God is stolen away '—is going to have a new meaning when he will be blessed with primary education.

But will this wheel of change transform one day even the songs of the peasant? Certainly many of the old songs will have to give way to those which will be born tomorrow. That is why I am so particular about recording as many songs as possible from my village.

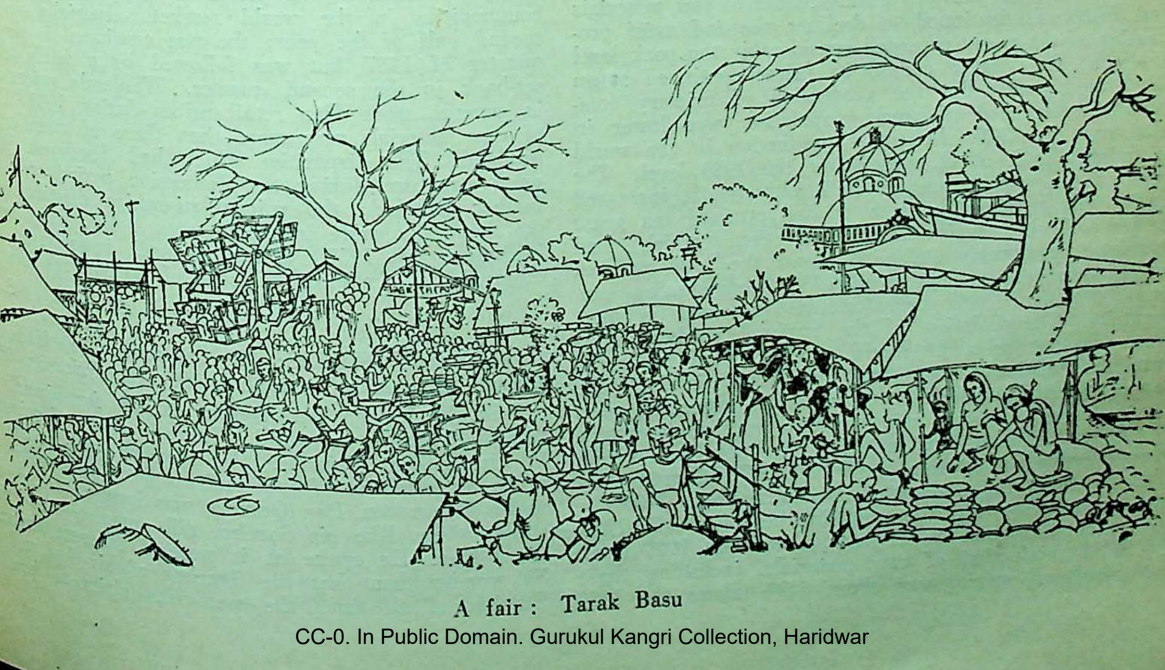
TO RABINDRANATH

On reading " Prantika "

By DILIP KUMAR ROY

O Bird of Fire, enskied above,
Whose voice is a dream, a song :
Pilgrim of loveliness and love,
A guest of the starry throng :

You warble of our ancient quest
Of bloom and bell and musk,
In the dark of sleep you cannot nest :
Your flame-wings burn the dusk.



A fair : Tarak Basu

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES 1936-37: *League of Nations, Geneva. 1937. II. A. 14. India: League of Nations Indian Bureau. "Zainab Manzil," Churchgate Reclamation, Bombay. The Book Company, Ltd. 4-4A, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 136. Price Rs. 5., Sh. 1.25.*

This annual volume, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, is an authoritative review of the situation as regards world production of both primary and industrial products, as well as of price movements of such products, both wholesale and retail. A section of the volume is devoted to world trade and shipping, which deals with quantum changes in national trade and the situation in the freight market. An important feature of the volume is the attention given to stocks of primary commodities. A comprehensive index of such stocks has been prepared for the volume as a necessary link between the revised world index of primary production and the new world index of industrial activity which were published in the last edition of the volume.

A summary of world indices of production and stocks as well as the quantum of international trade shows that:

World productive activity continued its upswing during 1936. Total *primary* production reached and passed the level of 1929, the previous peak. Stocks of raw materials and foodstuffs continued to decline; the *industrial* production of the world exceeded considerably the peak level of 1929. The rise in commodity prices continued at an accelerated pace. But the production of primary commodities per head of world population was lower in 1936 than in 1929. Industrial production in the world excluding U. S. S. R. was below the 1929 level. The quantum of world trade in 1936, although it increased again, only reached the level it had attained ten years earlier. World *agricultural* production, which had remained remarkably stable at about the level reached in 1928, increased slightly in 1936. Consumption continued to rise, and farm income increased in most countries. The isolation of the national markets, however, was not relaxed. World production of foodstuffs (excluding China) more than made good in 1936 the temporary decline which occurred in the preceding year. The improvement was mainly due to animal foodstuffs. World production of raw materials of agricultural origin experienced a sharp increase in 1936. World production of non-agricultural raw materials continued in 1936 the vigorous upswing which started in the middle of 1932, and reached a point 5 per cent. above the 1929 level.

Total production of raw materials, including those of agricultural origin, was about 5-6% above the 1929 average in 1936. The growth of raw material ou however, was not sufficient to satisfy the increa requirements of the industry which drew upon stock

World industrial production 1936 averaged some 1 higher than in 1929; in the world excluding the U. S. R.., it fell short of the 1929 level by 4-5%, but larger than in 1928. Industrial production in Euro apart from the U. S. S. R., was just about the same in 1929; but in North America, it was still some 1 smaller. The rate of growth during 1936 was exc tionally rapid. By the end of that year, the average 1929 was exceeded by over 20% in the world as a wh and by over 5% in the world, apart from the U. S. S.

The quantum of international trade in foodstuffs 1936 was about 15% below that of 1929. The quant of trade in raw materials is estimated to have been 4-5% below the 1929 level, while the trade in manu factured goods was about 25% below.

The revival of international trade in 1936 was ver marked during the second half of the year and co tinued during the first half of 1937. Whereas the to nage of laid-up ships reached in 1932 20%, from th middle of 1936 there was a shortage of tonnage and brisk increase in freight rates which continued unchecke during the first half of 1937.

In most countries, the general level of wholesa prices rose appreciably during 1936. There was marked advance in the prices of many important sta commodities in the world market, especially in th second half of the year; the rise continued in the fi quarter of 1937, but was followed by a fairly gene set-back in the second quarter. Wholesale prices ro in general, more than retail prices during 1936. Pri of raw materials rose more than those of manufactu products. The disparities which had developed in th price structure during the depression period were further rectified; the price-relationships existing bef the depression were in many cases re-established by th beginning of 1937, and a general improvement w observable in the terms of trade of agricultural countr

S.

ELYSIAN FIELDS: *By Salvador de Madaria George Allen and Unwin Ltd. P. 110. Price 3s. 6d.*

Sr. Madariaga has rightly earned for himself t title of citizen of the world. There is a vein of quixoti in his brilliant writings. His idealism will be snee at by some matter of fact realistic people of today, j as his forerunner, Don Quixote, was laughed at by so while others, like his Sancho, fail completely to un stand him. He spoke as it were a different langua No wonder then that the Sanchos of his day and th Sanchos of all time, the men who claim to face th realities of life, men, who like Garvin in *The Observer* preach in season and out of season the gospel of realism, will deride and sneer.

Elysian Fields is a brilliant dialogue, a fitting instrument used by Madariaga with the perfection of an artist, to convey abstract and ideal teaching of great value. The dialogue is well sustained, the characters are made to reason out and to think according to the convictions they are known to have upheld in their life time. Napoleon is the uncompromising defensor of militarist Imperialism: Voltaire is the sceptic and derider of religion; Washington as the builder of the United States is surprised that his country should decry a Union of all the States of the world; Karl Marx is the apostle of class-war and finally Goethe, the philosopher, discourses admirably on the organic unity of all mankind. The dialogue moves rapidly and is strewn with witticisms and penetrating remarks, keeping in tension the mind of the reader. The modernity and up-to-dateness of the discourse is cleverly maintained by the introduction of a film star and a witty criticism of the radio and television. Goethe concludes by emphasising the influence of radio in maintaining the organic unity of mankind, "the marvellous medium which puts all men into touch with all men instantaneously." The three main currents of political thought and opinion, Hitlerism, Communism and Fascism are thus reviewed and criticised.

The dialogue will give to the reader not only a delightful hour of amusement but will challenge his political and social convictions forcing him to think them out with greater logical accuracy.

P. G. BRIDGE

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM IN INDIA: *By Clifford Manshardt. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pp. 128. Price 5sh.*

In appraising this little book on a great subject one should bear in mind what the author attempts and the limitations under which he works. The author is an young American, who has been in Bombay for ten years before he makes "an attempt to analyse *some* (italics ours) of the causes of Hindu-Muslim tension in India." The problem is a vast one, extremely complicated, and becoming more complicated day by day in the political sphere owing to the shrewd policy of the British statecraft in creating an imperium in imperio by pandering to the Muslim claim of 'political importance' as past rulers of India, oblivious of the basic fact that ninety per cent of them are descendants of converts, who lost the political independence as well as their religion, and due to the whining attitude of the Indian National Congress in trying to placate them by 'giving a blank cheque' by way of political privileges so that they may join the Congress in its fight against the British Government. It also differs from province to province.

The problem has been approached from three different angles of vision: socio-religious, economic, and political. The discussion by the author is general, good so far as it goes, but often sketchy and one is tempted to add, superficial, more descriptive than analytical. For example, the author has failed to discuss the mentality which prompted Sir Abdur Rahim to say that he feels more at home amongst the Turkomans and the Afghans than amongst his next-door Hindu neighbours, and his significant silence when his car was riddled with bullets by the Frontier tribesmen; the mentality which prompted the late Maulana Muhammad Ali to write to the British Premier that "the Mussalman ruled over India from the beginning of the eighth century to about the middle of the nineteenth in one way or another, which no other community can claim in the same manner. The Sikh rule for a generation in the solitary province of the Punjab, the result of an accident . . . . . ;" and yet the same mentality does not go, dares not go against the Britishers to the same extent the 'slave' Hindus go. The author does not discuss the question why the Indian Muslims were loyal, ultra-loyal during the World War, despite the fact that the Sultan-Caliph issued a formal summons to a Holy War, and even fought against him in the Holy Land of Mesopotamia and Kerbala; and why they started the Khilafat agitation supported by Gandhiji at the close of the War? The author unfortunately leaves upon the reader an impression of over-cautiousness and timidity, perhaps well-meant, but a study like this—however brief it may be, cannot be helpful unless it faces the several issues squarely and expresses definite opinions, even running the risk of appearing to be dogmatic. For an opinion from a foreign student, situated like the author, is expected to be thought-provoking and leading to self-analysis, even when it is ultimately found to be wrong.

In his constructive statement the author lays great stress on the need and value of "Intelligent Goodwill" as providing the best solution. The author condemns the narrow communalist; and says :—"Though the communal solution to the political problem now holds the field, the national solution must be held up as the future goal." In his penultimate concluding paragraph he says :—"The outstanding need in India is for political parties which will appeal for the support of the people upon the basis of merit, instead of upon the basis of religious prejudices. Parliaments of Religion have their place, but legislatures should be political bodies. The Catholics in the United States and Great Britain have strong religious sentiments, but when it comes to political affairs they think in terms of politics. As long as politics are on a communal basis there is very little hope for alternate Governments which come into being or fall upon national issues. Under the present arrangement the Muslims are practically doomed to remain a political minority and to accept such favours as they can secure. The Party System is working at the present time in the Presidency of Madras, where the Justice Party and the Congress are already strengthening their political fences in anticipation of the new Constitution (the book was published in 1936). And in Madras communal trouble is much less prevalent than in other sections of India. An extension of the Madras System would go far towards clearing the atmosphere in other parts of India."

The Chapter "Communalism Run Wild" should have been treated as an appendix; in its present place it disturbs the unity of the essay.

J. M. DATTA

INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF MSS. IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, *Vol. II. Part II. Section I. Nos. 1-538, pp. xx+1168. (Stationery Office. London, 1937).*

The India Office, London, possesses a vast collection of MSS. in European languages (mostly English with a few in French and still fewer in Dutch), which are of the utmost value for Asiatic (especially Indian) history. These are being constantly added to by purchase and gift. Very scholarly and elaborate catalogues of these are being published. Volume I in two parts deals with the Mackenzie Collection (Madras and Mysore), and Vol. II in three parts describes all the other sections. The first Part of Vol. II (Home Miscellaneous, Orme Collection, by S. C. Hill) is a work of outstanding importance, and the present reviewer remembers with gratitude how it has helped him in his historical inquiries. The second Part of this Vol. II is now before us. It was prepared by the late Mr. Kaye and well maintains the high standard of Hill's work, while going into far greater detail than Hill and therefore proving even more helpful to distant investigators. The elaborateness of the editor's work can be judged from the fact that two Mutiny MSS.,—Ed. A. Reade's letters (Agra) and the Memoranda of the Chief of the Staff (Mansfield), 1857-1859—are calendared letter by letter in 18 and 25 pages respectively.

As an indication of the importance of this collection we may mention that it embraces the MSS. of Fowke (W. Hastings), Sir Philip Francis, Buchanan-Hamilton, C. Forbes, Abbe Dubois, Sir Stamford Raffles (Java), Rich, Moorcroft, Sykes (Burma) and Brian Hodgson (Nepal), besides others. There are also MS. translations of several Persian histories by well-known Orientalists in the E. I. Co.'s service. Of special interest to Bengal is the original draft of the Rev. James Long's *List of Books Printed in Bengal* (p. 1123), and to Maharastra the original of what Forrest has printed, namely, the English translation of the Raigarh life of Shivaji (90 Kalami) made by R. Drummond from a copy lent by Lt. Frissell (p. 756); and also the account of the painter Wales's illness and death (p. 575). The following corrections have been suggested by a friend: P. 15, in the foot-note read *donquery*—d' Ouquery, *i.e.*, of Ikeri in Western Mysore. P. 1099, for *Kunuk?* read Kuruk, *i.e.*, Kharg Singh. P. 480, the survey work of Reynolds is described by Malet in Poona Residency, Vol. II, ed. by G. S. Sardesai.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

COTTON MILL INDUSTRY IN BENGAL: *By Mukul Gupta, M.A., Personal Assistant to the Director of Industries, Bengal. Bengal Government Press, Alipore, Bengal. Pp. 62. Price annas six only.*

It is an interesting publication giving as it does, a clear and precise idea about the origin and development of cotton mill industry in Bengal supported by up-to-date statistics as far as it has been possible for the writer to collect. Cotton mills have immense possibilities in Bengal and it is time that attention of the people who possess the enterprise and necessary resources should be drawn in this direction. A perusal of the monograph drives home the unhappy fact that in spite of obvious advantages Bengal is dependent on foreign and outside sources of supply for her 'cloth' requirements to an unreasonable extent. It may be pleaded that it may not be advisable to endeavour to be independent of extraneous sources of supply irrespective of considerations of comparative advantage. But Bengal stands today in such a position that it will be long before her cotton mill industry is so developed as to outrage this economic principle. Even then, there is no reason why should we not make every effort to take our legitimate share in one of our most important industries.

Those who are interested in the cotton mill industry will find this monograph useful. The merit of the publication lies in the fact that the writer has made a subjective study of an industry exclusively from Bengal's point of view and there is need for such studies indeed.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

PSYCHOLOGICAL CHART: *By Swami Yogananda. Published by Yogada Sat-Sang, Ranchi. Price annas six only.*

This chart has been framed with a view to enabling teachers and guardians to have a comprehensive knowledge of the mental traits of their pupils and wards.

VEDANTA IN DAILY LIFE: *By Sri S Sivananda Saraswati; Ananda Kutir, Rishikesh (H layas). Price Rs. 5 only.*

This book, as its name suggests, is not intend be a systematic exposition of the philosophy of Vedanta; relevant topics of the monistic Vedanta h been discussed in it, not however from the stand of the scholar, but from that of the Sadhaka; and i also for his benefit that two minor works of Ach Sankara have been incorporated in the book. T practical hints on Sadhana, are well-worth trying.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

HISTORY OF HOOGHLY COLLEGE: *By Zachariah. Government of Bengal Publication. Pr -/11/- as. only.*

The social and cultural history of Bengal as well the history of education in this province in the last t centuries are yet to be written. When they are wri it will be found how the history of education can exp to a great extent the social and cultural trends in Ben in the last two hundred years. Materials for such his remain scattered in the archives of the Government d partments, in contemporary literature and elsewhe Principal Zachariah has done a great service to stude of education and also of social and cultural history b publishing this very valuable and remarkably well-writt history of Hooghly College on the occasion of its ce tenary celebrations. While dealing with the actual hi tory of the College, he has presented us with a panoram of the life of generations of students in Bengal from th early thirties of the last century to our own times, a panorama which will be of great interest to all studen of the cultural history of Bengal. Students of educati too will find here much that is interesting and illuminating. The printing as well as the get-up of the book is good; but unfortunately there have crept in a large number of printing mistakes, for instance in the da of the foundation of the Calcutta School Book Society which I hope will be corrected in a subsequent editi

MIRABAI: *By Nalinimohan Sanyal. Published b Ramnarain Lal, Allahabad. Pp. 44. Price six annas.*

It is a pamphlet on Mirabai the famous poete saint of mediæval India and her songs. The writer ha taken pains to collect the various accounts current abo the life and story of Mirabai. He has also discuss the relative historicity of these and has given what h considers to be "a true account of her life in the lig of modern research with a discourse on her bhajans. He has rightly rejected the current accounts which co nect Mira with Maharana Kumbha of Mewar. It h now been conclusively proved that Mira could not ha been married to Kumbha. But while removing certa erroneous popular misconceptions about Mirabai th author has tried to justify one gross misconception wi out sufficient proof. Relying on a poem by Tulsidas h has tried to show how Mirabai corresponded with Tuls and how he was influenced by him; to make Tulsi contemporary of Mira, he has gone so far as to push bac the commonly accepted birth date of Tulsidas! And this for a poem which might have been addressed b Tulsidas to anyone! On similar reasons Rabindran might also be suggested to have been a contempora of Mira for he has numerous poems which a fa imagination may attribute to have been addressed t Mirabai. Every anecdote is not history.

I am not also sure if the writer has done justice Mira when he says that Mira made a "boastful displ of her rebellious temper and disregard for public opini in many of her poems" (pp. 19*ff*). I am afraid Mr. Sanyal has absolutely failed to catch the spirit of these poems. These are humble statements of a woman who was anything but boastful about her religious and spiritual experiences.

In spite of these shortcomings this pamphlet has value inasmuch as it contains a much-needed collection of materials out of which a more accurate life history of Mirabai can be constructed.

THE NEW MENACE TO HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BENGAL: *By Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri. Published by Messrs. Chuckerverty Chatterjee & Co., Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price not mentioned.*

Of late the system of education in Bengal, specially that of secondary education has come for a good deal of criticism by the Government of the province. It is as if the Government has suddenly woke up and found that the system of secondary education which it had been fostering with tender care for the last one hundred years and for the development and the present state of which it is not a little responsible is rotten beyond words and it needs must be changed and reshaped without any delay. One would think that the Government is showing almost indecent haste in trying to effect these changes. Perhaps behind this haste there is the idea that the present condition of secondary education is responsible for the major evils infecting our body politic and that a reform of secondary education will cure among others the evil of unemployment. Education is no doubt a potent factor in shaping the national life; but one is yet to see an example of education remedying the evil of unemployment which is essentially due to economic and political factors.

The problem of secondary education in Bengal is vast as well as complex. There can be no hasty reform of this problem. There is no short cut to the solution. What we need today is a well-planned and comprehensive and coordinated policy of secondary education, a policy which will be evolved by the joint efforts of the Government and the people of the province.

Mr. Chaudhuri has boldly laid bare the chief defects of the secondary schools and he has spared none. He has shown how lack of funds, absence of a continuity of policy in the administration of secondary schools, excess of Government control, foreign medium of instruction, failure of the present system to enrich the character and spiritual life of the pupils and others have been responsible for the futility of the system in achieving what should properly have been its objectives. But the remedy lies not in curing the defects and not in stifling the patient, for that Mr. Chauduri suspects to be the real objective of the Government behind the measures advocated by them.

One may not agree with Mr. Chaudhuri in everything he says; one must listen to what he says in this well-documented and thought provoking study of the problems of secondary education in Bengal. I commend it to all who desire a happy solution to these problems.

It is a pity that the book could not be reviewed when it first came in my hand. But the proposed Secondary Education Bill has once more brought the problems in the public limelight and it is opportune to place the book once more before the public.

A. N. BASU

YOU: *By G. S. Arundale. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 334.*

This is a fairly comprehensive exposition, of the Theosophical point of view regarding the individual's birth in this world, his life and the various relations in which he has to live his life. The birth of an individual in a particular family, in a particular nation, and in particular circumstance is explained according to theosophical principles. The proper relation to be maintained between the human, sub-human and super-human kingdoms is also discussed. The problem of war and peace and the prevention of war also receives attention. At the end of the book, we have a summary of the chief tenets of Theosophy according to the author of the book. According to Theosophy, there is life everywhere and life is one; life is a movement and there is an hierarchy of life.

Some of the theories are quite interesting. Thus we are told (p. 45) that one's "father in this life has probably been a relative many times before, and certainly a comparatively close friend." The same applies to one's mother. "Relatives in this life have, during the long past, filled every possible kind of relationship."

As to our relations with the sub-human kingdom, we are reminded that "the life we now cherish in ourselves has had to pass through both vegetable and animal kingdoms" (p. 96). Therefore we should not kill animals except in self-defence (p. 94), nor pluck flowers and plants "to provide satisfaction for our decorative and so-called artistic instincts" (p. 96). Besides sub-human beings, there are *super*-human personages who "form a Company, a Brotherhood, organized to direct and guide the world's evolution" (p. 104).

Whether one accepts all the conclusions of the author, or not, the book provides interesting reading and fully deserves study.

ICH DIEN: *Published by Kevalram Dayaram, Karachi.*

It is a pamphlet in which an account is given of the various organizations through which Theosophy seeks to benefit humanity. Persons interested in the movement will find much useful information in it.

ANNIE BESANT AND THE CHANGING WORLD: *By Bhagavan Das, D. Litt. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This booklet contains an account of the life and character of Annie Besant from the pen of one who knew her intimately. It is well worth a perusal.

IT HAPPENED IN INDIA: *By Fred Barrie. Published by Messrs. Waterloo Publications, Ltd., P. O. Box 306, Mount Road, Madras. Pp. 198.*

The book consists of fifteen chapters containing fifteen short stories. The stories deal with Indian life or that aspect of Indian life in which Englishmen also sometimes enter and life of English India or what is less euphemistically called Anglo-India. The scenes and events are depicted with insight and with a touch of sympathy and good humour, which make the stories delightful reading. It is a fine little book which will allay the anguish of many a tired and work-worn soul.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE HIMALAYAS—IN AND ACROSS: *By Nityanarayan Banerjee. The New Book Stall, 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 135 and 38 illustrations.*

The author presents us with an account of his pilgrimage to Manasarovar, Badrinath and other places in the Himalayas. His account lacks colour and movement; but this has been chiefly due to his unhappy choice of a foreign tongue as the medium of expression.

The book is disfigured by a profusion of printing mistakes.

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH: *Fourth Annual Report. Kingsway, Delhi.*

This report of about a hundred pages contains a detailed account of the Social, Educational and Economic activities of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. It contains much useful information about the present state of untouchability in India and of the organisations working for its removal.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

PATHS TO DISCOVERY: *By C. T. Philip, M.A. with a Foreward by Sir C. V. Raman, Kt. Published by Malayala Manorama, Kottayam (Travancore). Pp. XI+210. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review is a narration of scientific discoveries and inventions, written in a novel and charming manner. The public is often ignorant of the particular circumstance which led to a discovery, or of the toils and ordeals that the discoverers have to face before success is achieved. These have been vividly described in simple and lucid style. We are thankful to the author for the book, a perusal of which should arouse an interest in the young generation for scientific studies and research.

Souren Dey

SANSKRIT

VARADAMBIKAPARINAYACAMPU: *Edited with an Introduction by Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.). With a commentary in Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya Giridhara Sharma Chaturveda and Haridatta Sharma. Matilal Banarasi Dass, Publishers and Booksellers. Said Mitha Bazar, Lahore.*

There is reference to a good many women poets and scholars in Sanskrit literature. But very few works by them are known to have survived and fewer still have been published. Congratulations are therefore due to Prof. Lakshman Sarup for the discovery and critical edition of this historical romance composed by Tirumalamba, a queen of King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagara, hero of the work. It was subjected to a critical study for number of years since its discovery in Tanjore by the learned editor in 1924. A number of papers were contributed by Prof. Sarup drawing attention of the world of scholars to the varied importance of the work and a tentative edition was published in 1932 in the Oriental College Magazine of Lahore. A Hindi translation was issued, at the instance of the Professor, by Pandits Giridhara Sharma and Purushottama Sharma. An English translation is also stated to have been prepared by one of his pupils. But a handy and scholarly edition of the work was a desideratum which has happily been removed by the present publication. The introduction, of which a Sanskrit version is also appended, gives a detailed account of the poet and her work, the poetical excellence of which is fully described. It is unfortunate, however, that no description has been given of the manuscript of the work though it is the only manuscript so far known. The brief Sanskrit commentary will be found useful in following the text, which not unlikely the texts of other works of the type, is occasionally difficult. The concluding verse of this commentary gives Hari as the name of its author though it is stated in the title page to have been composed jointly by Pandits Giridhara Sharma and Hari Datta Sharma.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHARATA-PARIJATAM: *Author and Publi Swami Bhagavadacharya. Laheripura, Baroda. Pp. 532. Price Rs. 3/8/-*

This imposing and rather surprising work is an in twenty-six cantos which gives, in good Sanskrit with Hindi translation, a fairly accurate account Mahatma Gandhi's life and work right up to the ass tion of ministerial offices in the provinces. Here there the author interposes long descriptions in Sanskrit tradition, perhaps only to meet the requirem of the *mahakavya.* The book is a monument to dexterity and virtuosity of the author and is likely interest those for whom these qualities are the ess of literary composition. Others too may delve in it a literary curio.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

CHAYANIKA: or SELECTIONS FROM T POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE. *Demy pp. xvi+488+viii. Price: paper cover, Rs. 2-12; Rs. 3-8 and Rs. 4.*

This book of selections has been printed twelve ti up-to-date. It was first printed twenty-eight years Some time before its publication, all readers of Tag Bengali poems were asked publicly to submit a list what each reader regarded as the best poems of t author. Many readers sent such lists. The most pop poems were then selected according to these lists. Th is the origin of this book of selections. In subseque editions and reprints, fresh lists were not called f But additions have been made repeatedly.

When the poet made his own selection, and th poems chosen by him were published in the form of volume named *Sanchayita,* which has been noticed in previous number of this Review, he wished that *Chay* should no longer be reprinted. But the latter has b so popular that the publication department of Vis bharati has gone on reprinting it.

In its present issue, the volume contains poems p lished so long as fifty-four years ago, as well as p published so recently as the year 1938.

I have no doubt this enlarged reprint of the Selec will be welcomed by all lovers of Rabindranath's po

BANGLAY BHRAMAN: or TRAVELS IN BENG

This is a Guide Book published by the Eas Bengal Railway. The size of the page is about tha *The Modern Review.* It contains 164 pages and is p fusely illustrated. The get-up is excellent. The price only eight annas. It contains descriptions of the his arts and crafts and cultural achievements of the prin places of which accounts are given in it.

Though it is called "Travels in Bengal," it co accounts of the Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions, w are not served by the Eastern Bengal Railway. But it includes many places in the province of Assam, of which are in *geographical and linguistic* Bengal. I th the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities should in in the next edition the Burdwan and Chittagong Divis and districts like Manbhum in the province of B which are really parts of *linguistic and geograp* Bengal; and this they can easily do by arrangement w the East Indian Railway and the Bengal-Nagpur Railw

D.

HINDI

SAMKSHIPTA JAINA ITIHASA. VOL. III. PT. I: *By Kamta Prasad Jain. Published by Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Proprietor, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Kapadia Bhaban, Surat.*

This Hindi work on the history of the Jains, of which four parts—each complete in itself—have been published since 1926, is a storehouse of Jain mythology and folklore, chiefly on the basis of which, supplemented by epigraphic records and other sources of information, a vivid account has been given in these pages of various saints and kings who helped in different ways in the propagation of Jainism. The part under review deals with Jainism in South India and describes the association of some of these great men with this side of the country. It is divided into two parts—Mythological period and Historical Period, the latter running up to the 5th century A.D., the subsequent period being put off for the next part. Copious references have been given to original sources so that readers may be able to verify the statements of the author and gather additional information where necessary. The present part maintains the reputation of the author whose contributions on the history of Jainism are varied and important. We hope the learned author will deal with the literature, philosophy and rituals of the Jains in some of the subsequent parts of the series. The publisher owes it to himself to improve the printing and get-up of this useful series of publication.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

MARATHI

VIJAYANAGARA SMARAKA GRANTHA: *Edited by D. P. Karmarkar and R. V. Oturkar. Published by the Bharatiya-Itihasa-Samsodhaka-Mandala, Poona. Pp. 402. Price Four Rupees.*

This book, the forty-fifth in the Indian Historical Research series published by the Bharatiya-Itihasa-Samsodhaka-Mandala of Poona, is the Marathi Edition of the memorial volume issued on the occasion of the 6th centenary of Vijayanagar celebrated in December 1936.

The volume comprising papers contributed by the leading historicals and scholars of western and Southern India, provides a detailed picture of the Vijayanagar Empire. The cultural and literary achievements are treated as exhaustively as the political and economic conditions, and a short history of the empire adds to the usefulness of the book. There are a number of illustrations, a map, chronology and several appendices.

V.

TELUGU

ROOM TO LET (Six Short Stories): *By P. Bala Krishna Sastry. Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 3. Pp. 101. Price As. 4. Can be had of Yuva Karyalaya., Pathapet, Tenali.*

Mr. Sastry reserves a decent future for himself among the Telegu story-writers, with his keen insight into the student world. He is commendable at certain places with his subtle humour.

KANTAM KAIFIAT (Ten Short Stories): *By Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao. Yuva Karyalaya Series No. 4. Pp. 107. Price As. 4. Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Pathapet, Tenali.*

Mr. Munimanikyam's facile pen presents Kantam, the heroine of these stories, in better situation than he placed her in these series previously.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

GUJARATI

GUJARATI SAHITYA, ITS MANAN AND VIVECHAN: *By Ramchandra Damodar Shukla,* M.A., LL.B. *Dohad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 308. Price Rs. 2 (1936).*

The title of this collection of articles published in different publications between 1924 and 1936 fully justifies itself, as the contents disclose both cogitation (*Manan*) and criticism (*Vivechan*) of the present Gujarati Literature. The strong point of the writer is distinctly an intense and deep study of the literature, made from several viewpoints, and as such commendable. The views however formed in 1924 or 1926 should not be regarded as unchangeable but open to revision. For instance, *Milestones* and *Further Milestones in Gujarati Literature* were never meant to be works of criticism; they were to show to non-Gujarati knowing readers certain outstanding features of old and new Gujarati literature and therefore called "Milestones." They were written at the desire of an Englishman who wanted to know what sort of literature Gujarati had got. Those humble efforts were not meant to be pretentious works of criticism. All the fourteen articles furnish a very intelligent guide to the works of those authors who are discussed there.

SARTHA GUJARATI JODANI KOSHA *edited by Maganbhai P. Desai and others of the Gujarat Vidyapitha. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board, Pp. 616. Price Rs. 4-0-0 (1937). Third Edition: Revised and Enlarged.*

One of the abiding salutary results of the working of the Gujarat Vidyapitha founded by Mahatma Gandhi, would be this dictionary in Gujarati, composed in the most approved standards of spelling in the language. For short and long vowels each one spelt as he liked. In fact chaos prevailed and no one was concerned to remove it. Several attempts have been made to standardise spelling but they failed for lack of authority to enforce the standard. Gandhiji felt it to be a stigma on the language and set about to remove it with the help of some scholars of his Vidyapitha, and the result is this very valuable volume. The spelling of each word is based on the greatest common factor obtaining in the different views till now prevailing and is based on reason or rational lines. The attempt has been well received, and the University of Bombay has adopted the system. It would work down at least to the Secondary or High schools from there and thus ultimately reach primary institutions. After Narmadashankar's monumental Kosha published in A.D. 1873, nothing equally valuable and authoritative has come out till now, and the very fact that a third Edition has been called for during a course of eight years testifies to its great utility. We congratulate the authors heartily.

PRACHIN BHARATVARSHA: *Part III by Dr. Tribhuvandas L. Shah. Published by Shashikant & Co.; Baroda. Cloth Bound. Pp. 405+45. Price As. 8 (1937).*

This excellent history of ancient India deals in this part, with the decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty, the rule of the Shungs and the invasions of India by foreigners, such as Yons, Scythians, Parthians, &c. Incidentally the author traces the origin of Porwal(d)s, Oswals, and Shrimalis, import out sections of the Hindu inhabitants of Gujarat and theorises also in the origin of the word Gujarat (Gujaratra) itself. It continues its admirable feature of basing every statement on some authority or other and the index at the end serves a very useful purpose.

K. M. J.

HIRAK BADODRA: *By Chimanlal Maganlal Doctor, M.A., LL.B., Editor, "Nava Gujrat," Baroda 1936. Re. 1-12.*

His Highness Maharaja Sri Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III ascended the throne in 1875, and the event was commemorated in 1935 on the happy occasion of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations. The book under notice, beginning with a brief sketch of the life of His Highness, goes on to show to what good use the Gaekwad has put the fruitful years of his life—religious and social reforms, educational measures (including physical exercises for boys and girls; Oriental Institute, and the Central Library), village uplift, district assemblies, municipal and road improvements, taluka administration, state produce, trade and commerce, sanitation and hospital arrangements, police and army organization, etc. Next follows an account of the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations, etc. The two appendices, giving a chronological list of events during the reign and the geneological chart of His Highness' dependants, will be useful for reference. T reader will find in this a convenient account of progress of Baroda, one of the most progressive of Modern India.

P. R. SEN.

BOOKS RECEIVED

DRINK IN INDIA, SOME FACTS AND FIGURE *By The Rev. Herberst Anderson (Late of Calcut Indian Conciliation Group. New series No. 1. Obt able from the Friends Book Centre, Euston Road, Lond N.W. 1. Pp. 8. Price One Penny, 1937.*

UNEMPLOYMENT: *By J. C. Kumarappa. T India Today series. Published by The Hindustan Pu lishing Co., Ltd., Rajahmundry, S. India. Pocket-bo size. Pp. 27. Price As. 2. 1938.*

POTTERY FOR HEALTH AND POTTERY AS COTTAGE INDUSTRY: *By R. V. Lakshmi Ra (Senior). With an introduction by Dr. V. Subra manian. To be had of the Author, 316, Thambu Chet Street, Madras, Pp. X+26.*

THE SPEAKER AND HIS PARTY

BY PROF. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

MR. Purushottamdas Tandon, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the United Provinces, has created a hornet's nest around his ears by making some outspoken statements about his connection with the Congress organisation in his province. Mr. Tandon has always been noted as a vigorous and self-sacrificing nationalist. His contribution to the Congress movement in the U. P. and for the matter of that in the whole country is enormous. Some years back when in consequence of the unfortunate death of Lala Lajpat Rai, he was chosen to be the President of the Servant of the People Society, Lahore, the Society was congratulated from far and near on this election.

It was but a foregone conclusion that a man of his traditions and disposition would never entertain the idea of effacing himself completely within the Speaker's chair. When he agreed to be set up as a candidate for the Speakership it was taken for granted by those who happened to know him, either directly or indirectly, that his acceptance of the position would not result in his banishment from the political arena. The expectations have now come true. Mr. Tandon has given it out as his deliberate opinion that to preside over the sittings of the Legislative Assembly is not inconsistent with his old position as a political gladiator. He tells us definitely that it is not difficult at all for a strong, just and honest man to hold the scales even between different groups in the Assembly Chamber and simultaneously to participate directly in the national movement outside.

Those who usually swear by British practice and tradition, have been shocked by this unorthodox attitude of the Speaker of the United Provinces. For about a century a tradition has crystallised in Great Britain to the effect that a member of the House of Commons once elected to the Speaker's chair, sheds his party colours and gets rid of his party ties. He no longer receives the party whip and never attends a party meeting. Henceforward he becomes the chief officer of the House and nothing more. As a servant of the House he serves this chamber and acknowledges no other allegiance. The Speaker is expected to regard his duties as judicial in character and consequently he must be above politics. As concomitants of this tradition of divorcing the Speaker from his party, two other practices have also grown in Great Britain. The first is that when the Parliament is dissolved and a general election is held the Speaker's seat is not contested.[1] He is returned unopposed to the House. Secondly, on his return to the chamber he is re-elected automatically as the Speaker in the new House. This process continues so long as he wishes to remain in his position. When, however, because of old age, he decides to retire, he is given the handsome annual pension of £4,000 and a peerage, if he is not opposed to it on principle.

While this is the British practice and while this practice has been very closely followed in the British Dominions as well, France and the United States have developed traditions in this respect, entirely opposite in character. In France the President of both the Chamber and the Senate is elected on party basis and never ceases to be a party man. His seat never goes uncontested and at the time of the general election he wooes the voters of his constituency as a party man and on his return to the House his re-election to the presidentship is neither automatic nor certain. He may be re-elected but not necessarily. Secondly, it is to be noted that as President he is not expected to discharge functions of his Office with judicial impartiality. He is rather expected to issue his rulings in favour of his group and to show preference to speakers of the same party allegiance as his own. hirdly, it should be remembered that the esident as President is a great political figure. He is called upon at times by the President of the Republic to inform him as to the numerical strength of different groups in the Chamber and s to the possibilities of coalition between several f them. He is also called upon to offer him dvice as to the person who should be invited o form the Ministry either after a general elecon or at the moment of a Cabinet crisis. urther, it is important to remember that the resident of the Chamber may himself be called pon to form the Government and may actually ndertake the task. In fact there have been any occasions when he left the President's chair become the head of the Cabinet. In England so it is true that such a translation from the peaker's chair to the office of the Prime inister was at one time not unknown. In 01 Addington, who had been the Speaker of e House of Commons for some years, "was ansferred straight from the Chair of the House the office of Prime Minister." In the preous centuries the practice was more startling ill. A person would preside over the deliberaons of the House of Commons and at the same time occupy the office of a Minister of the Crown. Sir Edward Coke combined the office of the Speaker with that of the Solicitor-General. Sir Edward Seymour similarly combined the offices of the Speaker and the Treasurer of the Navy. Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, was, while occupying the Chair of the Speaker, appointed Secretary of State. He combined for some time the two incongruous offices and at the same time led the Tory Party.[2] Of course in Great Britain such a practice has now become obsolete. Not only the combination of the office of the Speaker with that of a Minister of the Crown is unthinkable today but even the translation from the Speaker's chair to a Cabinet Office will now meet with no toleration at the hands of the public. But in France the latter practice is not only tolerated but often encouraged by public opinion.

In the U. S. A. the Speaker of the House of Representatives was originally expected to be the prototype of the Speaker of the House of Commons. But the traditions of the two offices were developed subsequently on different and even opposite lines. While the Speaker of the British House of Commons became gradually a semi-judicial functionary and became on that account increasingly divorced from party affiliations, the Speaker of the House of Representatives was required more and more to be an avowed party man and become steadfast in his party loyalty. After every general election in the U. S. A., the two parties concentrate today all their energy and all their forces on securing the election of their own nominee as Speaker. For long the Speaker, apart from his normal duties of presiding over the deliberations of the House, had some other privileges and powers which made his position an all important one. This would explain why election to his office became emphatically a party issue.

In Great Britain the business of the legislature is largely dominated by the Cabinet. But in the U. S. A. the Cabinet is neither responsible to the Legislature, nor has it any place in either of its chambers. Legislative business is therefore very largely regulated and determined by the Committees. For long it was a part of of the prerogative of the Speaker to constitute these Committees. His position therefore was crucial and pivotal in the legislative organisation of the federation. It is intelligible on this score why the two parties fought so doggedly for the prize. For over two decades of course the privilege of forming the Committees has been withdrawn from the Speaker and vested in the House itself. But although the Speaker has been deprived of this power, he is still today elected on party lines and is expected, while in office, to grind the party axe. He is not expected to be impartial in his treatment of the two wings of the House. He is, on the contrary, expected to pass over the claims of those members who belong to the opposite party and show preference to those aspirants who belong to his own group.

---

[1] The practice is not so very uniform as it is often presented to be. Exceptions are cited in a later stage the article.

[2] These facts have been taken from Redlich's *The Procedure of the House of Commons*, II.

Mr. Tandon has in his statement pointed out that, although his attitude is not supported by British convention, it is on all fours with the French and American practice. This statement is not exactly correct. He has done himself an injustice by such a comparison. From the contents of the previous paragraphs it will be patent to all that Mr. Tandon is departing no doubt to some extent from English traditions but he is not thereby wholeheartedly accommodating himself to the French and American custom. As we have seen, in both these two countries the Speaker is not only an active participant in politics but he does not exercise impartiality even within the House. On the contrary, he is expected by his party colleagues to show preference to them during the debates in the Chamber. Mr. Tandon, however is definitely of opinion that inside the Assembly he must hold the scales even between one group and another and show partiality to none. It is only outside the House that he will break away from British tradition and take part in political affairs. The position of Mr. Tandon is, therefore, midway between the position of the British Speaker on the one side and that of the President of the French Chamber and the Speaker of the American House of Representatives on the other.

We should now see whether the position taken up by Mr. Tandon is correct or not and whether it can be justified by the circumstances of the country. Those who are putting Mr. Tandon on the pillory for his divergence from British practice ought to bear in mind the fact that this practice in England is only little more than fifty years old. As late as 1870 we find the Speaker of the House of Commons frankly giving expression to his views on political questions which were before the House. In the committees which were not presided over by the Speaker, he used until then to express his opinions very freely on all topics which came up for discussion. In the first quarter of the 19th century Catholic emancipation was a live question in Great Britain. To express an opinion on this subject was tantamount to active participation in controversial po But in 1813 we find Speaker Abbott expre himself very strongly against a Bill intro by Grattan for the relief of Catholics. In 1 and 1825 his successor Mr. Manners Su similarly spoke against the repel of Cat disabilities. In 1856 the Speaker, Mr. S Lefevre, spoke in a Committee of the Hous Commons on the management of the Br Museum and 14 years later Speaker De similarly expressed himself definitely in a c mittee meeting against an unjust item of p posed taxation. These facts would show cle as to how short is the present practic divorcing the Speaker from all connection politics.

The Speaker again may be asked to away from all his party ties only if he can absolutely made sure of re-election both to House and to its chair. None, however, possibly be able to guarantee in India double re-election time after time. In Gr Britain itself the tradition in one respect not been uniform and unvarying. In the it is expected that the Speaker's constitue should not be contensted and that he should returned unopposed to the House. Actu however during the last 50 years twice his el tion to the House was contested. In 1895 Speaker Mr. Gully, was opposed, thou unsuccessfully, by a candidate put up by Tory Party in his constituency of Carl Similarly in 1935 the Labour Party set up a c didate to oppose the election of the Speaker his constituency to the House of Commons. this occasion also the contest was unsucce and the Speaker had an easy walk-over to Parliament. But still the fact stands that course of half a century the convention twice broken. We need not pause to dis the reasons. It is the fact of the oppos which is really relevant.

In England there is a tradition of one remaining in one office for long. There many persons in the House of Commons have enjoyed several terms of membership a stretch. There are even more than hal dozen who could claim membership of the H for well-nigh half a century. If in a cou with such traditions the Speaker's re-ele cannot be made absolutely sure, it can imagined what hope there is in this respe India where such a tradition is unlikely to s root. Here the people may not exactly come the principle of rotation in office finds favour in the United States. But al same it may be assumed that very long bership of a legislative chamber will alway a rare exception in India. At present in the Legislative Assembly at the Centre there is only one gentleman who has been a member of that House continuously since 1921 and it should be noted that he is a nominated member. In the provincial legislatures also continuous membership is rather rare. In the city council of Calcutta long membership has been actually discouraged by the Leader of the Congress Party. Mr. S. C. Bose gave it out as his opinion on the eve of the last general Corporation election that those who had already served in the Council for 9 years should not seek re-election. In other words, it may be said that there is a definite opinion in the country to the effect that a person should not be returned term after term to the legislature or for the matter of that to any other public assembly. That being the case it is unlikely that an exception will be made in favour of one member of the House, the member who will be occupying the chair of the Speaker. He also after one or two terms of Speakership may be discouraged from seeking re-election to the house. In that case he will be without any occupation.

Secondly, it should also be borne in mind that the office of the Speaker is both a responsible and a lucrative one. It is unlikely that such an office will be allowed in the present situation of the country to be permanently occupied by a person belonging to one particular community. Already the principle of rotation has been accepted in some provinces in respect of the office of the City Mayor. Such a convention may be accepted before long in regard to the election of the Speaker as well. In case such a convention is actually acted up to, what will be the position of the Speaker who has cut off his connection with the party and has not been re-elected to this office?

In India the assemblies are constituted on the principle of the representation of communities and interests. A particular member represents not a territorial constituency consisting of all its inhabitants and certainly he does not represent the whole province. He represents only a particular community belonging to a particular part of the province or he represents a particular economic or cultural interest. Now in case a member of the house representing one community or one interest is elected to the Speakership, to all intents and purposes he is lost to the interest or to the community which he happens to represent. For one term his constituency may forgive him this neglect on his part of its interests in the Legislature. But it cannot be expected that term after term he would be elected by a particular constituency although he would render to it no service as a representative. In Bengal, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury was returned by the landholders constituency of the Dacca Division to the Legislative Council. But when he was elected the President of the House, he could no longer act as the mouthpiece of the landholding class of that division. When, therefore, the general election was held in 1937, his seat was successfully contested by another landholder and he was thrown out from his seat in the legislature and consequently from the Speaker's chair as well. What happened in the case of the Maharaja of Santosh may happen in most other cases as well. The principle of allowing the Speaker an uncontested return to the house may be difficult to respect in this country.

Nor should a principle of conduct on the part of an Indian Speaker be regarded as undesirable only because it does not exactly conform to the House of Commons practice. A parliamentary practice in fact cannot be transplanted from one country to another irrespective of the circumstances of the two countries. Political conditions in India may be too different and may be too uncongenial for a British tradition to thrive in Indian provinces. We must also see to it whether the duties which the Speaker has to perform cannot be impartially discharged by him although he may participate in political work outside the Assembly. It may be conceded at once that the Speaker who takes active part in the affairs of his own party outside the chamber may develop some prejudice against people who belong to rival groups and factions. But even if a Speaker may be prejudiced to some extent against those members of the house, who do not belong to his own side, it is not likely that he will not give them full opportunity in the house. In the first place no Speaker will think it worthwhile to incur an unnecessary unpopularity by refusing proper opportunity to the members of the opposition. Secondly, the work in the Assemblies is done according to a procedure which leaves to the Speaker very little scope for showing undue partiality to his own side. Usually it is glibly assumed that when a subject is to be discussed, the Speaker may accommodate a member of his own party in preference to a member of the opposition. In this way the voice of other groups may be stifled and that of his own group may be topmost in the chamber. In the British House of Commons, however, it is a practice to give opportunity alternately to the members of the two sides of the House to speak on cerain subjects. Similarly in our Assemblies also it is a practice of the Speakers to give opportunity to all the groups in the house to have their say on a subject which may claim the attention of the Assembly for the time being. This practice is too deep-rooted to be overthrown by any Speaker, however partially disposed he may be.

It is true that individual members may often suffer because of their not catching the eyes of the Speaker. He, however, sees to it all the same that according to its numerical strength every group gets an opportunity of speaking out its mind on any topic which is on the anvil of the house. In Bengal, so far as the present writer is aware, every group was given an opportunity of speaking on the Tenancy Bill which was passed by the Assembly in the last Autumn Session. Similarly in the matter of the Budget which is now before the Assembly, the Speaker has divided the subjects among different groups and every group will be required to concentrate on some particular subjects. Not that the members of the coalition group would not be entitled to speak during the Budget debates on a subject which has been assigned to the Congress Group or *vice versa*, but for the sake of convenience it has been arranged in consultation with the leaders of different parties that some subjects would be mainly taken up by one group and some subjects by another. It is likely that the proce followed in the Bengal Assembly is in essentials and principles followed elsewhere well. In this arrangement it is impossible the Speaker to show preference to one g and do injustice to another. Then in case Rulings which are not covered by defi standing orders, the Speaker has some s no duobt of promoting the interests of Government that be or of the opposition in legislature for the time being. But it sh be known that the Speaker first of all is maintain his own reputation and popular with all groups in the house and consequen he is unlikely to give any ruling in a man which may be unacceptable to the gen opinion of the house and which is inconsis with justice and fairplay.

In view of what has been put in the p vious paragraphs, those who are now decry the attitude of Mr. Tandon may reconsider th own standpoint. They need not think th simply because he has decided to maintain h party connections outside the house, i impartiality within the chamber will beco out of the question. He may act justly a impartially as the presiding officer of t chamber without foregoing his party affiliatio There is in fact no practical inconsisten between the two.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE AS A JURIST

By MATILAL DAS

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is revered as a great seer, admired as a prophet of Indian nationalism, loved as the creator of the Bengali novel and adored as the greatest exponent of the renaissance in Bengal.

British rule gave to Bengal the light of modern life and with British goods came also British thoughts. The East and the West met —as they had met in ages before and out of the conflict came the new awakening.

Rammohun Roy was the first to feel the force of the impact and, as a pioneer, had to make his way in the midst of uncongenial surroundings.

Rammohun Roy, the great fighter, had to take to literature for propaganda—for giving out his message and gospel of life. He had no time for artistic and aesthetic excellences.

After him came Pandit Iswar Chan Vidyasagar. His services were great, but h too, was no original creator.

Bankim Chandra won his laurels on t path made by the Raja and Vidyasagar and host of other literary men.

But we forget that literature was a seco mistress to Bankim, though he gave his hear love to this queen, as is done by the proverb King in all the folk-tales of Bengal. It inspiring to note that many of the great figures of the Bengali renaissance, were pub servants and even in the midst of arduous a exacting official duties, they could make time the sacrifice of their health, to serve the ca of their mother tongue.

To name a few, Bhudeb Mukherji was School Inspector, Dinabandhu Mitra was

Postal Superintendent, Romesh Dutt was a Magistrate, Nabin Chandra Sen was a Deputy Magistrate, and so also was D. L. Roy. Times are changed. Bengal's educated middle class counts legions of intellectuals in its fold; but alas, the zeal and the love of the pioneers are no more!

There is a decadence in Bengal's outlook and achievement. Let us fondly believe that it is a temporary lull, forecasting the birth of a greater and nobler future. This year is the centenary of Bankim Chandra and I believe the message of service and work preached by Bankim would inspire the soul of Bengal with a new heroism to go forward in life's path and to achieve greater things in days to come.

Bankim Chandra was in the executive service from 1858 to 1891, the best period of his life, but there has been no attempt as yet to know him as an official and to judge him in his official capacity.

It would be wrong to think, as many fondly believe, that he could not apply his mind fully to his official duties. It is farthest from the truth. He was renowned for his meritorious services and his name topped the list of the uncovenanted officers of his grade whose services were recorded for commendation in the administration report. He was made a Rai Bahadur and a C.I.E. for his distinguished official career. He was given the highest honour of his day. He was made an Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

So to know and understand Bankim we must know him as an official and we must gather materials, as far as are still available, to write a full and detailed life of Bankim, which is yet to be written.

The Members of P.E.N. took up the idea of celebrating the Bankim centenary and Dr. Kalidas Nag inspired me to do a little research for Bankim. I took up the idea as one of the fondest admirers of Bankim.

I am glad that I have been able to find in the Record-room of the Hooghly Collectorate 4 foolscap pages written by Bankim on the 20th September, 1880. These are notes on *Phanridari* lands and I believe that this would be interesting even to the layman. I am thankful to Major C. H. Nicholas, Collector of Hooghly, who hismelf has the greatest love for historical researches, for the great favour of permitting me to have a copy of this writing. He has agreed to hand it over in the original to any registered society and I am sure that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad would perform its centenary celebration by opening a museum for Bankim, and if the Parishad would apply Mr. Nicholas would be glad to forward the application for favourable orders by the Government.

To understand his note, one ought to know a little of the history of service-tenures called *Chakran* lands. Under the old system of the village community public officers and servants of the village were paid by grants in land instead of payment in cash. This practice still lingers in distant and remote villages in the shape of payment in kind, where the barber, the washerman and such other common workers get a certain quantity of paddy for their yearly services.

1765 is a memorable year. For in this year the East India Company got the grant of the Diwany from Shah Alam, the titular emperor of Delhi. It was a grant of the right to collect the revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to exercise judicial powers in all civil and financial causes arising in those provinces.

The zamindars during the Mogul rule had to defend the country against foreign enemies as well as to administer law and maintain peace and order within their district. For this purpose they used to keep not only armed soldiers against hostile inroads but also a large force of *thanadars* or a general police force and others called *chowkidars, paiks* etc.

These people used to enjoy lands free or at a very low rent in consideration of their services. These are service-tenures (*vide* W.R. 1 Py. cases 26). I add below a verbatim copy of the notes on the subject prepared by Bankim Chandra. This will explain this intricate subject and will give some idea of the legal acumen and forensic insight of the author.

It has nothing extraordinary about it, and is based on the case in W. R. referred to by him, but it gives us an insight into the clear intellect of the writer. He grasps the subject accurately and expresses his views clearly as a shrewd administrator.

"PHANRIDARI LANDS

"The question for determination is, I believe, whether these lands, on the occurrence of a vacancy which is not filled up, are at the disposal of Government.

"I believe they are; subject to the restriction in Section 8, Cl. 4, Reg. I of 1793.

"The only other party who may possibly advance any claims to them is the Zemindar. There is no question of the heirs of the late occupant having any claims.

"The Zemindar can lay claim to the disposal of these lands only on two grounds,

(1) if the land was included in the land assessed at the Decennial Settlement, or (2) if the law gives him any right to claim even in the absence of such inclusion.

"(1) There is nothing to show in the records generally that these lands have been included in the assessment on the Zemindaries. If any Zemindar can produce positive evidence on the point, he will of course be held entitled to resume them.

"(2) The law itself is against the Zemindar's claims. The effect of the Decennial Settlement was to divide all service lands into two classes:

"1. Thanadary lands, which by Regulation 1 of 1793, Section 8, Clause 4, were made resumable by Government, because the Government took upon itself the maintenance of police duties.

"2. Other Chakran lands which by Regulation VIII of 1793, Section 41, were to be annexed to the Malguzari lands. This includes Chowkidari Chakran.

"The words "held in lieu of wages" used in this Section, may possibly be found misleading, unless this Section is read with Clause 4, Sec. 8, Reg. 1 of 1793. Both Regulations, it must be remembered, were passed on the same day.

"In the leading case on the subject of Chakran lands (*Joy Kissen Mukerjee* vs. *Collector of West Burdwan*—W. R. I. p. 26 Py. C. D.) the Zemindar was held to possess a certain right in connection with these lands because they belonged to the Second Class, those falling under Sec. 4, Reg. VIII of 1793. I contend that Phanridary Chakran lands differ from Chowkidary Chakran in this matter and come under Cl. 4, Sec. 8, Reg. I of 1793—*viz.*, lands resumable by Government.

"The Choukidari Chakran lands were held to fall under the former class because the Choukidar performed, in addition to the police duties, *Zemindari duties,* i.e., personal service to the Zemindar. But the Phanridars were never found or accustomed to perform any Zemind duties. Their functions were and are entir police functions and therefore they fall under head of Thanadari or Police lands, resumable Government.

"If in any case the Zemindar succeeds showing that the Phanridar had Zemind duties also to perform, his claims must recognized. But in each case the onus will on him.

"If again, as already stated, the Zemin succeeds in showing that Police or Thanad lands within the estate in general, or the par cular land sought to be resumed, were inclu in the land assessed as *mal*, his claims must be recognized. But here also the onus will upon him.

"What I suggest is that we should recog it as a general rule upon which we can act, Phanridari lands are resumable by Governme but we must be prepared to admit of excepti when good cause is shown in particular cases

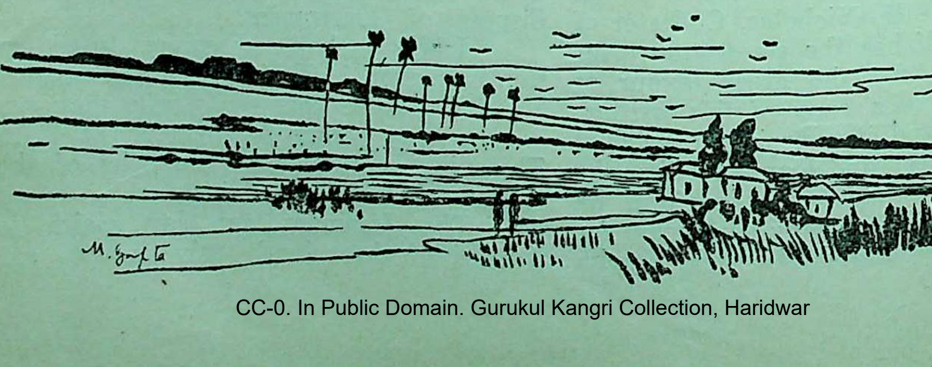
The 23rd September, 1880.

Sd. Bankim Ch. Chatter
Dy. Collector."

I am preparing a little sketch of Bankim life. His life and character should be ma known to the outer world. Materials of his li and work may still be available. It would a real pleasure to gather up some of judgments. I appeal to the people of Jess Khulna, Midnapore, Howrah, Hooghly Alipur, where he worked in different periods his life, to send me any reference to my addr at Chinsurah.

Bankim's was a many-sided genius. Th is a big library round about Shakespeare's It is a pity that there is still no life of him English. The Bankim centenary would be meaningless celebration unless we do someth solid to perpetuate the memory of this great of Bengal.

Chinsurah.



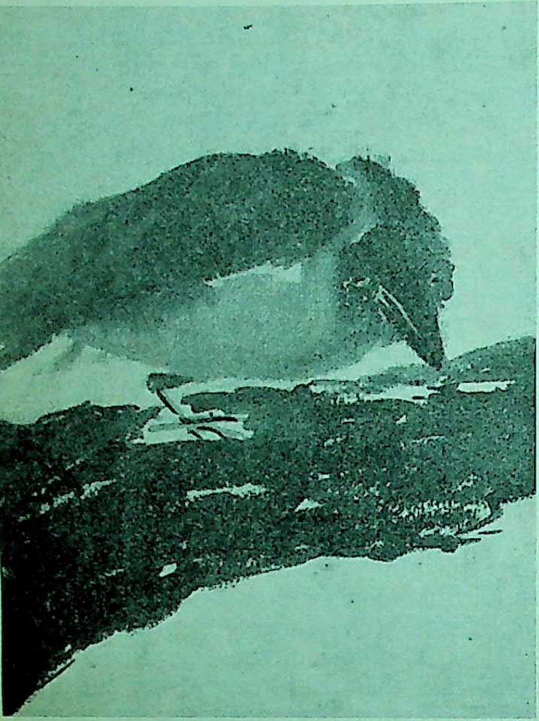
GOGONENDRA NATH TAGORE : THE GREAT INDIAN ARTIST

By O. C. GANGOLY

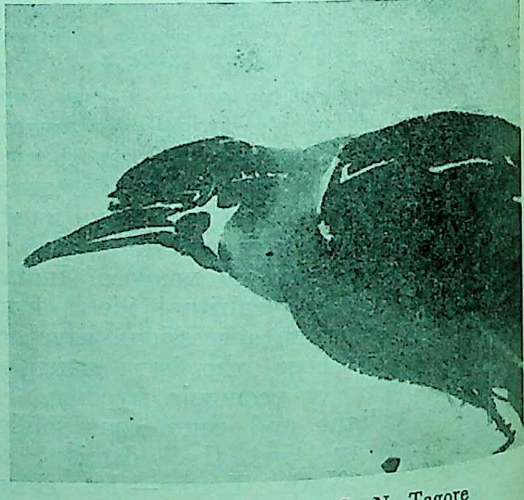
A CENTURY hence, it would not matter how many bales of jute or cotton crossed the Bay of Bengal, or how many seats were allocated in a Legislative Assembly to Mohamedans and how many to non-Mohamedans, but it would indeed matter, what records contemporary cultural life inscribed on the tablets of history. In any segment of a nation's history, the problem of bread and butter and the equable distribution of material resources have tremendous consequences on the standard of life and the quality of living. Yet no manner of pleas of poverty can wholly explain away the lack of impulses for cultural life and spiritual living. It is indeed the moral · and spiritual degenaration that precedes a period of political subjection. And it is the return to the moral, cultural and spiritual ideals that can alone provide the panacea for political ills. And it is a fallacy to think that cultural emancipation can wait until one has achieved complete political independence, or attained absolute economic salvation. Where life is contaminated at the sources of spiritual energy—it is futile to expect success in any department of life. And in the delicate duty of nation-building—the part of a poet, of an artist, of a scientist is as much an essential as the leader of labour troubles or the voice of the politician. And when the time comes to write a true and balanced history of India's struggle for *Swaraj*, those who have toiled and battled for cultural autonomy will claim a large area of the canvas of that history. Indeed those who have fought with their brushes and their pen and pencil to protect the integrity and autonomy of India's cultural possessions and spiritual ideals from the domination of foreign aggressions, have not deserved less than those who have struggled for political powers, or economic freedom.

One such valiant and courageous soldier has passed away in the demise of Mr. Gogonendra Nath Tagore—the eldest brother and invaluable collaborator of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore—in the struggle for re-establishing the independence of India's National Art. It is very little known, what valuable service the elder brother rendered in building up the great movement of India's aesthetic autonomy—which from a small beginning has now swelled into a mighty current which has swept over the length and breadth of India, and has assembled the finest forces of national life under the banner of Indian National Art. It is Mr. G. N. Tagore, who with his indefatigable energy, built up the Indian Society of Oriental Art—the great and inspiring centre of a new national awakening in an understanding of the ideals and basic principles of Indian Art—which has now flowered out in exquisite blossoms in all parts of India. That India had a great past in her spiritual achievements in Art and has an equally great destiny in the future—had to be demonstrated by actual contributions of the present. And this was the bold and inspiring programme that this leader of the modern movement in Indian Art set before him about 40 years ago. The banner that he helped his brother to unfurl reared up its head in Indian cultural firmament with a big query : *Art in India, should it be Indian or should it not be so?* It is a matter of great gratification that the challenge that the pioneer threw out decades ago was accepted and answered by numerous groups of Indian Artists who in different parts of India, have preached and practised the message of '*Indianness in Indian Art.*' The movement has indeed helped a self-forgetful nation to find itself and to recover its spiritual soul.

To people outside Bengal, Mr. Gogonendra Nath Tagore has been known as a prolific and versatile artist,—of daring originality, and the products of his brush have prominently figured in all exhibitions of Indian Painting in and outside Bengal for over 24 years. Indeed, he was undoubtedly an artist of great eminence and a devoted practitioner of his craft in diverse materials and technique and the solid output of his works stands today as an invaluable and staple part of the contribution to the building of the New School of Indian Painting—the contemporary achievement of India's National Art. While his younger brother sought to study, to interpret, and to revive the lost threads of old artistic traditions—and to find new ways to make the ideals and technique of the Mughal and Rajput schools, Mr. G. N. Tagore, from the beginning of his career abjured the paths of old traditions. An Impressionist to his finger tip, he sought, for a time, inspiration from the Far Eastern ways of looking at nature. He found in the works of Japanese painters a cognate outlook. And his earliest studies were a series of daring brush drawings of Indian crows, a beautiful garland of memory drawings of exquisite charm and of novel and fascinating realism. These attracted the immediate appreciation of a group of European critics—and Mr. Tagore's artistic talent leapt into fame, as far back as 1911. In 1914, the famous Exhibition at Pavilion Marson in Paris, brought him another triumph in winning the hearts of the most exacting critics at the centre and vortex of European Art. The writer had an humble part to play in selecting and organizing the Indian Pictures for this European show which was opened by the President of the French Republique, and in making a rigorous selection—few artists could be represented by more than two examples. Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures mounted up to six in number. The Collection crossed the English Channel and was shown in London, where also they won admiring appreciation from the best of critics. This European appreciation drew Mr. G. N. Tagore's attention to the Cubistic phases of modern European Art, and he started experiments in Indian Cubism with remarkable success in original contributions. It is very little known that Cubism in European Art came as an inspiration from Eastern sources,—from a study of Negro Sculpture and its emph delineation of the facets of forms. Mr. Tag sought in the forgottetn masterpieces of obsc Indian paintings the methods of his new for of Cubism, which was not an imitation of t European experiments. Picasso, the earli pioneer, in his so-called analytical attemp began by breaking up the "Crystallization" Form—and made his "facets" slip, and l their places in the structure, leading "deformations," particularly in his princip of "simultaneity"—that of simultaneous pr sentation of different facets of an object in t same picture—in a manner so abstract as seem nearer to geometry than representati Mr. Tagore never yielded to this temptation breaking up Forms, but stuck to an origin method of Synthetic Cubism in which t diverse facets of a subject were skilfully wove in intriguing and dynamic patterns. But t greatest contribution of Mr. Tagore's Cubis lay in his dynamic rendering of *light* by skilf manipulation of diverse values of dark an white surfaces of cubes, from which emanated forceful presentation of the phenomenon of ligh with an actuality and realism which h never been attempted by any Western artis consciously, except occasionally by Braque Tagore's dynamic presentation of light gives one a real feeling of light—its vibration and illumination, its pulsating power and its suggestion of heat together with a feeling for space without the formula of perspectives. His w indeed a valuable contribution to the princip of Cubism. His experiments in abstr methods, never seduced him from the paths realism—a peculiar realism of the Impressionis brand. For in numerous imaginative present tions of romantic and realistic scenes of pro



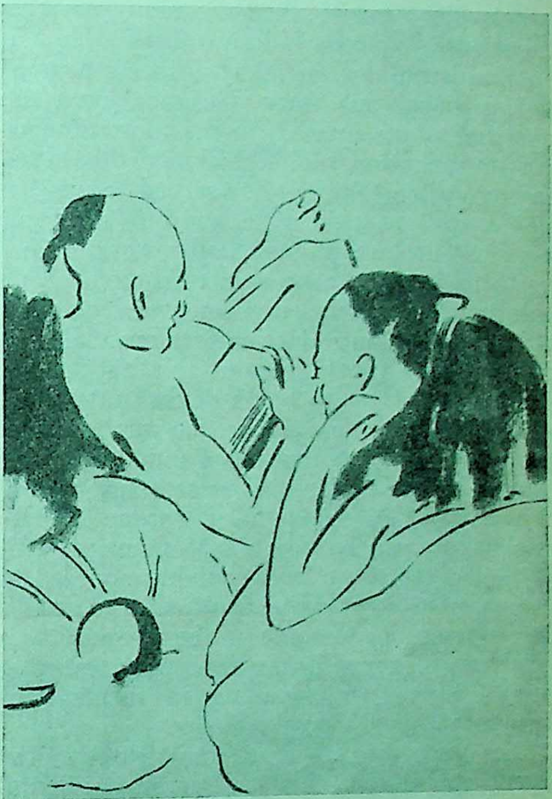
A brush drawing by G. N. Tagore



A brush drawing by G. N. Tagore

sions of Royal pageants, or of "Coolie's Funeral," the "Casting of the Image" in the river,—in "Street Scenes" of Calcutta in rain or shine,—"Diwali Nights" or "Buckland Bridge,"—the artist never lost his grip on the actuality of life around him, which he incessantly wove into fascinating patterns of lights and shadows by the wizardry of his brush. His daring black and white sketches on gold backgrounds at times reached the heights of Ogata Korin. In spite of his romantic presentation of themes, he always remained a 'realist' in the most modern sense of the term and the most daringly modern of Indian painters. Indeed, when his pictures were exhibited in Berlin and in Hamburg in 1923, the German critics praised his modernistic outlooks, and some of them admired the "expressionist" tendencies of his nature studies and his dynamic presentation of Space. And when in a group of 65 Indian paintings that the writer had the privilege of sending to the United States in 1927, for a circulating Exhibition through 68 cities, three of Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures were included and they easily scored over their companions by the quality of their original presentations of Indian scenes and subjects. In the India Society's Exhibition of Modern Indian Art, held at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1934, Mr. G. N. Tagore's pictures, in the words of the *Times* critic (10th December, 1934) "excited the greatest interest."

Yet Mr. Tagore's achievements were not confined within the four corners of his little pictures. His artistic talent found diverse expressions and applications. As an original designer of Indian Furniture and the pioneer of modern Furniture-making, his contributions were unrivalled and the push that he has given to this much neglected aspect of life, has put into it a new and galvanic activity and has restored a truly Indian atmosphere to modern Indian life. All the furniture and appliances of the School of Indian Society of Oriental Art were designed by him and executed by a talented *achary* from Madras, named Dhanuskody Achary. His genius found congenial scope in numerous productions of Indian Dramas, principally inspired by the poet Rabindranath Tagore, and the innovations that the artist introduced into stage-craft and dramatic productions have set the Indian stage on a new pedestal. His production of Tagore's *Phalgooni* in the Hall of 'Vichitra,' in which he himself played the role of the King, was eulogized by Mrs. Annie Besant, who remarked that it surpassed anything that she had ever seen in Europe. In an obituary notice there is no room for an elaborate analysis of his life-work, but this impromptu sketch of his busy career will be incomplete if one omitted to pay a tribute to his magnetic personality and the part he took in the social life of the City of his birth and activity, to which he so richly contributed not only by his artistic gifts but by the more material resources of his bounty and magnanimity. For there was hardly an artist in Calcutta deserving of encouragement that he did not help with substantial gifts and material assistance. For the poor and the needy his purse-strings were always open. In spite of the rich contribution of his life, he deliberately avoided publicity of any manner or kind and has left to the world a volume of pictures from which to recover the lineaments of his personality. After all, the artist is best studied in his pictures. And the pictures that he has painted have rendered signal service to the cause of national progress and national life.



Astrologers
By G. N. Tagore

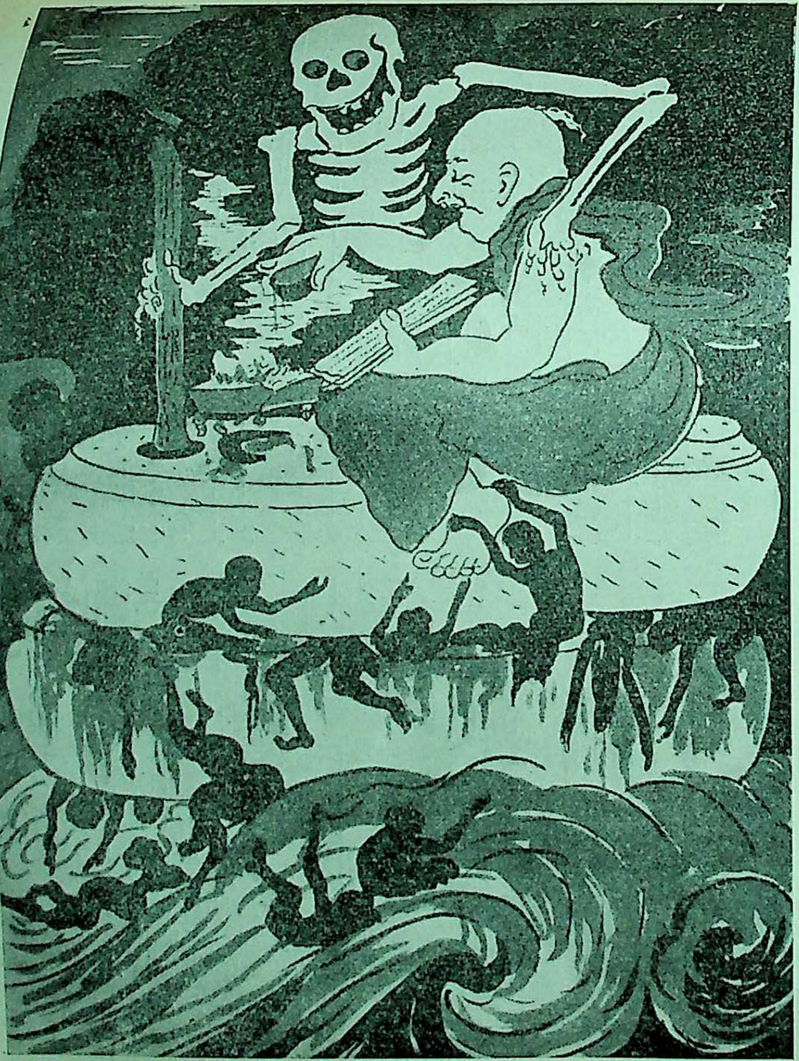
THE ART OF GAGANENDRA NATH TAGORE

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

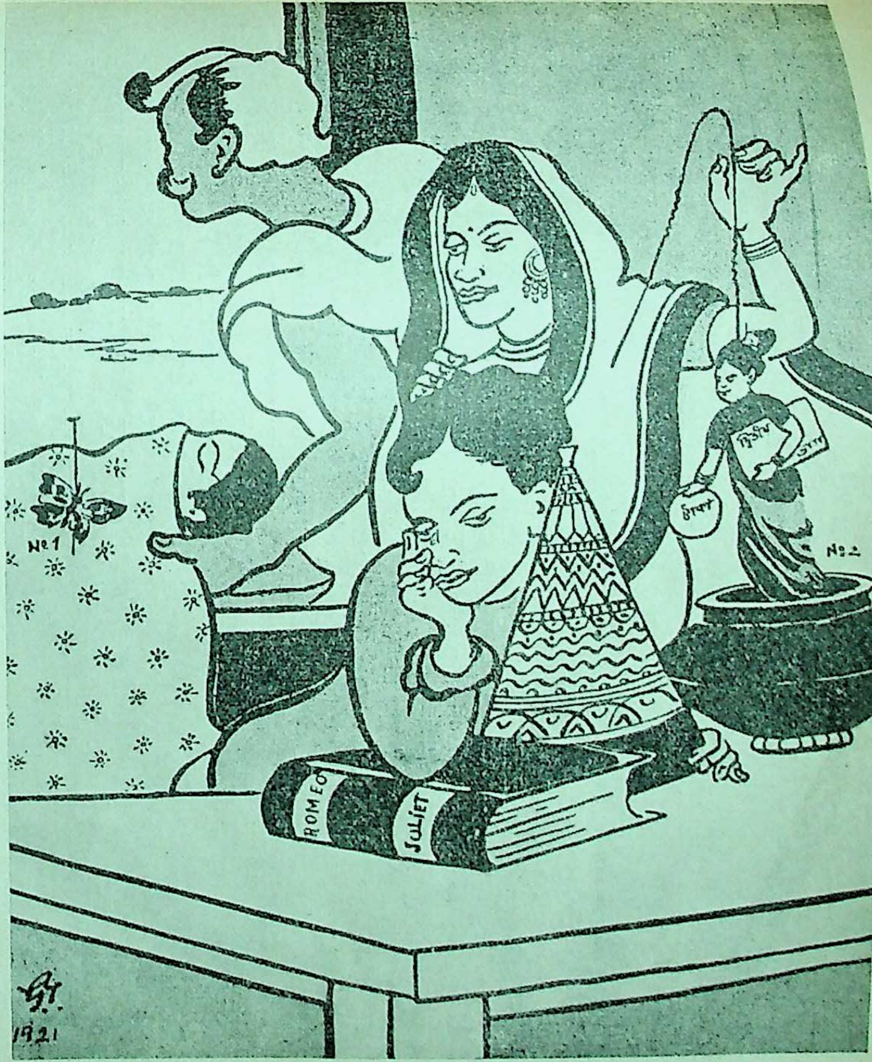
Gaganendra Nath Tagore's death removes a figure in contemporary art whose achievement will rank high among Bengal's many notable contributions to modern Indian culture. He was a remarkable painter, in many respects a great painter, although his work does not yield the quintessence of its quality to the most obvious line of investigation. This is due to his style, which more often than not has served to put the public as well as the critic on a false scent. Roger Fry once wrote that every work of art comes to us with a letter of introduction. This remark may perhaps be supplemented by saying that the letter of introduction is almost always an irrelevance. In Gaganendra Nath's case at any rate there seems to be no doubt that this is so. While he lived and worked he was affiliated on the one hand with the school founded by his brother, Abanindra Nath Tagore, and on the other with the Cubist school of Europe. These two schools approach the art of painting with moods and methods so irreconcilably opposed to one another that it is difficult to imagine a painter attempting to combine them except as a *jeu d'esprit*. Gaganendra Nath Tagore was too serious an artist to adopt mere displays of cleverness as his life-work.

The truth has to be admitted that the apparent character of his style is an accidental rather than essential feature of his pictures. Every thoughtful observer of his work must have noted with surprise how soon he ceased to be conscious of the convention, or call it mannerism, of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art. A knowledge of the 'Six Limbs of Indian Painting' or the dogmas of the Cubist and Futurist schools is not really an indispensable and distracting preliminary to an enjoyment of his drawings. In fact, to appraise Gaganendra Nath by means of the labels attached to him by current opinion would be wholly wrong. He was another example of the real artist who adopts any convention that happens to be ready to his hand or catches his fancy, yet always contrives to rise above it. Had he not been the brother of the founder of the new school of Indian painting, nobody, it may be presumed, would have thought of Gaganendra Nath as a figure in that revivalist and archaistic art movement. On the contrary, it is a mark of the vigour and genuineness of his artistic impulse that he was able to keep his work free from the influen of the new school to the extent he did, ev while living so close to its founder and inspir In spite of the eclecticism of his outlook, vision and technique was very individual, his inspiration was always direct and rob enough to override the adventitious features alert and experiment-loving mind was introdu ing into the pictures.

If this is true of his relationship with t modern Indian school, it is truer still of h affiliation with Cubism. Notwithstanding pop lar belief to the contrary, his connexion w Cubism is no more than surface deep. It not a marriage. It is not even a dubious liais It is simply a snare and a delusion for the critic who is out to class and label him. Perhap the fact should not be disputed that the ide of composing his pictures in squares an rectangles came to Gaganendra Nath fro Cubism. But in the process of being filter through his mind for his own purpose it under went a strange sea-change, which is as differen in its results from Cubism as Cubism itsel was different from Impressionism which pre ceded it in time. It is not often realized th a painter who employs rectangular *motifs* f creating decorative patterns is no more a memb of the extremely dogmatic Cubist brotherho than a painter who sketches in single-mind devotion his visual impressions is an Impre sionist. The core of the Cubist dogma was lay bare the abstract geometric structure wh lies under visual appearance. It very oft went to the extreme length of superimpos abstract geometrical structure on visual appe ance by disrupting the latter. This conf between abstract form and ocular experien which was stridently revealed in Cubism, also been present in greater or lesser degree every school of painting since the origin of art. It has at times pushed representation i the background and at others discounted abstr beauty of form. But it never was m fest in such a disconcerting manner as in case of Cubism. The Cubists were the m uncompromising practitioners of abstraction form in painting. Gaganendra Nath Tago mind, on the contrary, worked in the reve direction. A master of beautiful geom composition as he was, his work should yet



The millstone of Caste
By G. N. Tagore


No 1
No 2
ROMEO
JULIET
1921

The obedient son persuaded to marry again
By G. N. Tagore

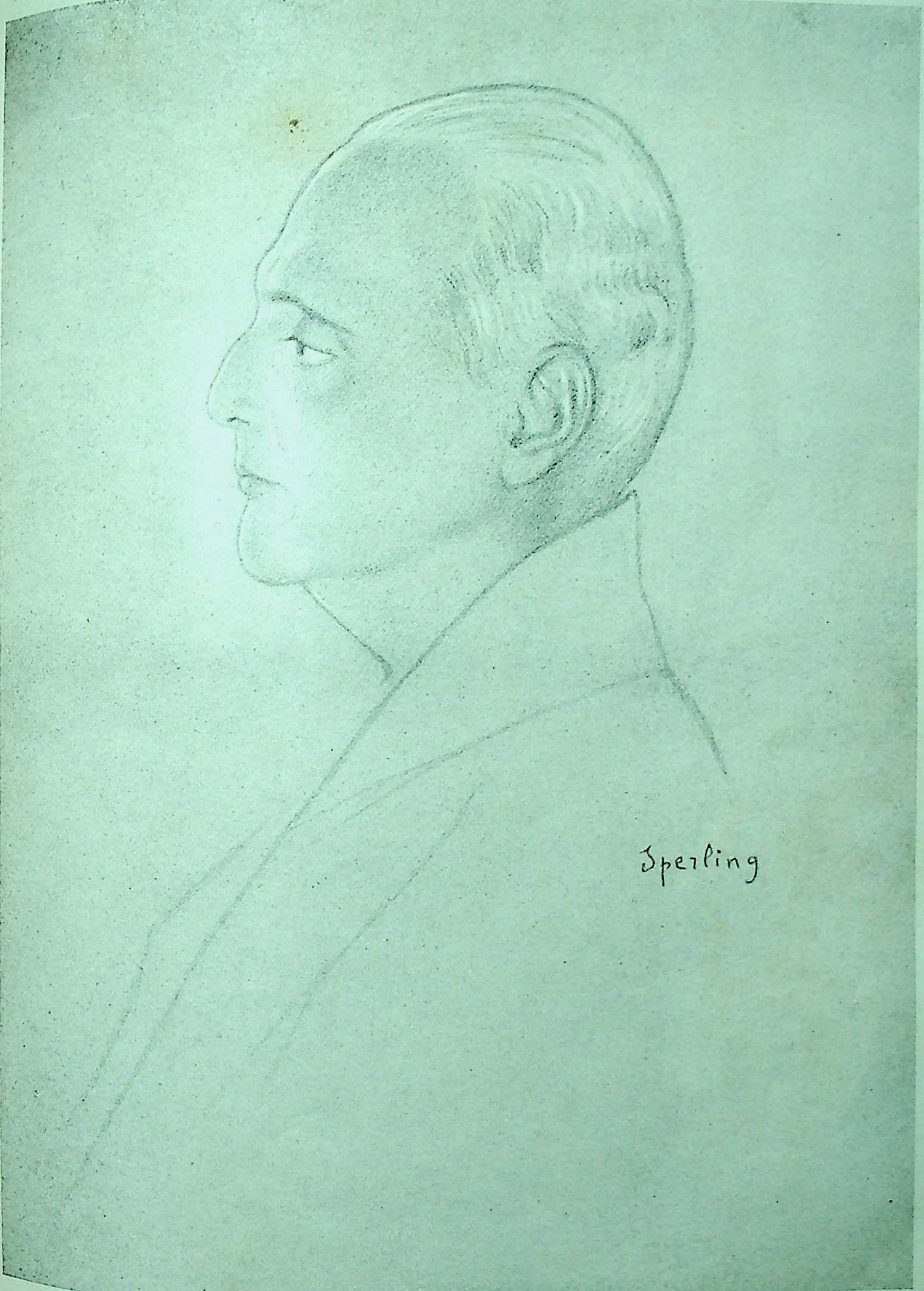
characterized not as aesthetic in the absolute sense but as emotive. In diametrical opposition to the doctrine not only of Cubists but of even far less uncompromising adherents of the formal in painting, Gaganendra Nath Tagore's mind was fixed on creating psychological values through visual forms rather than on creating forms for their own sake.

The proposition just put forward is worth pursuing a little further as it seems to cover the basic quality of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's art. It needs, however, to be placed against a definition of the normal appeal of great painting in order to be fully intelligible. Purely decorative pattern and pure representation as in a photograph stand at opposite extremes of graphic art. Both are equally common and both stand on an equally crude plane, so to say, considered as works of art. The really great painting is that in which representation combines with decorative appeal to form something which partakes of the quality of both and is yet a new thing. Those who believe that there can be great painting without the representational element have only to look at decorative patterns, even such lovely decorative patterns as borders of shawls, or *kinkhwabs*, or *pietra dura* work in a Mogul building in order to realize the relative superficiality of their appeal. As a matter of fact, the aesthetic instinct of man has been profoundly right in assigning to pure decorative pattern a subsidiary place, the position of an adjunct or auxiliary to another great art, for decorative art as such does not possess that explosive quality, that deeper and larger significance, which is the hall-mark of great art. In so far as painting is concerned, this explosive quality, this deeper and larger significance comes in only with the introduction of the representational element.

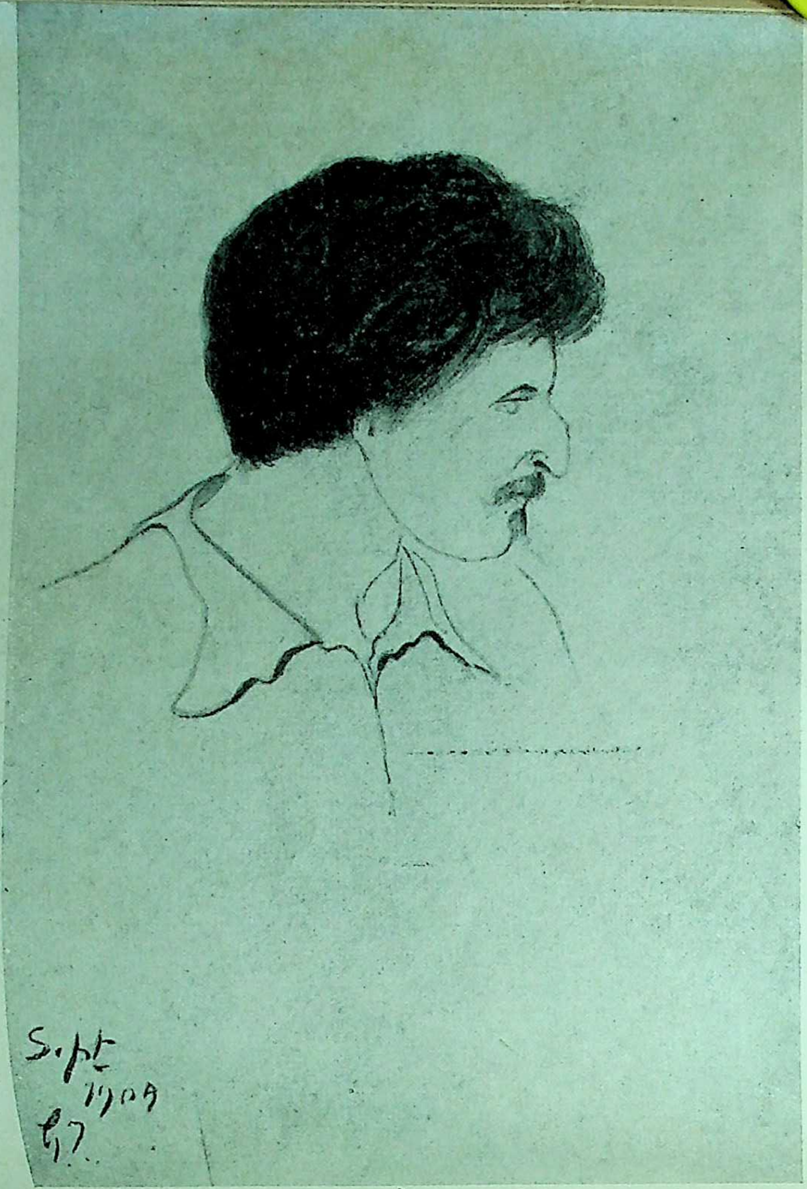
This is not to say that great paintings make their appeal through their subject-matter, that is to say, the story told in the picture. On the other hand the stirring of the soul produced by great paintings seems to be quite distinct and different from the emotions roused by the memories and experiences of actual life and by the representation of such experiences in pictures. To be quite explicit, this implies three things : first, that real appeal and value of a painting is quite independent of its illustrative content, yet is not independent of its representational content; secondly, that great paintings have the power to speak directly to our innermost being by short-circuiting our ordinary psychological reactions to sensations; and, thirdly, that the enjoyment of works of art is a special kind of experience undergone through a special disposition of the mind. It is quite possible such a theory of the art of painting will attacked as irrational, as substituting the wo ness of metaphysics for the clear light of rea It has also to be admitted that such a th is not easy to demonstrate except in the c of absolute music and architecture. Never less a hypothesis of this kind seems to be peratively called for in order to explain effect on us of a work of art. Without p claiming the unrelatedness of the real ap and the illustrative content of a picture i impossible to understand the irresistible at made on our sensibilities by an interior Vermeer or a picture by Raphael, for Verme canvasses depict nothing but commonplace Dutch home-life, while in almost all Raphael's pictures, the illustrative conten of an order which touches the lowest depth sentimental triviality.

It is necessary to place Gaganendra N Tagore's work against this background in or to define its precise feel. In discussing his r tionship to the Cubist school it has already b stated that he did not seek to create abstr decorative beauty by interweaving form a colour. Nor did he attempt to move us emotion by the illustrative content of his pictur In point of fact, the absence of the illustrati content was the most puzzling feature of hi work so far as the average lover of pictur was concerned. At the same time, in clear co trast to the work of the masters just mention and of others not less great, he did not aban the psychological channel of approach to minds. In contemplating his drawings one af another the impression gathers volume that the subtleties of geometrical pattern, shading colours, and representational suggestion in th converge towards one object, that of indu a romantic mood in us. On account of s facileness of execution this quality someti degenerated into sentimentality in his l work. But there is no trace of this in his b productions. They are all suffused by the v est essence of romance, the sublimation of e dreams and fairy-tales whose spirit passes be us in ethereal and disembodied emanation.

One question, however, remains. What lationship do such wistfully evocative w bear to the art of painting in its more abstr and plastic aspect? The sole parallel that I think of to this relationship is the one betw absolute music on the one hand and program vocal, and operatic music on the other. the explanation is also perhaps the same in b cases. Discussing the link between abso music and the other kinds of music just refe

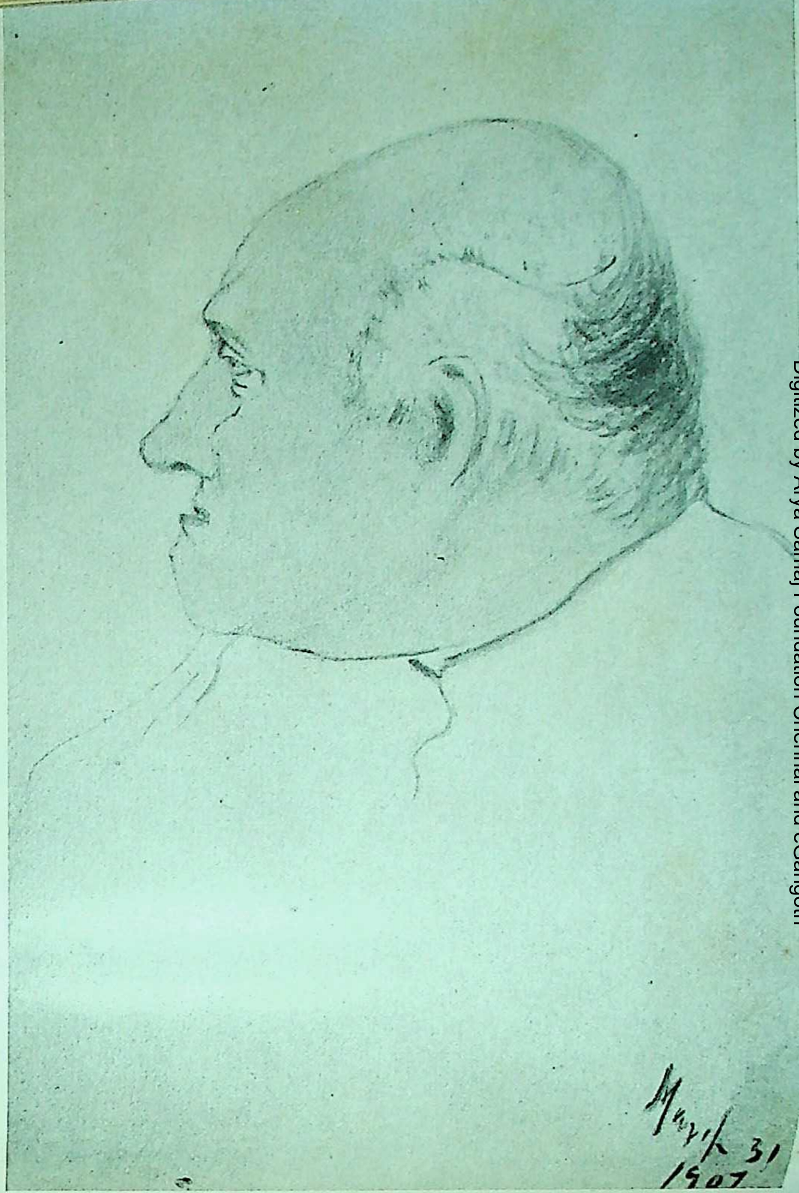


Gogonendra Nath Tagore
A portrait by Sperling, a Russian artist



Sept 1909 G.T.

A portrait of Ananda Coomarswamy
By G. N. Tagore



March 31 1907

A portrait-sketch
By G. N. Tagore

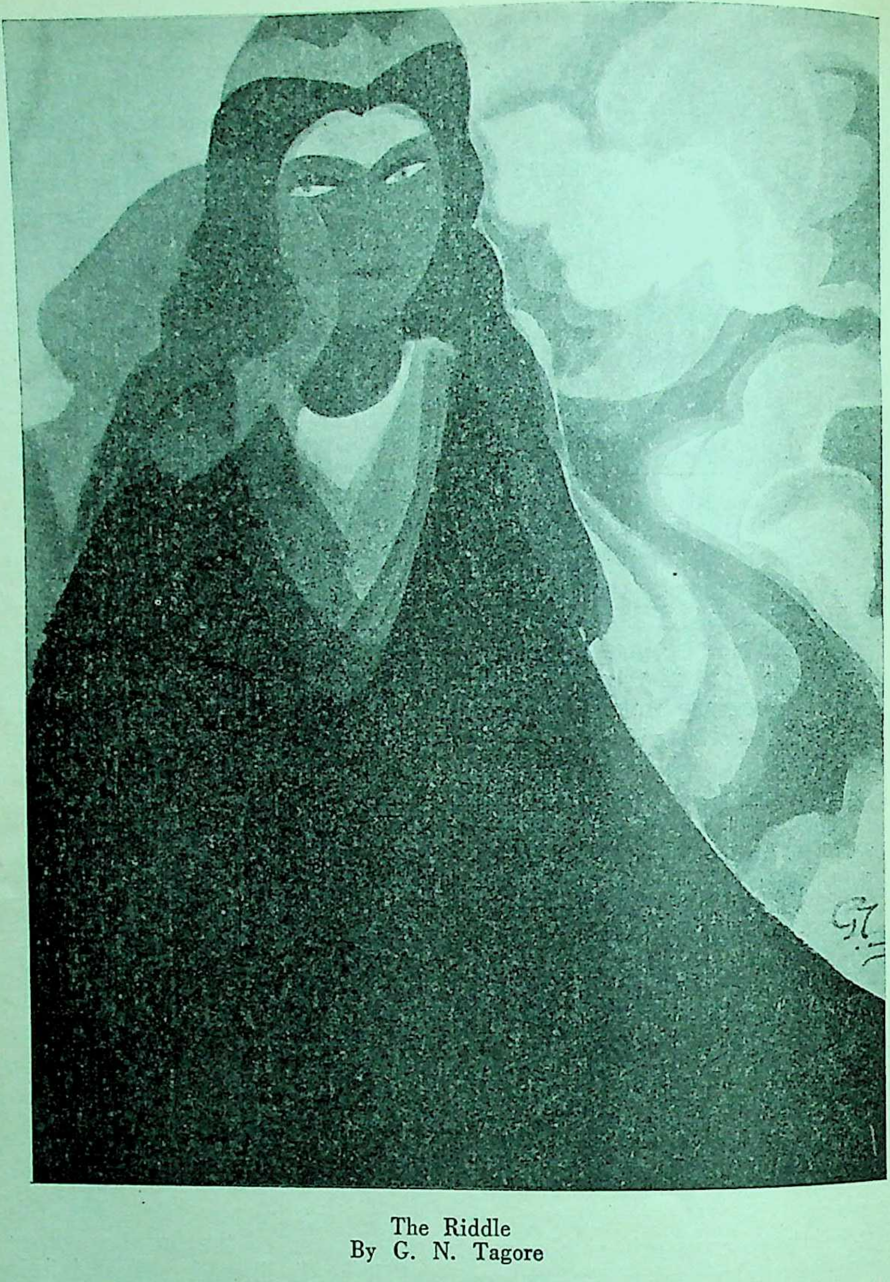
to, Professor Donald Francis Tovey, the eminent musical scholar, says: "Neither the humble lover nor the master of pure musical form need entertain any tolerance for theories that deny the supremacy of absolute music. But all history and experience go to prove that the absoluteness of music is a result; that this result remains independent of circumstances that may happen to make music illustrative; and, moreover, that it is a result very imperfectly attained, if at all attainable, by methods that have not early familiarized the musician with the musical treatment of words. It is no mere accident that three of the four greatest masters of absolute music, Bach, Mozart, and Brahms, spent more than half their time in setting words to music, and that the fourth, Beethoven, took enormous pains in the later part of his career to recover the art which he had almost neglected since he wrote exercises in Italian musical declamation for Salieri." It is unnecessary to cite the examples with which Professor Tovey reinforces this argument. But with the help of one it may perhaps be suggested that if the 'Pastoral Symphony' is just as absolute music as any of Beethoven's quartets in spite of the thunderstorms, the cuckoos, and the nightingales which he made recognizable in it, a painter's work may also be pure painting, even though he might have strayed from the strict path of purity by giving the psychological content as one or the principal ingredient of its appeal.

At any rate, the history of painting is not lacking in examples in which graphic forms have been used not for the sake of creating significant form but for suggesting exotic psychological values which draw one with a strange nostalgia. The famous setting of rocks and waters in Leonardo da Vinci's 'Mona Lisa' is the classical example of this. This setting could not have been inserted for realism's sake, nor, as it seems, for decoration's alone. Yet the psychologically explosive quality of those mysterious blocks of pale green granite and zigzagging waters surrounding the sensuous figure of the woman is undeniable. There are many drawings of Gaganendra Nath Tagore in which, more self-consciously and finically perhaps, similar devices have been employed. And in them also in their own way the apparently incomprehensive symbols move us deeply.

There is another aspect of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's artistic activity in which the psychological preoccupation is more obvious. This comprises his cartoons and portraits. The art of the cartoon and the art of portraiture have always occupied niches of their own in the history of painting. They belong to the latter and are not yet wholly of it on account of the predominance that they give to psychological commentary and interpretation at the expense of abstract beauty of form. This has always proved something of a stumbling-block to the purist in art criticism. He cannot correlate these offshoots, dealing with psychological entities and handling in their own way the same stuff as literature, with the main line of development of the art of painting. Yet it is too late in the day to deny or sever the link. For this reason many critics have assumed a duality in the fundamental hypothesis of painting as an art-form, and have attempted by this means to keep a loose semblance of unity between caricature and portraiture on one side and the rest of painting on the other as branches of the same art.

It is impossible to bring the two sides closer in the case of Gaganendra Nath Tagore also, in spite of the concentration on psychological values in those drawings of his so far discussed. His cartoons and portraits have therefore to be considered in themselves without reference to the mood of his other works, and in these two levels of emotional reaction clearly make themselves felt. The cartoons display marvellous resourcefulness and originality as drawings. They were unsurpassed in India not only at the time they were published, they are unsurpassed even now. Yet judged as ethical comment, which all cartoons are, they easily date, for their outlook is of that of the reforming liberalism of the last decade of the 19th and the first twenty years or so of the 20th century. Chronologically they form part of the short burst of liberal propaganda in the second decade of the 20th century which had its most lively voice in the well-known Bengali magazine *Savuja Patra*. In mood and temper they can very well be looked upon as the graphic counterparts of the stories with a reforming purpose that Rabindranath Tagore contributed to the same magazine. This phase of Bengali liberalism has definitely been submerged in the tide of post-war developments, and with its waning the meaning of Gaganendra Nath Tagore's cartoons must also tend to become dim.

That all cartoons are *pièces de circonstance* furnishes no answer to this anticipation. They have to be topical by the very law of their being. Yet some of them do succeed in rising to a high-seriousness and human value which, as in the case of many comedies of manners, ensure their permanence. It can hardly be claimed that the content of Gaganendra Nath's cartoons rises from the satiric and didactic to the comedic plane. Not so, however, with his portraits of men as



The Riddle
By G. N. Tagore

well as places. They invariably embody values which are independent of time and place and personal associations. In them as in all his other drawings Gaganendra Nath shows himself to be an instinctive master of the psychological implications of visual form. It is by virtue of this faculty that he could lay bare the spiritual physiognomy of a man or place with the utmost economy of brush-strokes.

This in its turn is connected with another quality of his genius as painter. He was a true painter not only in the originality and intenseness of his vision and the ease with which he could transform any conventional form into a virile and significant composition but als his rigid adherence to the possibilities restrictions of his chosen medium of expre In his works there is no irrelevant call for to poetry, legend, or sentiment. Though he no purist of the formal school, which he not be by reason of his preference for ps logical values, in him the profundity of psychological content owed nothing to extra non-pictorial elements. His drawings were voked as inspired visions and appeal thr the eye alone. This is a hard test for picture. All of Gaganendra Nath's work through it triumphantly.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION EXPERIMENTS AT SRINIKETAN

BY C. F. ANDREWS

MORE than a quarter of a century ago, in the year 1912, I was with Rabindranath Tagore in a suburb of Western London, named Ealing, when a transaction was made with Major Sinha of Raipur, the brother of Lord Sinha, in the course of a few moments' conversation, whereby this old house and its surroundings at Surul were purchased. I can still recollect how easily the whole matter was settled between the two friends. The price offered was immediately accepted. It seemed to come like a flash to our Founder, that here, on this very spot, something great was going to happen; and today after a quarter of a century we see how right he was. Little did I realize at Ealing, that in that transaction what is now likely to prove an important event in the history of Bengal had occurred. For out of that small beginning notable things have already come to pass.

In the next year, 1913, when I first came to Santiniketan, one of the teachers took me over the upland across the moor to Surul, in order to visit the house where this new venture was to be made and where our agricultural work was likely to begin. My heart sank within me as I noticed the dilapidated state into which everything had fallen. Indeed, the land all round the great central house had gone back into the jungle. It was clearly a deadly breeding place for malarial mosquitoes.

When the Poet himself came back from Europe, I told him how I had marvelled at his act of faith and openly expressed to him my own misgivings; but he simply brushed them aside and remained quite resolute about the future. He seemed already to have foreseen, in his wide vision, what was going to happen.

As we all fully expected, malaria became from the start our most relentless foe. Nearly every one who went over to live at Surul, especially after the monsoon rains were over, was stricken by a malignant fever. We soon began to realize from our own painful experience why the whole building and courtyard had thus fallen to ruin. For the place was a hot-bed of mosquitoes, and no one could live there for long with safety.

Yet we had one singular advantage in carrying on our anti-malarial campaign. For Santiniketan itself, standing on a rising ground, was out of the danger zone and comparatively free from malarial infection. This was due to the fact that its soil differed entirely from that of Surul, which was on the alluvial mud-soil of the Ganges valley. Possibly, at one time, Santiniketan had been a sand bank, jutting out into the sea; for the sandy soil seems to go down more than a hundred feet, and the heaviest monsoon rains always dry off in a few hours.

So it was possible to conduct a great part of the anti-malarial campaign in the earliest days of the experiment from Santiniketan, though from the very first there were those also who had to live at Surul all the year round. Little by little the thick undergrowth was cleared away; the great tank was cleaned; new houses were built, and things were put in order. Some of these early workers, such as Santosh Mozumdar, have passed away, but others are with us, and there are a few stalwart veterans, who after more than twenty years' devoted service are still carrying on the work!

At one time, under the East India Company, nearly a hundred years ago, this very place, where Sriniketan now stands, had been entirely free from malaria. Indeed, so salubrious had been the climate, that people had come all the way up from Calcutta to "take the air." The fact that large houses like 'Cheap's Kothi' and the Surul house had been built in such a costly manner proves how healthy the spot must have been and how pure the air in the olden times. For these massive walls, which were built in the old 'Company' days, are still standing. They have even been utilized as parts of our reconstruction scheme. If these walls could speak, what a tale they would have to tell of old Bengal!

But, as I have said, when we took over possession, all this healthy period had gone by. The lord and master of everything was King Mosquito, and we were living in Mosquito Raj.

I can well remember the strenuous years that Leonard Elmhirst passed, living in the upper storey at Sriniketan, struggling to find a solution for this almost insoluble problem. We owe to him and his wife, more than to any-one else, the means whereby we have been able to get through the very worst times of all and to come out at last with the remarkable success that has now been achieved.

Dr. Muzumdar, at the Science Congress in Calcutta, has described the difference with regard to malarial infection between East and West Bengal. In the former, with its magnificent network of rivers, the continuous flow of flood waters, unimpeded for the most part by railways and other obstructions, has kept the land healthy and comparatively free from malaria. In West Bengal, on the other hand, the land is impeded with high roads and railway lines which hold up the flood waters, and there is also a 'drying up' process already begun. Thus stagnant water is left behind in the dry season and the *anopheles* mosquitoes abound. In all the district maps, which medical officers make out for us, the Birbhum area is marked as "highly-infected with malaria."

Time will not allow me to relate the fascinating story of the diverse methods whereby this malarial plague has been attacked. We have found Dr. Bentley's wide knowledge and experience most helpful of all and have proved his conclusions to be correct. The way out of the vicious circle of poverty and misery in our villages, brought about by malaria, is not at all simple. It needs the combination of many factors, such as drainage, clearing of weeds, cutting down of undergrowth, cleaning of tanks, along with increasing the area of cultivation. For it has been proved over and over again that along with improvement of the land by close cultivation and a general clearing of the soil, the mosquitoes that spread malaria diminish in number. In European countries, where malaria once prevailed under the name of ague, engineering and drainage and improved cultivation have done most to destroy the disease. Here at Surul, and in the neighbouring villages, we have witnessed the same thing happening and we have found the same remedies successful.

All those who are engaged in this wonderful work of recovering the land from the grip of the malarial mosquito have asked me to remember with deep affection and esteem, Dr. Harry Timbres, whose sudden death in Soviet Russia only a short time ago, came as a very great shock to us all. We had heard from him in letters how his research work in Surul had been of the greatest help to him when he took up his new duties of the same character in Russia, where he had gone to help the poor. Our sorrow has been turned into admiration and thanksgiving as we have learnt how he met his death.

There, far away, while all too strenuously carrying on his work among the Russian peasants, he had contracted dysentery, pneumonia and typhus fever; and in his weak state of health he had no resisting powers. So he died, truly a martyr to the cause of Science while engaged in healing the poor. We recall how he showed exactly the same self-sacrificing devotion to the villagers of India; how he went about at all hours, regardless of his own he whenever an opportunity of service offered.

The story may now be told, how the f which supported him and his wife Rebecca their two children, while they were here with came from the publication in England of th books, containing records of Mahatma Gand Life and Ideas, which are translated i all the principal languages of Europe. W Mahatma Gandhi's own cordial consent, royalties were given in part to the Pea Memorial Hospital and in part to Dr. H Timbres' remarkable anti-malarial campaign Surul, which won him a high reputation scientific circles.

We would wish to send from our an gathering to his wife Rebecca, and their children in America our affection and symp in their bereavement. It would be a happi to me personally and to all who loved him if were able to have some memorial of him in Asram.

I have dealt at length with the one sub of malaria because that is really the graves all agricultural issues in a large area of In today. With millions of deaths every year fr malaria, and tenfold that number of diseas human beings leading an enfeebled existe how *can* India be happy or prosperous? It h been reckoned that as many as one in eve four of the Indian population is thus debilitate

Our Founder has laid great stress on t work of ours, at Surul, being regarded a *laboratory*, where we have to try out exp ments in rural reconstruction on an inten scale. Afterwards these may be carried ou a wider scale in the country at large. Alre as I have shown, we have had great succes our experiments with regard to malarial resea We have also now, in connection with it, a w spread village medical co-operative work, w has had equal success. I wish I had tim tell the story of all that has been done in direction; how whole villages have united co-operative plan, admirably conducted, w gives them a doctor of their own who may called in at any time of serious illness, and looks after the health of the whole village.

Still further we have been able to do pi work in primary education, having alr experimented with handicraft as its b Along with this, we have encouraged a scout' movement on purely indigenous l whereby all kinds of improvements have made in the village life around us. Thr the enthusiasm of the children themselves life and energy is flowing back to revive villages.

In the same way our rural teachers' training school has now been started. The teachers, who are being trained, live in the midst of all the experiments and new ideas connected with our rural work which are being carried on around them.

It would be impossible to touch on each one of the many-sided activities at Sriniketan which make a complete unit of new village planning on an intensive scale. Accounts of agricultural and social experiments, worked out in detail, will be found in our annual report. A careful examination of the statistics there given would show how marvellously the whole work has advanced in recent years, and also how malaria now is becoming more and more kept under control. Just to give one instance, in a village near Surul, the spleen-rate has been brought down from 90 per cent to 4 per cent, and the malarial attacks from 30 per cent to 1.9 per cent. Such figures as these tell their own story of a vast improvement in village conditions. Let me add at once that without improvement in every other direction these health results themselves cannot remain permanent. For steady advance all along the line in work like ours is, in the long run, the only form of progress that endures.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Hindi as Lingua Franca"

An article under the caption, "Hindi as the Lingua Franca" by P. V. Acharya appears in the January number of *The Modern Review*. I beg to correct some notions of the learned author and also offer my views regarding the question. Eminent authorities on politics agree that a common language is one of the main factors in nation building. "The most obvious element of Nationality is language," says Bernard Joseph in his famous book *Nationality*. Further he says, "The use of a common medium of expression is of primary importance in bringing about a similar way of things and in development of common interest and community of idea."

"The question of the establishment of a Lingua Franca of India" has not come in to the forefront due to the establishment of Congress ministries," as the author seems to think. But this question has been before the leaders of public opinion ever since the question of National solidarity has come before them. The Congress has felt the necessity of common language long ago. The only thing Mahatma Gandhi did was to suggest Hindi as the language best suited for the purpose as it is spoken by over 120 million people and understood by millions more out of 350 million total population of India. Moreover it is so much akin to other languages of the land that it can be picked up very soon by the people. The spread of Hindi in provinces where Dravidian languages are spoken is not so easy but the results achieved by the Dachhin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha encourage us in the enterprise. I am not aware of the 'widespread propaganda for counteracting the evil of the Hindi cult in Madras' referred to by Mr. Acharya. On the contrary we read encouraging reports about the keen interest which the people of Madras Presidency are taking in learning Hindi.

It is not a fact that the 'question of the application of the Hindi cult is being enforced regardless of its impracticability.' Surely it is not going to be forced as the English language has been forced by our masters which our boys and girls have to learn regardless of its unscientific grammar and the consequent difficulties. Some sort of compulsion will have to be applied for every good thing and if the author blames the Premiers of Madras and Bombay for the announcement of their intention to make Hindi compulsory in their provinces he must also blame the late Mr. Gokhale for starting the idea of Compulsory Education. The teaching of Hindi as one of the subjects, to be sure, is not going to cost the students as much time and energy as the wasteful method of learning through the foreign tongue is doing.

The author's assumption that 'establishment of Hindi as Lingua Franca' pre-supposes universal Compulsory Education is also not correct. The two propositions are to be run independently though they may be run concurrently. I fail to understand how the author tacks the Wardha Education Scheme with this idea and makes it responsible for the action of the Congress ministers.

There is another misunderstanding under which Mr. Acharya is labouring. He seems to think that the 'evil' of the Hindi cult is started to wipe out the provincial languages. Far from it. We want all provinces to take pride in fostering their own languages. There is no question of competing with or replacing provincial languages by Hindi. We only want that they should take equal or even some interest in fostering the common national language also along with their mother-tongues.

The author seems to argue that all the provinces are opposed to the spread of Hindi in their respective provinces, which is not warranted by facts. As regards Muslim opposition, it is also not common to Muslims of Bengal and other provinces who take pride in their provincial languages and are not very enthusiatic about the protection of Urdu. Rather they are in a better position to understand Hindi than Persianised Urdu due to the common origin and connection of their languages with Sanskrit. The little opposition which is coming from the supporters of the Urdu cult from the North, is likely to be calmed down by the definition of Hindi given by Mahatma Gandhi that Hindi or Hindusthani means the language spoken by Hindus and Mohamedans of the North and written either in Devanagri or Persian script.

There is no question of competing even with English as the author puts it. The fact that it has been forced on us as the state language and medium of instruction from the past 150 years is no reason why it should be allowed to rule over us for all times to come. We quite realise the importance of English as the universal or international language for political and commercial purposes. Hence we are not for boycotting or banishing the same. But one only wishes that it should not usurp the place of our common language for inter-provincial political and cultural purposes. The real suicide for the nation will not be the banishing of the English language (which by the way, is not our objective), but the banishing of a common tongue like Hindi will surely be our cultural and political suicide. We are not for 'wasting our energy and funds on misguided patriotic motives,' but want to minimise and if possible to stop the three-fold waste of wealth, time and national consciousness which is going on at present on account of the use of a foreign language at the cost of our provincial languages.

Beohar Rajendra Sinha, M.L.A.

Jubbulpore.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Rabindranath on Gandhi

'Mahatma Gandhi has shown us a way which, if we follow, we shall not only save ourselves but may help other peoples also to save themselves.' Writes Rabindranath Tagore in *The Visva-bharati Quarterly* :

> Politicians plume themselves on being practical and do not hesitate to ally themselves with the forces of evil if they think that evil will accomplish their end. But tactics of this kind will not pass the audit of the Dispenser of our fortunes; so while we may admire their cleverness, we cannot revere them. Our reverence goes out to the Mahatma whose striving has ever been for Truth; who, to the great good fortune of our country at this time of its entry into the New Age, has never, for the sake of immediate results, advised or condoned any departure from the standard of universal morality.
>
> He has shown the way how, without wholesale massacre, freedom may be won. There are doubtless but few amongst us who can rid our minds of a reliance on violence—who can really believe that victory may be ours without recourse to it. For even in the Mahabharata, not to speak of the "civilized" warfare of the West, we find even *Dharma-yudda* to be full of violence and cruelty. Now, for the first time perhaps, it has been declared that it is for us to yield up life, not to kill, and yet we shall win! A glorious message, indeed, not a counsel of strategy, not a means to a merely political end. In the course of unrighteous battle death means extinction; in the non-violent battle of righteousness something remains over,—after defeat victory, after death immorality. The Mahatma who has realised this in his own life, compels our belief in this truth.
>
> As before, the genius of India has taken from her aggressors the most spiritually significant principle of their culture and fashioned of it a new message of hope for mankind. There is in Christianity the great doctrine that God became man in order to save humanity by taking the burden of its sin and suffering on Himself, here in this very world, not waiting for the next. That the starving must be fed, the ragged clad, has been emphasised by Christianity as no other religion has done. Charity, benevolence, and the like, no doubt have an important place in the religions of our country as well, but there they are in practice circumscribed within much narrower limits, and are only partially inspired by love of man. And to our great good fortune, Gandhiji was able to receive this teaching of Christ in a living way. It was fortunate that he had not to learn of Christianity through professional missionaries, but should have found in Tolstoy a teacher who had realised the value of non-violence through the multifarious experiences of his own life's struggles. For it was this great gift from Europe that our country had all along been awaiting.

Wardha Educational Scheme

In the course of the Presidential Address of the last All-India Educational Conference held in Calcutta, extracts from which have bee published in *The Indian Journal of Educatio* C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University, remarks :

> As regards the Wardha Educational Scheme form lated by Mahatma Gandhi it contains four essenti points, namely : (1) withdrawal of state support fro University and higher education; (2) leaving Universiti and technological institutions to be organised b private corporations or the industrial firms concerne (3) making elementary education up to the age of 1 compulsory and universal, and in order to find t finances and teachers necessary to give it a direc industrial basic turn so that salable commodities co be produced and thus education be made self-supportin and (4) to conscript educated men and women so th they might serve as teachers for a stipulated peri

It must be said that the Wardha Educational Scheme is splendid as a whole.

> Who can deny admiration for the wonderful way i which all the parts are combined into a harmonio whole. Mahatma Gandhi is by no means a fanatic abo his ideas like most other people. He does not only invite criticism but encourages them. Whatever may be the defects of the scheme it cannot be denied that it has been produced by one of the most dynamic personalities of the world. When Mahatma Gand invited my opinion as to the Wardha Scheme I pointe out to him that he was going to transplant "Ashrama" education in the place of the system of education set u by the modern civilised world. I am glad to note th the scheme has in a large measure been modified to su modern conditions as a result of criticism advanced b the educationists. It is true that Plato's *Republic* o Moore's *Utopia* cannot be adopted in practical life. Bu who could deny the contribution they had made to huma progress?

In the report of the Committee it has bee clearly pointed out that the formation of a non-violent, and non-aggressive society was to b the ideal of education.

> People may ask themselves if such a society w possible. All historical developments, it has got to b remembered, have tended towards the increase of th strength of the society. To become strong has been th aim in every society. Consciously or unconsciously, p duction of power or development of strength has be the motive of all civilization. Ideally it is no do very good : but how are people going to create a n violent society? If desires are not limited, if men w to enjoy in an inordinate measure, if wants are n minimised naturally, there can be no non-violent societ If men minimise their wants, if their wants are satis easily, if they are to produce only what they can consu naturally, there can be no motive for aggression or co petition which is prevalent in every sphere tod Throughout the original scheme there has been talk o

doing away with sciences and applied sciences. In fact exploitation today of one by another is carried through sciences. But the applied science can be made fruitful in another way, by employing it to the development of men, now being used for purposes of aggression and destruction. If these can be put into practice, a new age will be introduced putting an end to all violence and aggression. It may be that some of the advocates of the schemes may be able to introduce this new development in the world. For prophets came not to accept existing conditions but to create something new.

Freedom of Reason

Justice M. R. Jayakar's Convocation Address at the Lucknow University is reproduced in *The Progress of Education*. In conclusion he observes :

> In the patriotic desire to popularize and reform their schemes of education, there should be no interference by the new Government with the intellectual democracy of our colleges and universities. It is wise to remember that the freest use of the human reason is the true test of a democratic Government, as contrasted with an authoritarian State. Their ideals of education are as the poles apart. The one aims at ungrudging subservience, the other at freedom. An authoritarian Government, putting a premium on obedience aims at producing citizens who will be serviceable in the propagation of its political views—mere cogs in the wheel. The democratic State, on the other hand, demands that its citizens should be dynamic forces to mould a new order. Rebellious enterprise in thought and action will be its watchword. Research after truth, through the avenues of questioning doubt and restless enquiry, will be the ideal it will set before its youth. "A thinking man is the worst enemy of the Prince of Darkness," said Carlyle, and this is ever true of all autocracies, religious or political, and often-times they are masked under the guise of democracies.
>
> It is therefore necessary that this spirit of freedom, this triumph of the human reason must be maintained at all costs within the precincts of our colleges, the nurseries of the future citizen. Freedom must be fully preserved for the youth to use his own reason, to think for himself, to develop on his own lines, without the slightest interference from any one, except in the interests of discipline and corporate life. Freedom of association and discussion, methods of persuasion and argument must be strictly preserved and the individual must be left untouched by any desire on the part of the State to become a nation-wide schoolmaster. The aim should be to produce extreme flexibility of mind—an intellect able to grapple with the complex problems facing the community—able to form its mind and express it without reserve or equivocation. Doubt and questioning must have their due place in the mental apparatus of the youth. "In his own breast," said Mathew Arnold, "every man carries about with him a possible Socrates in that power of a disinterested play of consciousness upon his stock notions and habits." This possible Socrates must be revived and set free from the debris of ready-made thought.

Is India Over-Populated?

In an article in the *Financial Times* Dr. H. L. Dey deals with the above question. He says :

> What is the optimum population? It is that size of the population where the productivity per head is at its maximum, such that if the population were more or less than that ideal size, the productivity per head would be less than the maximum possible. This is the view that is finding an increasing measure of acceptance among the leading economists of the world. The theory of optimum population is the only valid theory that exists. But, it must be confessed that it is a pure theory or abstract theory, logically perfect but difficult of application to the practical problems of life. It does not enable us to say of any country at any particular moment whether the population is below, above or at the optimum.

According to him, the greatest tragedy of the present age is not that there is poverty because of society, but that there is poverty in the midst of plenty. He observes :

> It, tnen, comes to this that we have a perfect theory of population free from the flaws and inconsistencies of the old Malthusian theory. The only inference of a practical nature that we can draw from it is that there is no limit to the size of optimum population, provided knowledge, organization and capital grow as fast as, if not faster than, population. In the light of this theory, one will not be justified in making a statement to the effect that in 1950, for example, the optimum population for India would be, say, 380 millions, and that, therefore, through the education of public opinion or through legal compulsion or regulation of marriages, etc., we ought to control the birth rates in such a way that 380 millions may be the size in 1950. And even if such an estimate were possible, it would be impossible to regulate the reproductive activities of such a huge mass of population representing every stage of culture and education.

The proper attitude for us to take towards the question of population would be, not to be awed and dismayed by the vast size of our population, but to apply our intelligence and energy to the discovery of ways and means for augmenting our national income through proper inventions, organization and adjustment, and a rapid accumulation of capital.

> There are good reasons for suspecting that those who are always raising the spectre of over-population and advocating large-scale birth-control are either suffering from some sort of Freudian complex or are persons who have developed a dismal outlook or are such people as are interested in inculcating the wrong belief in the public mind that all the ills of India are due to over-population and over-population alone and to nothing else. Poverty, unemployment, class struggle, communalism, diseases—the responsibility for all these evils should be laid at the door of the phenomenon of over-population; nothing else can be blamed for these. We can only suggest that the nation should think not twice or thrice but at least a hundred times before believing these prophets or accepting their advice. For, in reality, the ill-founded fear of over-population has arisen out of a lack of courage and energy. It is the counsel of despair. It bespeaks a defeatist attitude of mind. And it is one of those dangerous illusions which would have us believe that there is in every case a short cut to greatness and prosperity. The sooner we got rid of them, the better for us.

An Early Portuguese Account of Bengal

The earliest Portuguese account of Bengal is probably to be found in a letter, addressed by

Dom Joao de Leyma, a Portuguese nobleman serving in India, to His Highness the King of Portugal from Cochin on the 22nd December, 1518. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen publishes the letter for the first time in *The Calcutta Review* :

> "Dom Joao, my Lord, spent the last cold season in Bengalla, where he wintered, being always in desperate war, without concluding any treaty of peace with them."
>
> "We are told that silver, coral and copper are highly prized there but still no one wanted to buy any of these things, the reason my Lord, was that some Gujarat boats were there and they caused all possible hindrance. The country is very rich, ten *fardos* of rice sell for a *pardao* of 320 *reis*, there being three *alqueires* in each *fardo* and the rice is *giracall*; twenty hens and as many as sixty ducks sell for a *tanga* and three cows per *pardao*, shells are the coins of this country, for none but the king can own gold or silver. The people are short and speak almost like those of Goa, this is because the coast of the Bay of Bengal is opposite to that of India. Bengal lies 20 degrees to the north which is the altitude of Diu. A slave is worth six *tangas* and a young lady double that sum. At the bar of this river, my Lord, there are three fathoms of water at low tide, which swells from there to six fathoms at high tide. The city is said to be two small leagues from the bar. The city is big and populous but very weak. Here was Dom Joao for five months awaiting the monsoon for returning to India."

Dr. Sen remarks :

> It is interesting to note that the early Portuguese visitors should observe the linguistic affinity between the people of Bengal and those of Goa, though their explanation is not worthy of serious consideration. The Saraswat Brahmans of Goa claim to be the descendants of Bengalee immigrants. Like the Bengalees they rub their body and head with oil, and, unlike their neighbours of Maharashtra, freely partake of fish. One of their holy places Chandranath, the mountain abode of Shiva, naturally reminds us of a hill of the same name in the Chittagong district which is still frequented by thousands of Bengalee pilgrims. The most popular dieties are Shanta Durga and Nava Durga and the original image of Shanta Durga was, according to a popular tradition, transported by thirteen Brahman families from their old home in Trihut to their new settlement on the western coast. The Saraswat, like the Bengalee, is noted for the broad pronunciation of vowels and in stature and look they are so alike, that if the Saraswat doffs his *pagota* (turban) or cap or the Bengalee dons it, a stranger will find it extremely difficult to distinguish one from the other. The *Konkani* language or dialect shares many words, expressions and idioms in common with Bengali. The story of Saraswat migration may not, therefore, be entirely unfounded and Dom Joao de Silveira and his companions were quite right when they observed that the "people of Bengal are short and speak almost like those of Goa."

The Rise of the Himalayas ✓

In the introductory portion of his lecture, which appears in *Science and Culture*, delivered at Allahabad on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University, D. N. Wadia says :

> At a period in the geological history of our earth, which to compare earth-history with the known human history since its earliest dawn, would be as recent as the closing years of the Moghul dynasty, the geograp outlines of India were of the haziest description a was not separated from Eurasia by the present fo able mountain ranges which so effectively barricad from the west, north and east. One of the most c established facts of geological science tells us of a which girdled India along its north face through aeons of time—a true mediterranean sea which div the northern continent of Eurasia (known as Angara from a southern continent of more or less unce borders, but which united within its compass the pre disjointed peninsulas of Africa, Arabia, India a Australia (kown to geologists as Gondwanaland). B tween the Deccan and the Siberian lowlands as far the Arctic Ocean, there was then no mountain bar of any importance, save the stunted and broken ch of the Altaids of Eastern Turkestan; and there th prevailed an oceanway which provided in the beauti words of the hymn "from Greenland's icy mountains India's coral strand" an uninterrupted intercourse a migration of marine animals unknown in the world today.
>
> The rise of the Himalayas from the floor of th mediterranean sea is an epic of the geological hist of Asia. All the relevant facts of this event are w dated and documented in the rock-records of th mountains.

The Civilization of China

Prof. Tan Yun-Shan of the Sino-Indi Culture Society, Nanking and Santiniketa points out in his article in *Prabuddha Bhara* the antiquity and richness of Chinese culture.

> The European scholars often make the grave mistake of looking upon the Egyptian and Babyloni civilizations as the two oldest in point of time. Thi mistake is occasioned by their almost complete ignora of Chinese history and misunderstanding of Chinese c ture. I venture to suggest that the Chinese civiliza is much older than either of these two civilizations. T Egyptians and Babylonians have long vanished aw and the relics which have survived the onslaught of ti are also few. But as to China, her old chronicles a almost complete and the numberless historical rec of the country point to the great antiquity of h civilization.
>
> According to old historical records You-Tsao f invented houses to teach the people to live saf Suei-Jen invented fire by drilling wood to teach the pe to cook. These discoveries took place more than thousand years ago. Fu-Hsi taught the people to ca fish with nets, animal with snares and he also ta them to sing to the accompaniment or guitars. He laid down the formal rules of the wedding cerem this is the inauguration of social marriage in hu society. He created the Eight-Diagrams which were origin of the written characters. He found the to measure time, which is the prelude to the alma Shen-Nung invented spades and ploughs and taught people to cultivate corns. He established a kind market and taught the people to exchange their pro He experimented with the curative qualities of var plants, roots and leaves and thus laid the founda of the science of medicine. He also reformed the sy of calendar. It is to be remembered that all this place more or less than ten thousand years ago. then many great sages, one after another, have laid world under a great debt of gratitude by their in tions and discoveries. Huang-Ti or the Yellow Emp ruled over the country about 2700 B. C. He w

successful king but we remember him today most for some of the vitally important inventions connected with civilized life. Amongst his numerous useful inventions, mention should be made of (1) cap and dress, (2) vehicle and boat, (3) mortar and pestle, (4) bow and arrow, (5) compass, (6) metallic coins and (7) coffin. Apart from his direct personal inventions, he had reformed and improved upon many of the things already in current use. Astronomy and the system of determining the seasons, studies into the solar system are only a few of the fields he had enriched with his genius.

Periodical Publications

The *Indiana* of Benares, writing editorially in its notes, observes :

> Some of our magazines publishing two volumes a year, call them two halves of the year or volume. *Prabasi* is a typical example of those magazines. For purposes of reference to their volumes we have introduced two symbols, D and D, the former being used to denote the first half (*purvardha*) and the latter the second half (*uttarardha*). Two other magazines issued from the same *Prabasi* press, namely, *Modern Review* and *Visal-Bharata* do not however call their six-monthly volumes as halves of one and the same volume, but number the six-monthly volumes serially from the very start. Thus, the current half-yearly volume, for January to June, 1938, of *The Modern Review* is vol. 63, the magazine having completed 62 volumes in the last 31 years. In our opinion it is a better method of numbering volumes, so long as the two half-yearly volumes of the same year are not two component parts or sections. *Prabasi*, which is going to complete its 37 years of existence, in a couple of months more, having published 74 volumes (double the number of years) may very well begin to call its next volume as vol. 75, treating the previous 37 years' volumes as the first 74 volumes. The conductors of magazines would, we hope, find this method to be more suitable both to themselves and to their constituents.

As regards sewing and wire-stitching of publications and binding cases for volumed journals, it remarks :

> Sewing is always preferred. When however stitching has to be done wire stitching, by brass or copper wire rather than iron, is preferable to thread stitching unless the rough hammer strike by the bindery boy on nails spoiling the publication can be avoided. Iron wire gets rusted in damp weather and disfigures and decays paper.
>
> A number of foreign periodicals supply lettered binding cases at the end of a volume together with the title pages, contents and indexes. We do not know if some Indian periodicals, also do the same. If a case (or cover) seems to be too costly, a lettered title label for the back of a bound volume, supplied together with the title pages, etc., may even be appreciated by a number of subscribers.

Indian Christians in Bengal

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee's Address delivered in Calcutta at a joint meeting of the Calcutta Missionary Conference and the Bengal Christian Conference, and published in *The National Christian Council Review*, begins with the following remarks :

> According to the last census, the total number of Indian Christians in Bengal is approximately 1,32,000. Of these about 26,000 live in towns and 1,06,000 in the country. There are 43 towns of various sizes in Bengal. About 14,000 Indian Christians are permanent residents of Calcutta and Howrah while the rest of the Indian Christian urban population numbering approximately 12,000 live in 41 towns. Thus the majority of our community live in the country where they earn their living as unskilled labourers, agriculturists, etc. Very few of them, in fact so few that they are negligible in number, own the land they cultivate. Those of them who are not on the verge of destitution, share in crops raised by them with owners or leaseholders of land.
>
> These 1,06,000 Indian Christians are scattered in 27 districts of Bengal and in the two States of Cooch-Behar and Tripura, the total area of which is 82,955 square miles. They live either in single families, or in very small groups, in predominantly non-Christian villages scattered over this wide area. It follows therefore that Christian children of the rural areas will either have to go without education or be educated in non-Christian institutions.

Dr. Mookerjee points out that the revival of the national spirit has not only manifested itself in politics but it has also assumed a religious form.

> Islam, like Christianity, has all along been characterized by an aggressive spirit. The same propagandist spirti has at last made its appearance in Hinduism. Whereas formerly, the ascetic was content with working out his own salvation by pilgrimages, fasts, prayers and meditation, he has now come to realize his duty as a religious teacher and is organizing societies for the propagation of Hinduism. When I was penning these lines, I had before me the Annual Report of one such society of Hindu ascetics, vowed to poverty and celibacy, one of the declared aims of which is to preach and to convert to Hinduism all classes of men as well as to engage in social service work, such as starting schools, outdoor dispensaries, indoor hospitals, etc., in out-of-the-way corners of this country where facilities of this kind are not available. What is more, controlled as this body is by educated *sadhus* who have developed leadership the society is doing really useful work.
>
> The value of the propaganda carried on by these Hindu *sadhus* is recognized even by the Moslems. In one of his books, Dr. Stanley Jones says how a Muhammadan Maulvi came to a Christian friend and said, 'I hear that funds are being cut off from your mission work, and that you must close a good deal of it. Why don't you come to us? We will contribute and help you rather than see this work closed, for if it is closed, many of the Christians will go back to Hinduism, and we Muhammadan Maulvis have lain down on the doorstep of your co-religionists so that they would have to walk on our prostrate bodies in order to go and be reconverted to Hinduism.'

WORLD AFFAIRS

India's Foreign Policy

A POLITICAL philosopher, anxious to find a satisfactory definition for a state, once concluded that it is the authority which possesses a foreign office and has foreign relations of its own with others. The merit of the definition may be questioned. But a foreign policy of a people without a state would be no less intriguing a sight for political thinkers. Yet just at this hour we, the people of India, are presenting the world with a very curious thing—a statement on the foreign policy of the Indian people voiced through the Indian National Congress, the mouthpiece of a nation which is yet to be born, of a people who possess no state of their own—though there are so many "Indian States." At Haripura the Congress is expressing its sympathy with China and defining its position with regard to the world situation :

> "In view of the grave danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world the Congress desires to state afresh the policy of the Indian people with regard to foreign relations and war. The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others and buildings up their strength on the basis of international co-operation and goodwill. Such co-operation must be found on world order and free India will gladly associate itself with such order and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world co-operation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remain and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds away. In order therefore to establish world peace on an enduring basis imperialism and exploitation of one people by another must end. During the past few years there has been rapid and deplorable deterioration of the international relations; Fascist aggression has increased and unabashed defiance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of the Fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must therefore largely shoulder the responsibility for progressive deterioration of the world situation. That policy still seeks arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift towards an imperialist world war.
>
> India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress therefore entirely disapproves the war preparations being made in India and the large scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in the war this will be resisted."

So, the Indian people at last admit th through the inexorable logic of events they fi themselves in the tangle of the times to b inalineably linked with other peoples near the home or far away. Even the Indi legislature is waking up to this consciousne Foreign relations are the close reserve in th country for foreigners. They are shaped a re-shaped in secrecy according to the policy o Westminster. So, it may sound rather unre for us to talk of a foreign policy; still th talk started sometime ago, and did not star day too soon. A people seriously aspiring aft independence must look around itself, as ever student of public affairs or of the internation affairs would recognize, if its resolve is n unreal.

The Underlying Principle

The foreign policy of the Indian people a defined above lacks, however, definiteness. I only states its line of approach to international questions, and, under the present circumstances it can do little more. "What would Indi wish—Japanese imperialism to conquer Chin and grow into a real menace to the Briti imperialism in the East? or China to beat th imperialists and remove the future menace o Indian liberty?" put an eminent Americ journalist to one of the Congress leaders. I was difficult to answer. The Congressm admitted this. "Well, as the under dog we a always in sympathy with under dogs. B the question would be simplified for us if o the Britishers put down their feet on any these sides. We would then jump over to th other." Perhaps the problem is not so simp India would hardly in her present mood r China of her liberty. But nonetheless foreign policy is negative—she would refuse further the interests of her own opponents. her present political status this is quite und standable and probably wise; for, a people wh very life is blighted by negation of rights o have only a negative policy of resistance a challenge.

India and the Far East

In international politics sympathy cou for little—especially in these days. Abyss had had enough of sympathy, and indeed

Negus was deceived by it to an audacious resistance which ended so miserably. The Spanish republicans get more sympathy than help. China has none of the latter and the very sincere expression of the former from all quarters except Italy and some others, as was seen at the Brussels Conference. But, to quote Professor Shelley Wang in the *Labour Monthly* (November, 1937) :

> She has learnt that sheer sympathy will not stop the Japanese invasions. On the contrary the failure of translating sympathy and protest into concrete action has merely emboldened Japan to go on with her crimes, impervious to universal condemnation which she holds in utter contempt. . . . Sanctions, (advised the writer,) can stop the war. Continued supplies of oil, cotton and other materials help Japan to go on with the slaughter of Chinese men, women and children. Loans help Japan to carry on her undeclared war on China. All trade with Japan means assisting her in getting the means of taking heavier toll of lives in China. But the full application of sanctions, if they were enforced rigidly and faithfully, will bring Japan 'down to her knees'.

But, while we Indians have been talking of boycott or sanction, Indian cotton that was to find its way to Japanese factories is lying in stock unsold and the Berar cotton-grower is feeling what the boycott may mean. This crisis in cotton market incidentally, has only served to give the Bombay mill-owner an additional advantage. Busy with manufacture of armaments, Japan has even to import Bombay cotton goods from him. His 'patriotism' and his cry of 'boycott Japanese' will not prevent him to avail of it fully whatever be the plight of the cotton-grower, the worker or the consumer of the Swadehsi or of China.

Meanwhile, Japan is advancing through the very heart of China, and, the ruthless march is laying low every opposition of the Chinese. The only hope of China lies in her bulk and number, and perhaps in a long continued resistance by guerilla warfare. But the Japanese know that well enough and are prepared for it. So far none of their plans has miscarried in spite of the dismal predictions of her critics. *The Living Age* (January, 1938) reminds its readers editorially :

> In its sympathy with China, the world has not yet grasped the phenomenal efficiency of the Japanese military machine in the art of invasion. Liaison between the Navy, Army and Supply Departments has been excellent. Even allowing for the Chinese collapse after the Hang-chow Bay landing, the Japanese Staff seems to have made no mistakes of consequence. Operations of a similar kind in the past have invariably been badly bungled; the American landing in Cuba, the British campaign in South Africa, the ill-fated Dardanelles and Mesopotamian expeditions and Sarrail's exasperating postponements of his push at Saloniki. This proficiency of the Japanese in conducting vast operations overseas without delay may well become a perpetual night-mare to the Philippine Commonwealth, to Australia and to the European Powers which have possessions in the Far East.

Japan's objectives were sketched by the Tanaka Memorial as clearly as ever in 1927. It stated :

> "In order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China the rest of the Asiatic Countries and the South Sea Countries will fear us and surrender to us, than the world will realise that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. . . . Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step, if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish itself in continental Asia."

Even to us Indians this is no secret; only we need take no alarmist view of a possibility that, as Pandit Jawaharlal reminded at Haripura, was yet remote,

> A Japanese or German or Italian invasion of India is to forget the realities completely and to live in a world of fantasy. Japan is further away from India, for all practical purposes, than England is. The land route is entirely closed and impossible of passage even for aircraft. The sea route is very long and terribly dangerous and cannot be negotiated till Japan is master of the sea and air and Britain and the United States have been wholly disabled. Japan cannot think of coming to India till she has absorbed the whole of China, a task almost certainly beyond her competence and resources. Even after that, the next countries on the list are Australia and Philippine Islands and the Netherlands India.
>
> It is equally fantastic to think in terms of a German or Italian invasion of India. Both these countries will have their work cut out for them in Europe and their objectives lie in Europe or North Africa. But if by any chance the Fascist Powers gain an overwhelming victory in a world war and the world lies prostrate before them, then of course anything might happen. Even so, India will not go as a gift to anybody. She will resist the invader to the utmost and in spite of lack of military and such like resources she has developed enough strength and technique of her own method of struggle to make an invasion a terribly burdensome operation. We have to struggle today with an entrenched system which has dug itself deep into our very soil. It will be far easier to deal with a new-comer who comes with hostile intentions.
>
> —(*A. B. Patrika*).

But Sir Ian Hamilton, who knows the Japanese from the days of the Russo-Japanese War, told recently an English audience :

> How monstrous it will seem to posterity that, throughout 1937, the European nations should have been quarrelling like dogs over a bone about Spain, which has not the least intention of allowing itself to be gnawed by any outsider.
>
> The Emperor is marching from the Island of the Rising Sun. His fighters drink up the great rivers of China. The smoke of their bombs makes dark the air.
>
> His road is clearly marked—Hankow, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bhamo, Burma, Assam, Bengal. That is the prospect if nothing is done. Nothing less than Europe united can definitely hold up that army.

The Far East and the European Powers

Europe may herself be the theatre of war by no less rapacious powers. So, the European powers who have interests in the Far East have to be satisfied with their diplomatic protests and the Japanese diplomatic expression of regrets. This saves the face, though it does not save Britain's or France's interest or prestige.

Britain, at any rate, must not be drawn in in this phase of the struggle for supremacy in the East. She is to arm herself at this hour thoroughly, before the Japanese conquest and assimilation of the vast country is completed so that when the hour of decision comes she may be found fit and ready for it. The Singapore Base aws recently opened. Yet, Singapore is now outflanked, as an eminent English military correspondent reminds us :

> Let us examine Japanese policy apart from her desire to wield influence on the North East frontier when complete control of China is obtained. The Japanese will never forgive us the severance of the alliance after she had served the Allies in the War. Our decision meant the building of Singapore Base and brought in its train the policy of neutralizing the Base. Japan's first essential is to creep down the coast of the South China Sea and take up a position between Hongkong and Singapore. An extension from that position would outflank Singapore and there are indications that the scheme is to obtain a concession from Siam to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Kra, about 700 miles north of Singapore. A glance at the map will show how she would get behind the new gateway base and touch right in to Victoria Point, Burma. France wanted to make this canal some years ago as a safeguard for Indo-China but did not proceed with the idea, and the Japanese at once began to establish influence in Siam. A waterway through the 55 miles of land would take Japanese ships from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean out of range of Singapore. To be sure we are fortifying Penang but even that is distant from any northern cut through the Isthmus. Developments on these lines could only mean an ultimate Japanese squadron in the Indian Ocean and perhaps considerably increase the flooding of India's markets with cheap Japanese goods. In the long view there is the possibility of Japanese power being felt on the land side of India where China touches the frontier, and by way of the southern waters.

The Far East and America

A clear indication of the American intentions in solving the Chinese puzzle would perhaps be helpful for Britain. But after the refusal of the Stimson offer by Sir John Simon during the Manchurian crisis in 1932, the U. S. A. are not going to move away from their "peace and neutrality policy" and throw themselves again into the arms of the "perfidious Albion." This attitude got further support from the recent turn in British foreign policy. Of course America has her own interests on the Pacific—the Phillipines, the fishing interests disregarded by the Japanese, and lastly, the old policy of "Open-door in China" and "the territorial integrity of China." For the present the answer to all Japanese challenge is a big navy and a gigantic armament programme, and, a demand in company with France and Britain to know the plan of Japanese naval building. Japan necessarily refused it, but she cannot stop the U. S. A. from building a formidable fleet.

The Far East and the Soviet

The only other factor in the Far Eastern politics is the Soviet Russia—an incalculable force which may again favour China by her alliance as a result of the understanding between the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang. But the U. S. S. R. did not appear to be very vigorous when they were challenged on the Amur by the Japanese. Russia is no doubt busy preparing feverishly on the Baikal, which has been characterized as the key to Asia by a correspondent in the *New Chronicle* :

> In this part of the world history and geography are both in the making. To understand why Baikal is a potential storm centre we must look eastward.
>
> On the East, Outer Mongolia borders upon Japan's puppet State of Manchukuo, and upon Inner Mongolia. The Trans-Siberian railway, which skirts Lake Baikal, continues through the Buryat Republic and then for a thousand miles runs close to Japanese territory, at some points only a few miles distant. But it does not run in a straight line. At Khabarovsk, the headquarters of the Far Eastern Red Army, the line turns southward down Russia's Maritime Province to Vladivostok. And Vladivostok is only a few hours by air from Japan's great industrial centres.
>
> There is no doubt that Japan has her agents among these people. She has, indeed, confessed to harboring a scheme for an 'independent' Mongolia which should unite the 2,000,000 Mongols living in Manchukuo, the 1,500,000 Mongols of Inner Mongolia, the 750,000 of Outer Mongolia and the 500,000 in the Buryat, who are at present Russian citizens.
>
> Japan has even promised the feudal lords of Inner Mongolia the whole Province of Hsingan if they will further this scheme. The stakes in this mighty chess game are enormous and are not all political. Siberia, as a whole, is the richest region in the world still largely unexploited.
>
> Outer Mongolia, which Russia must continue to control if she is to hold her Eastern Empire, is also not negligible economically.
>
> The strategic importance of Outer Mongolia, however, is the dominant factor. To the Japanese, Outer Mongolia is the key to Baikal and the cutting of communications between Moscow and the Far East. To the Russians Outer Mongolia is the corridor to China and the still unexploited parts of Asia.
>
> Nothing is certain, but the sands appear to be running out from the Japanese hour-glass. Time favours the Russians. To begin with, the Far Eastern District is rapidly becoming impregnable from the military viewpoint. No longer is it an army 6,000 miles from its base which could be cut off and starved out.

Twenty years of solid economic and social reconstruction stands to the credit of Moscow, and the recent purges, however, astounding and distasteful to the world at large, are said to have left it strong in morale so as to enable Stalin himself to refer to the 'anti-Comintern pact' and to accept the challenge, if it comes, from Rome and Berlin and Tokyo. Naturally, Stalin's eyes are sharp and watchful even though to his Communist compatriots they may appear to have lost their revolutionary dreaminess and fire and brilliance. He must save the U.S.S.R. from the counter-revolutionary forces that surround her and thus keep Communism in saddle in Russia, so that international Communism in other lands may in that success find hope and courage for itself. The enemies of Moscow at the moment are too many. Poland, Greece, Rumania (with or without the short-lived Goga regime), are almost at a striking distance, while the arms of Hitler are long enough to strike her even in her heart, the Ukraine. Europe is in the grip of Fascism.

Nazism in Triumph

Around Hitler's totalitarian Germany and Mussolini's corporative Italy revolves today the politics of all Europe. This Fascism bound Moscow and Paris together, Prague to Moscow, and brought London nearer to the two. The Spanish tragedy drags on its barbarous course in which Fascism and Republicanism, with Communism as its ally, are contending—a prelude, as the ideologues hold, to the real war under the shadow of which the world lives today. Meanwhile, Hitler has indulged in a shorter purge. The military heads of the General Stuff, General Von Fritzch and Marshall Von Bloemberg, are gone—one imprisoned, the other removed,—and the top of the army Nazized at one stroke. Even in their wildest dreams the Hohenzollern would never think of challenging the Prussian militarists in this way. Yet, the army has yielded, and Germany though voiceless, looked probable askance. But the Fuehrer was ready with his trick of 'external success' to appease the Germans. Quick came his invitation to Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, and an eleven hour's talk and marshalling of forces on the Austrian border made that unreasonable man see reason in Hitler's proposal to give the important post of the Ministry of Interior and police administration in Austria to Hitler's nominee, an approved Nazi. The Fuehrer now can turn to Czechoslovakia. He triumphantly talked of his achievements and even of 'not tolerating a free press in Britain.' In a day Austria has been reduced to vassalage—and the good Catholics of Austria no more can count on Mussolini to move his soldiers on the frontier, nor on the allies who pledged Austrian sovereignty, opposed in the pre-Hitler days even an Austro-German trade agreement and resisted the Austrian wish for a restoration of the Habsburg House. Il Duce is silent now, probably sullen, or more probably, he was sounded beforehand by the Berlin dictator. Any way, it remains to be seen how the Berlin-Rome axis works on after Hitler's triumph in Austria and Britain's recent attempt to please Mussolini.

British Policy

The outstanding event of the month in political affairs is the split in the British Cabinet. Mr. Anthony Eden's resignation has advertised clearly the the rift that existed within it over the question of its foreign relations. The autograph letter of the British Premier to Mussolini and Lord Halifax's visit to Hitler showed the mind of the British upper classes who, in spite of the rebuffs from the two dictators, and their professed faith in the democratic principles, recognise that in the inevitable division of the world in coming days into rival ideological camps their fate was bound to be linked with that of the Fascist powers. Mr. Chamberlain has, therefore, to break with his Foreign Secretary though the Italian press was still continuing its Radio war in Arabic in the Near East against Britain and shows no signs of agreeing with Britain on the Spanish or any other question. For the present the retreat from the 'League policy' will be covered up by an admission of the claims of *Realpolitik—viz.*, advantages of Anglo-Italian understanding by a recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy and granting of a large loan to Italy to balance her budgets by Great Britain, and the withdrawal in return of volunteers from Spain by Italy. These are calculated to buy a safe Empire route in the Mediterranean, and, possibly, at the moment when Hitler has just got Austria under his virtual sway against the will and interest of his dictator-partner Mussolini, draw these two anti-British partners a little apart. Of course Berlin is already noting that and the Nazis would never allow "the Berlin-Rome axis" to weaken. Now that Eden is off, they would rather ask this Anglo-Italian negotiation to broaden into an Anglo-German-Italian negotiation on the basis, in addition to the above, of a return of the old German colonies. Can Britain agree to that? She has to, if Mussolini and Hitler stand together and the British upper classes, who are behind the Chamberlain cabinet and its policy of appeasing the Fascist dictators, remain in power. The return of the German colonies is not an academic question with the German or British diplomats today. Lord Lothian hints in the *International Affairs* (Nov.-Dec. 1937) that a return of the former German colonies is not a bad bargain to buy off Hitler though Mr. Wickham Steed may compare it to the Danegeld. The question is examined by Harold Nicholson in the *International Affairs* (Jan.-Feb. 1938) :

> Are we correct in assuming that Germany would be "satisfied" were we able to return to her those colonies which she possessed in 1913? Even when she possessed those colonies in undisputed and unconditional ownership she was still clamouring for her place in the sun.
>
> "What Germany wants is power." She knows very well that the return of her former colonies (even if that were feasible) would diminish rather than increase her power. I regard Herr Hitler as a most consistent man. I believe that what he himself desires is contained in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. What he desires is *Grund und Boden* or, in other words, territorial and economic acquisitions in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Such acquisitions might lead him into conflict with Russia. If he is to succeed in that conflict he must assure that he is protected in the rear, that he has the necessary *Ruckentdeckung* as against France. In order to sterilise France he must sterilise England. Yet what does he possess wherewith to purchase our neutrality? He has no real assets at all. Therefore he creates an artificial asset, the Colonial Propaganda. He can now offer us the abandonment of his claim for the colonies in return for a free hand in the East. If we take his colonial demands at their face value, then he at least obtains some colonies, which will please his people. If we refuse his demands, then he can claim in compensation our neutrality in his European ambitions. It is for this reason so important that we should not surrender one inch of colonial territory without obtaining in return precise assurances in regard to Germany's European ambitions. To restore the colonies in return for German "friendship" would be to exchange a substance for a shadow. It is for this reason that I am opposed to any colonial concession except as part of a general settlement.

Yet, if Italy and Germany hold together, the present British Cabinet will have to yield on this question too; for the combined forces of the totalitarian states are too strong to be challenged by Britain. The only hope of asserting himself, the Britisher knows, as a practical man who does not talk much of *Realpolitik* or *Machtpolitik*, is to re-arm thoroughly and win over suitable allies. If only America could be persuaded to see, that Britain means to 'make the world safe for democracy.' Mr. Wickham Steed undertook this on a mission to America, and in the Chatham House spoke of his American experiences. The extracts to follow show how an adept British publicist wooes a country with a draft policy.

> This draft policy has not yet been made pu Great Britain; but it has been agreed to by members of all parties, and I will quote its main
>
> The aim of British policy should be to uph defend the vital interests and free civilisation of Britain and the British Commonwealth and, in co- tion with other countries, to safeguard peace. methods of attaining this aim are: (*a*) to ban sive violence from international relations, to respect for treaties and covenants, and *for this* [these are very important words] to raise and the armed strength of Great Britain and the C wealth up to whatever level may be needed; co-ordinate, through the League of Nations and wise, political, economic and military strength, so deter and, if need be, to resist armed aggression; discountenance and counteract aggression in the of propaganda; (*d*) to promote impartial inquiry international grievances and peaceful redress of wrongs.
>
> While recognising that all civilised peoples entitled to choose their own political and social British policy must nevertheless seek to support times the positive principles of responsible ind freedom, under representative democratic govern upon which the British Commonwealth is fo Among these principles are respect for individual rights, toleration of racial, religious and p differences and free association between the members sections of the community, all of which are ess conditions of the establishment of peace. British therefore, must oppose in the international intolerance and recourse to arbitrary violence. It favour methods of impartial inquiry and peaceful ment, and the willing acceptance of a common la nations, and it must be ready to join others in standing breaches of this law as the only way diminish armaments and to create peace.
>
> I spoke in public in the United States only or twice, but I spoke confidentially to the Council Foreign Relations, to the Foreign Policy Associ to the New York Jewish Committee to the Harvard and various other gatherings. I met also some resp executive officers of the United States. In all q I was assured that our draft policy is in accord American ideas, and I was asked whether I could them the assurance that it was, or would be, B policy. I said: "I cannot. I can only tell you some of us are trying to do."

The speaker of course noted the Chi speech of President Roosevelt. But cert the Chamberlain Government, as the mov open negotiations with Mussolini proves, do share his hope or faith in "democratic in and America knows British foreign policy the hands of Mr. Chamberlain and no Mr. Steed.

World Economics

A survey of the world affairs thus leaves no doubt in the mind that world appears to be 'deeper in cynicism an order, more tangled in intrigue than ever be Even the economic facts hold out no great There has been, no doubt, a slow emerging out of the slump that overtook the wor 1929, but how far this is based on perm and really firm foundations, and how far this prosperity itself reflects the disease of the world, a result of its maddened hurry to re-arm—is a question that remains yet to be seen. Already America is said to be facing another slump which is to overtakc others. How the world fared economically before this can, however, be seen from a League of Nations publication *World Economic Survey*, Sixth Year, 1936-37 : (summarised in the *International Affairs*, Jan.-Feb., 1938).

> World industrial activity continued to recover, and is now back to its 1929 level, even when the U.S.S.R. (where industrial production has quadrupled) is excluded. On the other hand, it is far lower than it would be had the normal rate of expansion of at least 3 per cent. per annum been maintained since 1929. One important stimulus, at least since 1936, has been rearmament, which is estimated to affect 60 per cent. of industry. The world spent two and a half to three times as much on armaments in 1936 as in 1933. But the relative importance of armaments expenditure varies widely in different countries. In Japan it represents one-fifth of the national income; in the United States one-fiftieth.
>
> International trade continues to lag behind industrial production, although if the U.S.S.R. is omitted the gap is not very wide, trade having recovered to 98.3 per cent. of its volume in 1929, whilst industrial production has reached 107.1 per cent. of its 1929 level. On the other hand, the recovery in trade is primarily accounted for by increased demand for raw materials. Trade in manufactured goods in 1936 was still only 75 per cent. of its volume in 1929. The crisis barriers to international trade remain, even though the factors which may have justified their erection, exchange instability and falling prices, have disappeared.
>
> World unemployment, at one time three times as great as in 1929, was only twice as great in the middle of 1936, and falling rapidly. Social legislation proceeded apace; a striking example being the law securing four weeks' paid holiday annually for agricultural labourers in New Zealand.
>
> In discussing the recent "gold scare," the *Survey* argues that "the glut of gold in some countries and its scarcity in others reflects, not a superabundance of gold in general, but an international disequilibrium based upon fundamental economic and political, rather than monetary, causes . . . Only by a greater rise in prices in the gold-receiving than in the gold-losing countries, coupled with freer imports into the gold-receiving countries, could the flow be reversed and the stock of gold be more evenly distributed." Elsewhere it is pointed out that the inflow of foreign capital into the United States throughout 1935 and 1936 amounted to "over $3,500,000 daily, including Sundays and holidays."

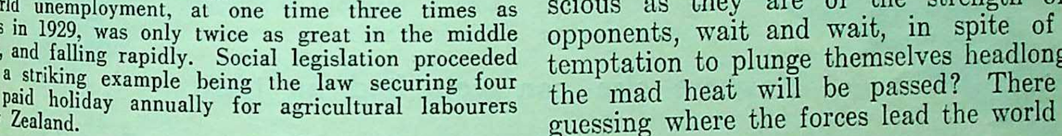
Are we again approaching the end of this cycle?

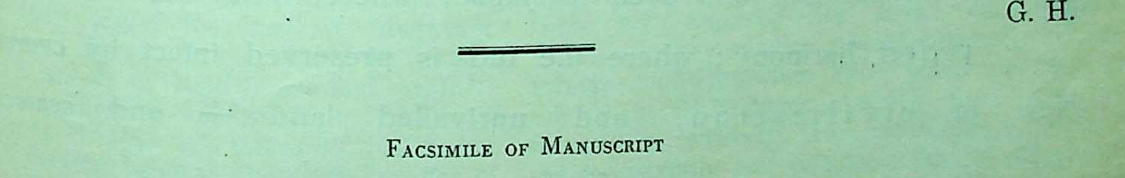
Economists have often put faith in their own science for a solution for the present troubles. They prophesy a break-down for Germany (Herr Shacht is no more the Economic dictator), an exhaustion for Japan, a failure of the Abyssinian investment of Mussolini. But we should remember that a people, which is in a mood to suffer privations for the sake of any vision, true or false, can put up with incredible difficulties. The Bolshevists proved it for long years, the Italians did the same during the Abyssinian campaign and are still doing so along with the Germans and the Japanese. Until the ship of state founders on some rock—probably a first class war—economics does not play the role that economists attribute to it.

And is the world drifting towards that cataclysmic fate? Or, will nations, fully conscious as they are of the strength of their opponents, wait and wait, in spite of every temptation to plunge themselves headlong, until the mad heat will be passed? There is no guessing where the forces lead the world today.

G. H.

Facsimile of Manuscript

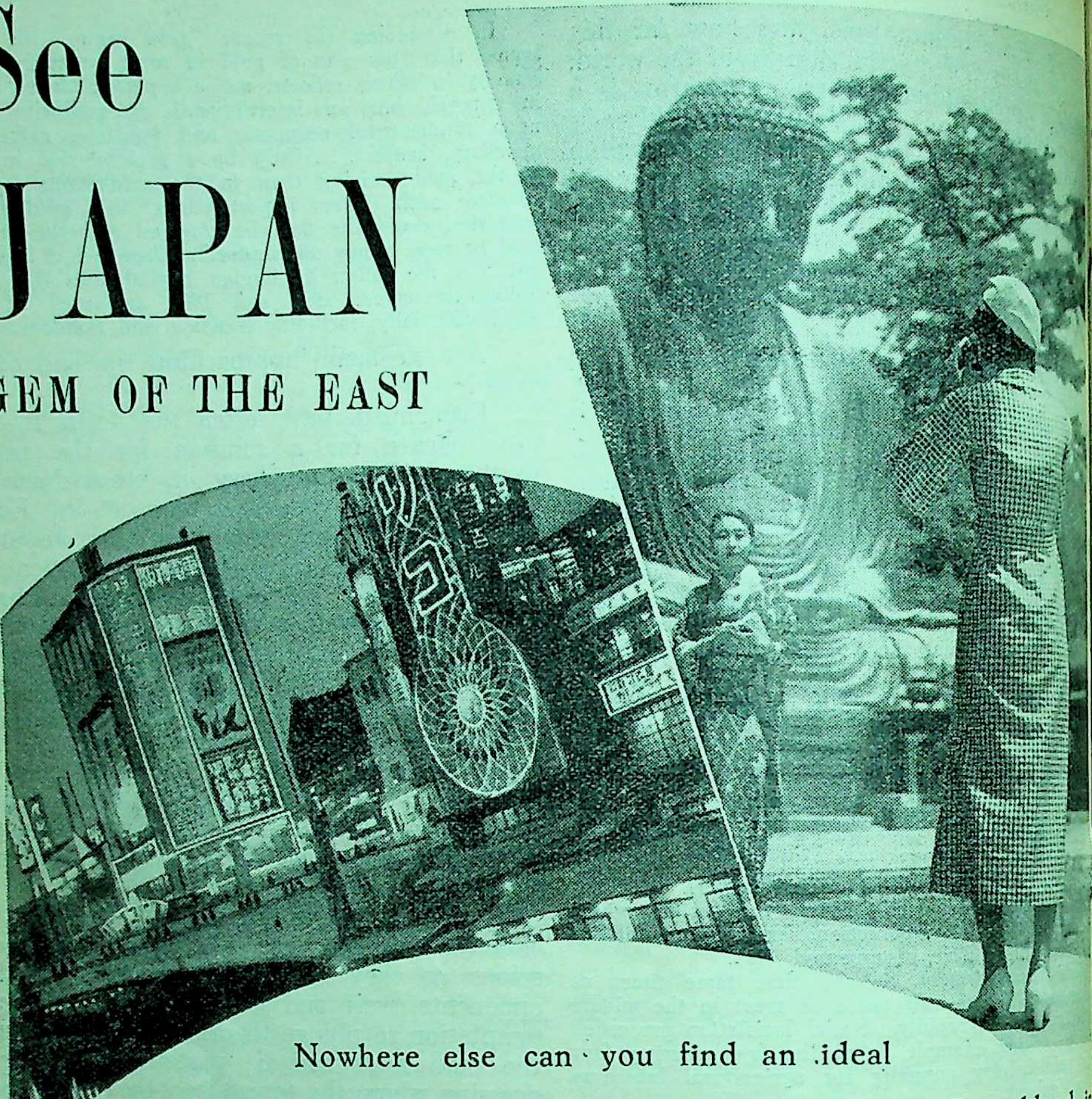




Kushan and Svastik coins

Bronze figures

[*See* Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State, p. 303]



See

JAPAN

GEM OF THE EAST

Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land — and sea-scapes

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWA

Notes

Mahatma Gandhi To Be Proposed For Nobel Peace Prize

A cablegram, dated Oslo (Norway), February 14, 1938, has it that "the Norwegian organization of the Friends of India states Mahatma Gandhi will be proposed as a candidate for this year's Nobel Peace Prize."

No worthier name can be proposed. It ought to have been proposed long ago. But, better late than never, as the proverb goes.

Among those who have received the Nobel peace prize up to date, there was no one who got it for having actually established peace in the world. They got it, because their work and influence were believed to make for peace.

The Nobel Peace Prize should go to one who works for world peace and who is absolutely opposed to war on any account, if such a person can be found. Mahatma Gandhi is such a man. He believes in *ahimsa* or non-violence, not as a mere policy, but primarily as a spiritual principle, which is also binding in the political and economic spheres..

If any wars be defensible and justifiable, they are those waged for freedom, liberation. independence. The question, therefore, arises, if all wars are to be condemned and avoided, what is the effective substitute for wars of independence which is morally justifiable. Mahatma Gandhi believes that *satyagraha*, of which soul force, civil disobedience, passive resistance are approximate free renderings, is such a substitute for war.

But is it an effective substitute, so far as the attainment of freedom and independence is concerned?

To have recourse to *satyagraha* for the attainment of freedom and independence and to take up arms for the same purpose are as poles asunder as means to an end. A sufficiently long period of time must be allowed for demonstrating the efficacy of the new method. Mahatma Gandhi has been doing all that is possible to ensure its success. Many a time he has risked his life in the pursuit of *satyagraha*. Many co-workers and followers of Mahatmaji have likewise done so. The result so far obtained is not unpromising.

One of the most potent causes of war is imperialism. Pacifism and imperialism cannot, therefore, go together. Mahatma Gandhi is opposed to imperialism. His pacifism is sincere. If a citizen of an imperialistic country wants to sincerely oppose war he must become an anti-imperialist. For imperialism promotes war either directly or indirectly. Without war no empire can be built up, and the preservation of an empire also necessitates war. Nor is this all. The very fact that a nation owns an empire and is in consequence wealthy and powerful, incites other nations to exert themselves to build up empires by means of aggressive wars. The last great world war, Italy's war in Abyssinia and Japanese aggression in China are examples.

Capitalism is nearly allied to militarism and imperialism. The capitalists of all industrial nations produce more manufactured goods by power-driven machinery in their big factories than are required for home consumption. Therefore they require foreign markets. If the foreign countries where these goods can be sold are their dependencies which are prevented directly or indirectly from remaining or becoming industrially self-sufficient, that is considered very lucky for the industrial nation. Hence all powerful industrial nations wish to have dependencies or subject countries, miscalled colonies, both for obtaining raw materials at cheap prices for manufacture and for the sale of manufactured goods. The obtaining of dependencies and keeping them in subjection involves war.

No means have yet been thought of and no steps taken to control and restrict the manufacture of goods in factories to such an extent as to obviate the evils of capitalism pointed out above. Unrestricted manufacture leads to economic war, which may lead and has often led to actual war.

All this shows that pacifism and capitalism as it exists today can not go together.

Mahatma Gandhi is for obtaining all the service to humanity that he can from all classes of men, including the wealthy. As he said in a speech at Quilon on the 16th January, 1937 :

> "If all the princes would call themselves servants of God, they would be correctly describing themselves, but they cannot be servants of God unless they are servants of the people. And if zamindars and monied men and all who have possessions would treat themselves as trustees and perform the act of renunciation that I have described, this world would indeed be a blessed world to live in."

Though Gandhiji has never declared himself in favour of any class war and has not denounced capitalism and capitalists in the way some other leaders of men have done, the very great importance which he attaches to spinning and hand-weaving and other village industries (which are all cottage industries), shows that he has discovered a key to world peace which many other pacifists have not perhaps done.

It is not our object here to discuss whether big factories and capitalism can be entirely dispensed with. In some places in India cotton mills cannot meet even provincial demands, and therefore whatever other evils may be due to them, they cannot lead to dumping and war. We wish only to show that Gandhiji's ideals and activities are all conducive to world peace.

As Gandhiji is against political and economic imperialism, so is he opposed to religious imperialism. Religious imperialism—the belief of some religious communities that their religion is the only true religion or that it is the best, and that all other communities must be converted to their faith, has in the past led to many wars, and may again, indirectly and in a disguised form, do so in the future. Gandhiji believes in the equality of all religions, is against proselytizing and is in favour of all men living according to the best ideals of their own religions and at the same time learning from other religions. He is thus against religious imperialism, which has been and may again be directly and indirectly the cause of many wars.

Here again it is not our intention to discuss whether it is right to rule out all conversions. Our object is merely to point out that Gandhiji's belief in the equality of all religions is calculated to promote peace and goodwill among the followers of all religions.

Racialism and racialists have caused many wars and may do so again. Mahatma Gandhi is not a racialist. He does not believe in the innate superiority of some races and is guilty of fomenting race hatred. He is a l of man. The life, character, idealism and w and deeds of a man like him are calculate promote peace and goodwill among men.

There is at present no man living in country who enjoys to a greater extent the and respect of a larger number of men of own country and of outsiders. That i makes for peace.

Britain's power and wealth, due dire and indirectly to India's subject condition, h roused the envy and jealousy of many nat leading them to aggressive attempts at sin self-aggrandisement. Therefore, one prin condition precedent to world peace is liberation of India. Among men now living one has been doing more for India's polit freedom and independence than he. This Mahatma Gandhi's last, but not the least, cl to recognition as the greatest living prom of world peace.

How India's Subject Condition Menaces World Peace

More than a decade ago the late Dr. J. Sunderland of America, than whom there ne was a greater friend of India in any fore country, pointed out in *The Modern Review* th it had been repeatedly declared by Europe statesmen that the real cause of the world w of 1914-1918 was India's subject conditi Great Britain's possession, for more than years, of so vast and rich an empire in A as India is, had been all the while kind jealousy, envy and lust of conquest in breasts of the other leading nations of Eur They had looked on with envy and said: Great Britain holds her vast and rich Ind possessions as the result of conquest, why sh we not also conquer rich and lucra possessions?

Herbert Adams Gibbons writes in his b *The New Map of Asia* :

> "No one can understand the foreign policy of G Britain, which has inspired military and dipl activities from the Napoleonic wars to the present who does not interpret wars, diplomatic conflicts, tr and alliances, territorial annexations, extensions protectorates, all with the fact of India constant mind."

This is true. For the larger part of wars which England has fought during the two centuries have been directly or indire caused by India. And perhaps England fo more wars during this period than any nation.

Lajpat Rai on Subject India As A Menace to World Peace

Lala Lajpat Rai wrote to a foreign friend of his:

> "The problem of India, that is, the problem whether great India is to be bond or free, is not only an important problem to Great Britain, but it is one of the gravest possible concern to the whole world. It is a question upon which, more perhaps than any other whatever, the future peace of Asia, Europe and the whole world depends.
>
> "India is such a huge slice of the earth and contains such an immense population, that no person interested in world affairs can ignore its importance. India's human potentialities of all kinds are very great. Commercially it is strategic for nearly half the globe. It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the Orient. This is why militarism and imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed. This is why India has inspired Alexanders, Tamerlanes, Napoleons, Wellesleys, Czars and Kaisers with visions of world-empire. This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy, her military plans and her imperial policy with a constant eye to strengthening her hold on India, her richest province, her greatest source of wealth and prestige. This is why she has carried on so many wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India, to weaken any nation that might endanger her possession of India."

As regards the future, the patriotic Lala went on to add :—

> "Nor will India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations, a source of endless plottings, jealousies, intrigues and wars, so long as she remains a subject people,—a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety and the only promise of peace and safety for the Orient or for Europe lie in her freedom; in her ceasing to be a pawn on the chessboard of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalistic plottings, and in her power to protect herself, a power which she will abundantly possess, if free. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace to the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one-fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage. We see, therefore, why the problem of India's freedom or bondage is not only a world problem, but a problem more fundamental to the world's peace and safety than any other whatever."

Consequence of the Subjection of India

Ever since the eighteenth century the subjugation of India by Great Britain has stirred up perpetual rivalries, jealousies, strifes, plots, hatreds and wars among the nations of Europe. That is but another way of saying that India held in subjection, held as a rich prize by one European nation and coveted by the rest, has been the leading influence in turning all Europe into an armed camp and thus making inevitable the terrible conflict which began in 1914. Nor can things be permanently better so long as India remains a subject land; that is, so long as this prime cause of the plottings, jealousies and hostilities of nations continues.

If about a quarter of a century ago Britain had admitted India to partnership within the British Empire, making her a self-ruling Dominion like Canada, Australia, etc., Germany would never have dreamed of her Berlin to Bagdad railway project. Germany went into the great war—which became a world war—believing that India was the British Empire's weak spot and that the Indian people would take the war as an occasion to revolt against their British rulers. Who knows whether Japan also is not labouring under some such misconception? This mistake would not have been made by Germany if India had been a free country or at least a contented partner in the British Empire, and in consequence there would not probably have been the last great world war.

On July 14th, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George, then the prime minister of Great Britain, sent a telegram to the prime minister of Russia saying :

> "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established from one end of Europe to the other."

He did not add, what was quite as true and quite as important: "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established *from one end of Asia (including India of course) to the other.*"

The Allies in the world war all saw plainly and declared that there could be no permanent peace in Europe unless Belgium was helped to remain free and Serbia and Poland were given freedom. Why could not they all see the same with regard to Asia, especially India? A few of them who saw this were overruled. All of them ought to have realized that a peace settlement, with India still in subjection, would leave her, as in the past, one of the principal danger spots, if not *the* danger spot of the world. And perhaps more than in the past, for India has risen to a new self-consciousness, to a new sense of her wrong and her humiliating condition, to a new determination to be free.

Key to World Peace in "Isopanishad"

In some of his speeches in Travancore last year Mahatma Gandhi gave lucid expositions of the first *mantra* or verse of *Isopanishad*. The last part of that verse, "*ma gridhah kasyasvid-dhanam,*" means, "do not covet anybody's wealth or possession." Referring to this and other precepts contained in the verse, Gandhiji said: "The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world, living at peace with all that lives." The injunction, not to covet anybody's wealth, is meant for individuals as well as for aggregates of individuals, such as classes, castes, communities, nations and races.

Ban on "Bharat me Angrezi Raj" Lifted

The Bombay Congress ministry and perhaps some other Congress ministries have lifted the ban on some books proscribed by the provincial governments concerned in previous years. One of the important publications thus proscribed was the Hindi book "Bharat me Angrezi Raj" by Mr. Sundarlal of Allahabad. For the preparation of this work Mr. Sundarlal asked the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., to permit him to translate the latter's monumental work, "Rise of the Christian Power in India." The permission sought was given and Mr. Sundarlal utilized it to very great advantage. Major Basu gave Mr. Sundarlal other books and material also from his library. Mr. Sundarlal collected some material himself. It is to be noted that the ban has been lifted unconditionally and without any reservation. The author will now be able to present the book again to the Hindi-reading public, if he chooses to do so. We are glad, those among the Hindi-reading public who do not know English will now become acquainted with some of Major Basu's historical researches.

Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress

When the Indian National Congress was given its present constitution in supersession of the previous one, it was perhaps intended, by limiting the number of delegates, to prevent the assemblage of delegates from reaching unwieldy proportions. Naturally that object has not been gained. For Congress being a growing body, the number of its delegates must go on increasing. Further limits must be imposed—and perhaps from time to time.

Another object was perhaps to make the holding of a Congress session less expensive than before. This object, too, has not been gained. It is said, the arrangements for holding the session at Haripura cost Rs. 7½ lakhs. And it is also said, Gandhiji asked in consequence rebukingly: "Where was the necessity to get things from Bombay, Ahmedabad and Paris?" Was plaster of Paris for the sculptures obtained from Paris? Or was something else im from Paris?

But another and a very important has been gained. Our village people— cularly in the province in which a par session of the Congress is held and specially those in the vicinity of the where it meets—have been brought into g and closer contact with this national org tion. And the mass of our people li villages. In the construction of the te ary town constructed for the session, material available in villages has been The labour of village artisans and craft has been utilized. Village women have p as great a part in the construction of the in keeping it clean and sweet and in prep and providing food for the delegates visitors, as village men. Conservatio women's special function in social life. once the new political and economic messa India has been brought home to the hu women dwellers in village huts, one may sure it will bear enduring fruit.

India's two principal news agencies, Associated Press and the United Press, have to the dailies a vivid description of the ope of the 51st session of the Indian National gress at Vithalnagar, Haripura.

> The fifty-first session of the Indian Nati Congress opened today at Vithalnagar in a amphitheatre, the open grandeur and simplicity of easily mark it out as the piece de resistance of the Nagar.
>
> With ten foot bamboo 'thatti' walls skirting round and its six huge gates, the ampitheatre pr the spectacle of a vast fortress with menacing battle from a distance.
>
> On a nearer approach the gates, particularly two main ones opening on the Jhanda Chowk, glorious examples of art with a distinct Oriental about them. Stepping into the arena past the tri curtains which hide the view of the interior throu gates one suddenly comes upon the vastness of the which bamboo 'thattis' hide from public view.
>
> **To Accommodate Three Lakhs**
>
> Oval in shape the amphitheatre which has planned to accommodate more than three lakhs have entailed the organisers the least labour for immensity. The natural lay of the ground mak immensely suitable for the purpose of a gathering. Sloping gradually from the river side ground suddenly rises in the opposite direction the leaders' dais on the opposite side. Neatly out enclosures for delegates from different pr visitors, the press, a spacious dais with galleries on side of it for the Reception Committee members crowning all, a brilliantly lighted rostrum with its outlines marked out by multicoloured lamps pre unforgettable spectacle of grandeur and orderlines
>
> **A Picturesque Crowd**
>
> A seething mass of humanity besieged all the vast amphitheatre where the open session is

---

held, an
volunteers
regulate
Long
vast visit
up. Villa
blankets
what to
Volunteer
stream o
the differ
outside v
At t
were ins
been fill
The dele
gallery,
villagers
letting t
their tur
kept pou
enclosure
shadows

A Haripura Village Woman

held, and, despite the orderly behaviour of the crowd, volunteers at various gates were hard put to it to regulate admission.

Long before the meeting was due to commence, the vast visitors' enclosures began slowly but steadily to fill up. Villagers, men, women and children, carrying blankets began to settle down in orderly fashion for what to them was a memorable event in their lives. Volunteers and 'Desh-sevikas' were busy directing the stream of visitors through the proper gates leading to the different enclosures while long rows of booking offices outside worked with feverish activity.

At ten minutes to five, over two lakhs of people were inside. One part of the visitors' enclosure had been filled, while the other was only partially filled. The delegates' enclosure and the Reception Committee gallery, however, were completely filled. Outside the villagers were squatting down patiently in their hundreds, letting the more impatient pass and waiting to take their turn. The gates were thrown wide open and people kept pouring in in their thousands and the vast visitors' enclosure was steadily filling. The sun was casting long shadows and in the mellow light of the setting sun, the presidential dais with the row of safron-saried Sevikas guarding it all round with their hands interlocked, presented a colourful picture. More Sevikas and volunteers lined all the routes inside the amphitheatre. In a high pitch of expectancy the crowds sat awaiting the presidential procession, when the band announced that the leaders had formed the procession from the presidential tent by the blue waters of the Tapti river. All eyes immediately turned towards the west and the entire gathering rose up in their seats.

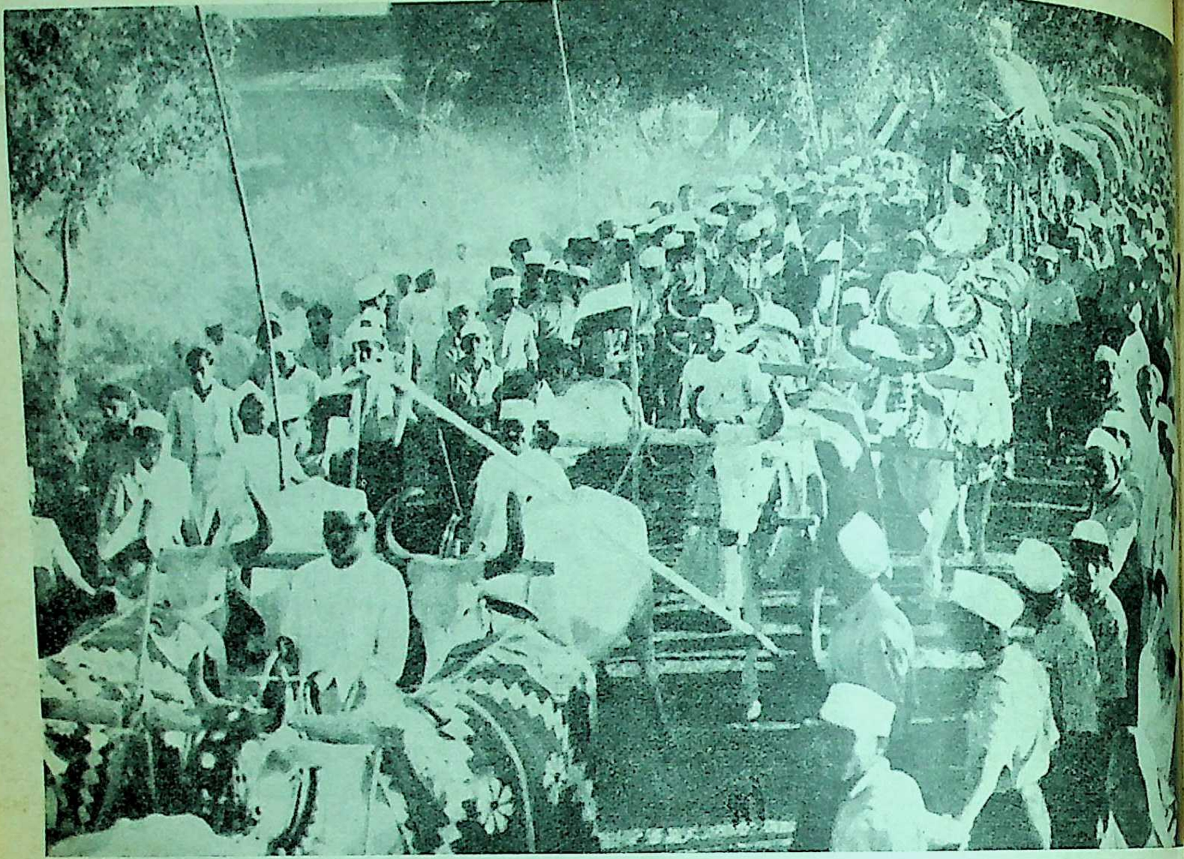
The Storm Abates

The dust storm continued even to-day and huts of many leaders and delegates suffered in consequence. The electric wires are reported to have snapped in many places and the electricians of Vithalnagar were kept busy repairing them and preventing damage and accident. A timely warning was also broadcast.

Despite the dust and cold visitors in thousands poured into the Congress camps and by evening every inch of the space in Vithalnagar was one solid mass of humanity moving towards the pandal where the open session is being held. By the time the session began, the storm abated and the atmosphere was calm.

Peasants and Kishans

In order to implement the fundamental idea underlying Gandhiji's suggestion of having village sessions of



President Subhas Bose being taken in procession from Haripura to Vithalnagar (Congress Camp)

Congress, the Reception Committee had granted concession to peasant and Kisan visitors from the interior and taking advantage of this offer nearly one lakh of them were present today. Besides these another one lakh of delegates, visitors and Reception Committee members also attended, while over two lakhs of people, mostly villagers, were outside the pandal. The entire area was fitted with loud-speakers and every word from the rostrum was distinctly audible from the farthest corner.

Presidential Procession

Just at 5-30 p.m. the presidential procession glided to the rostrum preceded by a band party of volunteers. The procession was in the following order:—Chairman of the Reception Committee, Durbar Gopal Desai and then in order of two, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai and Acharya Kripalani, Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram and Mr. Sanker Rao Deo, Mr. Narendra Deo and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Lord Samuel, who was present, was seen enthusiastically taking snapshots of the mass of humanity present in the enclosed natural amphitheatre.

Homage to the Mother

The 'Bande Mataram' song was sung in rich melody by a party of girls from Bengal. The spell cast by this song was marvellous and it was broken only by an equally soul-enthralling song, "Jana-gana-mana-adhinayaka" of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. As soon as the 'Bande Mataram' was set to tune the huge assembly rose silently to one man.

On the pedestal stood garlanded President Bo having Mahatma Gandhi to his right and Sardar Pa to the left.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee thereaf came to the rostrum and addressed the gathering thro microphone. In pindrop silence the gathering heard t Chairman's welcome with rapt attention. His referen to Bengal's contribution towards the development Indian nationhood in India and the compliments Sj. Bose were applauded.

President Bose then proceeded to the rostrum a slowly mounted the stairs amidst vociferous cheers a cries of 'Bande Mataram' and 'Subhas Bose Ki Jai.'

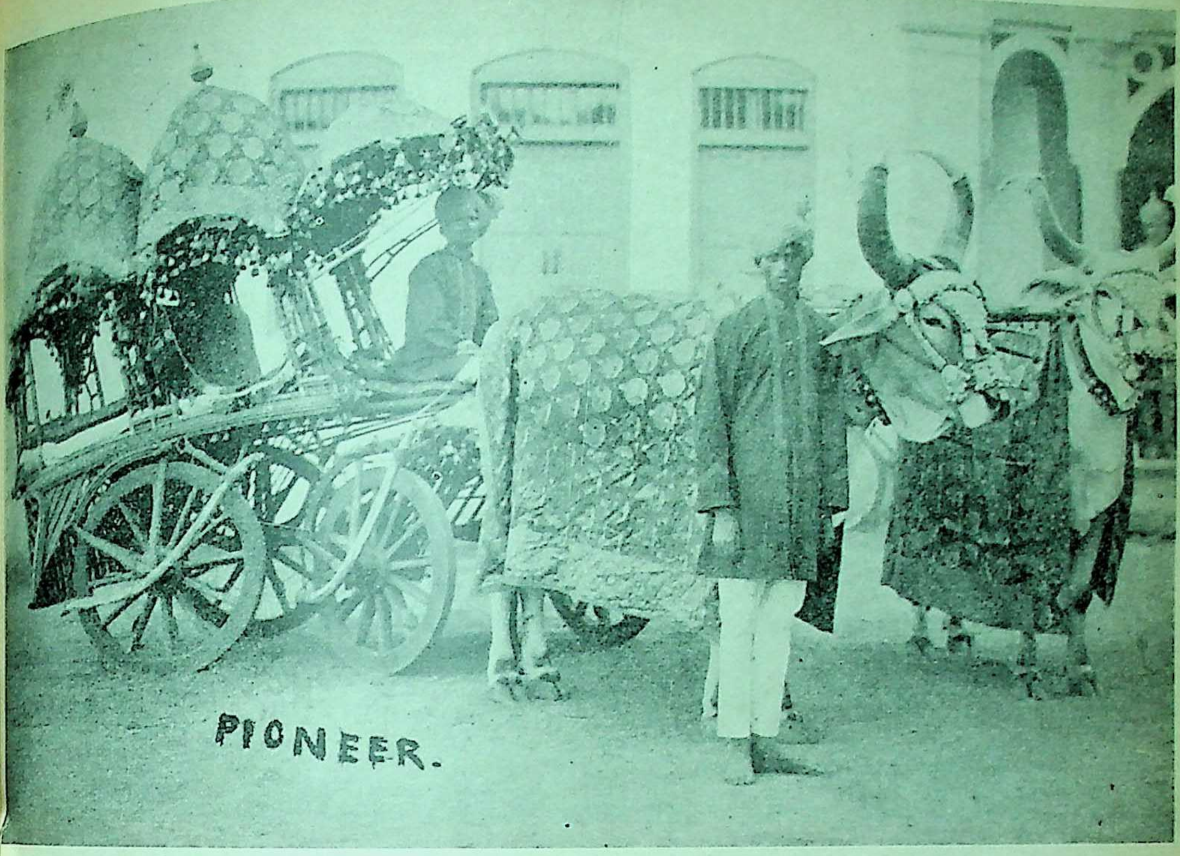
The revered old mother of Mr. Bose was cheered she came and took her seat on the women's enclosure.

President Bose at first addressed the vast gather in Hindi and spoke a few words on the pre constitutional crisis in two provinces in English.

(*A. P.* and *U. P.*)

Address of Darbar Gopaldas Desai

The address of Darbar Gopaldas De chairman of the reception committee of t Haripura session of the Congress, was brief a characteristic of the person who delivered He is well known in Congress history for sturdy patriotism, his democratic principles a practice, the fraternal help which he gave "harijans" in his estate when he owned



The chariot for Congress President at Haripura drawn by 51 bullocks

his sense of self-respect and adherence to Non-co-operation in spite of the "advice" of the political agent, and his sacrifices.

He said he was a soldier whose duty it was to carry out the orders of his chief, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, not to make speeches. He welcomed the delegates on behalf of Gujarat.

> My business is to welcome you to-day on behalf of Gujarat, and welcoming you as I do on behalf of businesslike Gujarat, I will make only a brief businesslike speech. My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well known, and in spite of the alteration in details that it has undergone, I think it is that programme that is going ultimately to help us to win our freedom. If value of truth and non-violence and of the constructive programme that they imply was great for the initial stages of struggle, it is greater while we are passing the middle stages and, God willing, are nearing the end of the journey. It is as a staunch believer in those basic principles and as a humble soldier that I have the honour to welcome you on the bank of the Tapti."
>
> "Since last year we have begun to hold the Congress session in the villages. Faizpur had the first honour, and we have had benefit of the experience gained there. I don't know how far we have succeeded in making full use of that experience, but what you see here is the result of the labour of hundreds of devoted volunteer workers, two of whom have laid down their lives here. Not only Gujarat but India mourns the loss of Pandit Khare, whom all of us miss here so much. My share in the work here is negligible. It is not for me to say how far we have succeeded. It will be for you to give your verdict after the end of this session. All I have to do to-day is to welcome you cordially on behalf of Gujarat, and especially on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli and Ras whose share has been not inconsiderable in making what history we have made. And in giving you a welcome, I would also beg you to bear with our many shortcomings, to be content with what comforts we have been able to provide, and not to mind the discomforts we have not entirely been able to avoid."

Referring to Bengal and the President-elect, he said :

> "We are blessed with the Presidentship of one whose life is one unbroken record of sacrifice and service and suffering. He comes from a province which has on all three previous occasions given to Gujarat the Presidents of the Congress, and which in suffering would easily take first rank among the provinces of the country. I hope and pray that under the wise guidance of our President, we may march farther forward to our goal, and add more glorious chapters to our history.
>
> "Subhas Babu, I request you to take the chair."

—(*A. P.*)

President Subhas Chandra Bose

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose is one of the youngest presidents which the Indian National Congress has had during its history of half a

President Subhas Bose, Kripalani, Patel and others arriving for the Subjects Committee Meeting in Haripura

century. Perhaps the youngest was Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who presided over the Benares session of the Congress in 1905, when he was 39. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru first presided over the Congress at Lahore, when he was 40. Sir Sankaran Nair was president at Amraoti in 1897, at the same age. Mr. Bose is 40.

Indian and foreign readers of Indian newspapers and periodicals, including our readers, know how well Mr. Bose is equipped intellectually for his work by his education, his political activities, his residence and travels in different countries of Europe, and his general experience. His services, his sacrifice and his sufferings in the cause of the country are also known to the country. His ability and his powers of organization had on one occasion to be mentioned by the Government apologist in the Central Assembly in order to justify his continued detention. Being a bachelor who is not obliged to earn his own livelihood, he can devote all his time and energy to the service of the country. All these facts led to his election to the high office which he occupies. They are also the grounds on which it is expected by Congressmen and many others that his incumbency of the presidentship of the Indian National Congress will be marked by some noteworthy achievement.

Mr. Bose's Presidential Address

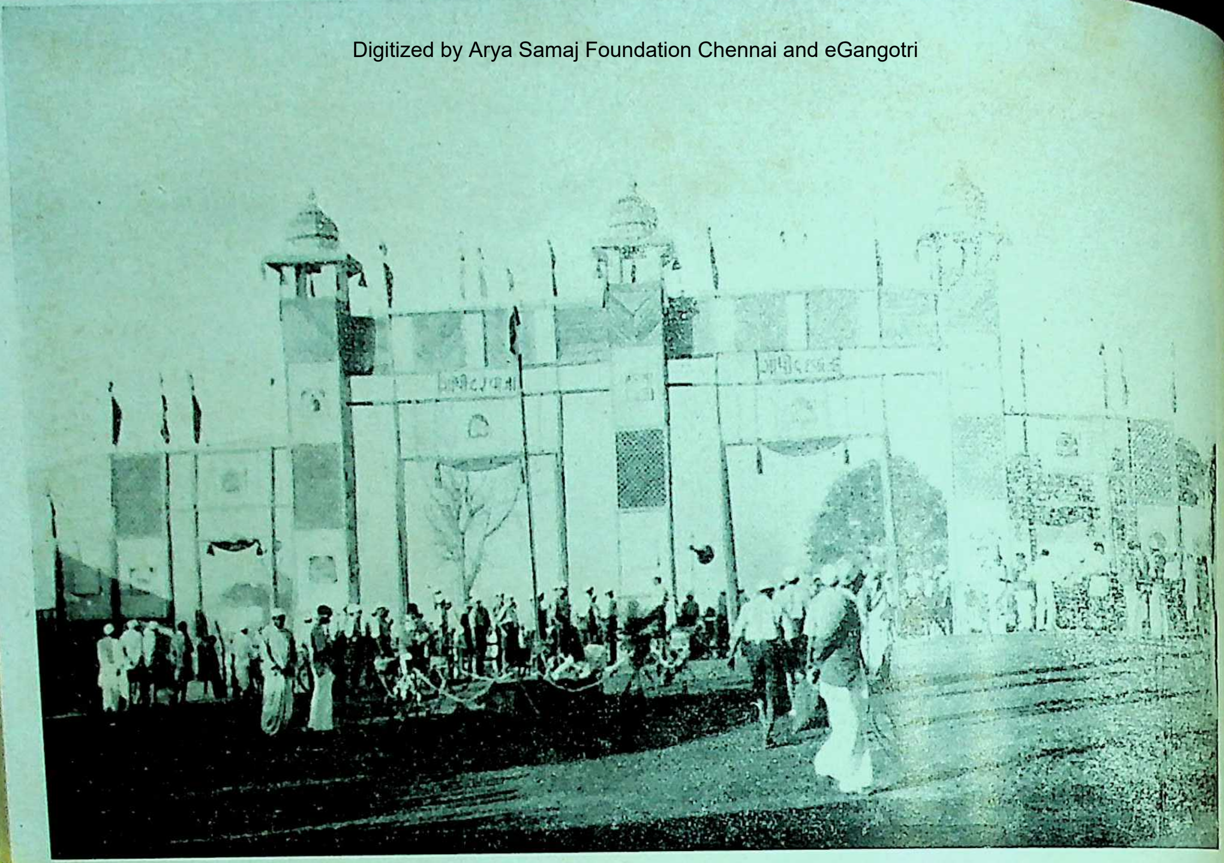
In his presidential address Mr. Subh Chandra Bose has very clearly and ably expre ed his views on the topics dwelt upon there It contains no purple patches, no flights oratory. Nor is there any attempt at timid diplomatic mystification. What he thinks a believes he has stated plainly and bold Whether one agrees with him or not, one mu recognise and appreciate this quality of speech. Perhaps we agree with him more th we disagree.

After paying a tribute to some illustri dead and homage to comrades in arms who h laid down their lives in prison or detention ca or after release therefrom, President B discoursed on—

What lesson Great Britain may learn fr the rise and fall of empires; How British Em may either become a federation of free nat or may break up ingloriously; Wider mean of India's struggle; Britain's Divide and R policy; Her problems within and outside

Bust of Vithalbhai Patel, unveiled
by the Congress President

Subhas Chandra Bose at Vithalnagar, Haripura,
wearing President's badge



The main Entrance Gate to the Exhibition at Vithalnagar, Haripura Congress

Mahatma Gandhi inspecting one of the stalls at the exhibition grounds at Vithalnagar, Haripura, before he opened the same.

empire; Balance of power in the world disturbed by the Air Arm; An independent federal republic as the goal of India; The problem of minorities in India; Opportuneness of the time for solving the communal problem, and how to do it; Satyagraha method to be followed in the coming struggle; Alternative methods after severance of British connection, and the Irish example; Congress organization to continue after winning freedom, and to rule after winning freedom; After-"victory" reconstruction to be on socialistic lines; Common national language and common world script; Restriction of population necessary; Eradiction of poverty by radical reform of land-system, extension of co-operative movement, scientific agriculture, and a comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownership and state-control; Gradual socialization of both entire agricultural and industrial systems in spheres of production and appropriation; Evil effects of office acceptance, and how Congress can be strengthened and consolidated while Congress ministers are in office; Role of Congress Working Committee as directing brain of fighters for freedom and as shadow cabinet of Independent India; How to oppose inauguration of Government scheme of federation; Detailed account of the defects of that scheme; Civil Disobedience the last weapon to fight federation; Need of disciplined volunteer corps for mass mobilization in freedom's fight; Trade Union Congress and Kishan Sabhas and their relations with Congress; Question of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations to Congress; Formation of the Congress Socialist party; Foreign policy of Congress; Foreign friends of India; Need of cultural and commercial contacts with all continents; Need of attending International Congresses and Conferences; Grievances of Indians Abroad; Question of Release of detenus and political prisoners; Duty of the public to alleviate misery of released detenus and political prisoners; Differences inside the Congress; and, Why India and the whole world stand in need of Mahatma Gandhi for many a long year to come.

Some Observations on the Presidential Address

TRANSFORMATION OR BREAK-UP OF BRITISH EMPIRE

If the passage in Mr. Bose's presidential address on the rise and fall of empires had stood alone, his observation there that the British empire "will either go the way of other empires or it must transform itself into a federation of free nations," might have led the reader to conclude that Mr. Bose would be satisfied if India became a free nation within the "British Commonwealth of nations." But other passages in the address show that he wants to sever the British connection and get rid of British domination first, and then India *may* as a free and independent entity enter into a treaty of alliance with Britain as with other nations.

SOCIALIST BRITAIN AND INDIA

He says that the transformation of the British Empire into a federation of free nations "will be possible . : . . . . only if Great Britain becomes a socialist state." Again, he says, "a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonization . . . . . " The juxtaposition of these two statements show that Britain's colonies and dependencies cannot become "free nations" unless Britain becomes a socialist state, and Britain cannot become a socialist state unless her colonies and dependencies cease to be such. That is somewhat like a vicious circle. But the two processes—of Britain "socializing" herself, and of her colonies and dependencies freeing themselves—can go on simultaneously.

It may be noted in this connection that the French Republic had recently had a socialist government at least once; but that government did nothing for "the liquidation of colonization" in the French Republic's empire abroad. Indian subjects of Britain may also remind themselves that the Labour government of Britain, which its opponents called a socialist government, did nothing to make India a free nation. So it is not improbable that a socialist Britain may like to continue to hold India in subjection unless in the meantime we assert our will to be free in an effective manner and thus inconvenience the imperialistic socialists of Britain *in posse*.

PLEASING THE MOSLEM

Describing Great Britain's embarrassments and problems caused by her dualism, her policy of divide and rule, Mr. Bose asks: "Will she please the Moslem or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine, the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq?" etc. But so far as India is concerned, Britain seems to have no problem. At least three decades ago she decided to please the Moslem, and has been doing so in all possible ways ever since.

The Indian National Congress also has decided to please the Moslem at all costs, though not in pursuance of the *divide et impera* policy. It may be doubted if that is the way to achieve real Hindu-Moslem unity.

MINORITIES

In dealing with the problem of minorities Mr. Bose has quoted in full "the latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October, 1937." The Congress, so far as we are aware, has never explained what kinds of minorities it will recognise as minorities, though in practice it recognises only religious minorities. And, like the British Government, it tries to please mainly the Mussalmans. The Congress lays the greatest stress on "our common interests, economic and political," but in practice it has not recognised economic or occupational minorities.

Then again, like the Government, the Congress appears to recognise only All-India minorities, not provincial minorities. Let us take an example. The Mussalmans are an All-India minority and the Hindus an All-India majority. But in Bengal the Hindus are a minority and the Mussalmans the majority. If protection is to be given to minorities, Bengal Hindus ought to have protection. But here Hindus, far from getting political protection, do not get even cultural protection at the hands of either the Government or the Congress. Bengal Mussalmans have got all sorts of protection. So the phenomenon of majority protection, unimagined by the League of Nations, has manifested itself in India.

THE COMMUNAL DECISION

In the All-India Congress Committe's authoritative pronouncement quoted by Mr. Bose, it is said :

> "The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.
>
> "In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim, which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India."

It has been pointed out again and again, *ad nauseam*, that the Congress opposition to the Communal Decision "as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian Unity," is practically of no value. For the Con has declared that a change in or supersessio the Communal Decision should only be bro about by the mutual agreement of the par concerned. In this declaration the Congress only said ditto to the British author the decision. The decision is apparently temporary arrangement but practically a per nent one. For the party which has bee gainer by it shows no inclination to give up of its advantages, but, on the contrary, w more advantages. And that is only natural

As for bringing about a change by mutual agreement of the parties concern Mr. Jinnah, a leader of one of the parties, h been approached by the Congress, but no C gress leader has even suggested that any Hi leader should be consulted.

Mr. Bose says : "We are eager to do very best to arrive at an agreed solu *consistent with the fundamental principles nationalism.*" As the Congress has decl that the Communal Decision is "anti-nation no agreed solution which does not scrap it be consistent with the fundamental principles nationalism.

'HAVES' AND 'HAVE-NOTS'

Mr. Bose says that when national rec struction takes place, it is the "have-nots" w will benefit at the expense of the "haves." T "haves"—the land-lords, the capitalists, &c are the economic or occupational minor There is to be no attempt at any agreed solu with this minority. For the socialists an Congressmen appear to believe that hu nature in India is different from that in West and therefore no war between fascism socialism need be apprehended in India. perhaps Indian socialists anticipate such a Some among them may even be eager for fray and may be willing to precipitate suc class-war. But what then would be the p of non-violence in the scheme of "national construction" "on socialistic lines" "after capture of political power" by the Cong Those whose homage to non-violence is not homage should be able to answer.

LINGUA FRANCA OF INDIA

Like all or most other Congress Mr. Bose takes it for granted that Hindi-U is or is to be the lingua franca of India. perhaps it would be wise to take note of opposition to such an assumption in some vinces, both in the north and in the south which Hindi-Urdu is not the mother-to

There are in India already so many bitter controversies that we do not wish to add to their number. Nevertheless we think the Congress would not lose by not ignoring the opposition to Hindi-Urdu as the proposed lingua franca. Even in an independent Asiatic country like Japan students in middle schools have to learn English, French or German. So our children also require to learn a European language (preferably English) for facilitating world contact, if for no other reason. Congress advocates of Hindi-Urdu no doubt say that they will not prevent boys and girls from learning English. Assuming then that they are to learn English also, boys and girls in non-Hindusthani-speaking areas will have to learn their mother-tongue, Hindusthani, English, and Sanskrit or some other classical language, in addition to the other subjects in the school curriculum. It is also to be noted that boys and girls in Hindusthani-speaking areas will have to learn one language less, and will thus be able to devote more time to the learning of other subjects.

A COMMON SCRIPT FOR INDIA

As for the adoption of a common script for the whole of India, Mr. Bose thinks the choice should be made in a thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit. The problem, he says, should be considered from the scientific and historical point of view. In his opinion there is nothing sacrosanct in a script. He has ceased to feel that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. He has realized that the adoption of the Roman script would give us the "great advantage" of having "the same script as the rest of the world." Now in Asia, even if we ignore India, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, etc., China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia and the Moslem countries have scripts different from the Roman. Some North African regions use the Arabic script. Palestine Jews have the Hebrew script. In Europe the biggest region, *viz.*, Soviet Russia, has a script different from the Roman. Greece also has a different script. Germany has not yet wholly adopted the Roman script. Therefore, it is not correct to say that by adopting the Roman script, we shall have the advantage of having the same script as "the rest of the world." Mr. Bose thinks that the Roman script will facilitate the learning of a European language. But if India adopts the Roman script, the vowels and some of the consonants will have different sounds from those which they have in some of the European languages. Mr. Bose has used the word "scientific" more than once in this connection. We do not know in what sense or senses he has used it. But the Roman alphabet and script is certainly less scientific than Sanskritic ones. We do not say all this to oppose the adoption of Roman—we have a somewhat open mind on the subject. What we want is that all arguments should be couched in precise and exact language.

ADOPTION OF FOREIGN SCRIPT AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE

There is a great difference between the adoption of a foreign script and the adoption of a foreign language as our lingua franca. But if Congressmen do not pooh-pooh the idea of adopting a foreign script, they may tolerate the discussion of the proposal made by some persons in South India that English should be India's lingua franca.

RESTRICTING GROWTH OF POPULATION

The question of restricting the growth of population cannot be discussed within the limits of this note. We wish only to suggest that migration to sparsely inhabited regions in and close to India should also be tried. Perhaps it ought to be tried before artificial means are thought of for preventing the growth of population.

DEFECTS OF GOVERNMENT FEDERAL SCHEME

Pointing out in detail the defects of the Government federal scheme, Mr. Bose observes :

> The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless, the rulers of the States, not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. In these circumstances, there is no possibility, in my opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time.

But, though Mr. Bose's exposure of the defects of the federal scheme is very elaborate, he does not mention the fact that, though the Hindus are more than 70 per cent. of the population of British India, they have been given only 42 per cent. of the seats in the British India part of the Federal Assembly. This is reducing a majority to a minority with a vengeance. But Mr. Bose does not say that this is one of the reasons why "there is no possibility, in [his] opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the federal scheme at any time." Taking a narrow view of the matter, one would call it a Hindu grievance. Even as such it should be noted and strenuous attempts ought to be made to remedy it. But in reality it is not a mere Hindu grievance. The reduction of the Hindu majority to the position of a minority in the Federal Assembly is one of the principal means adopted to make nationalism powerless in that body. For it is the Hindus who have hitherto been and who continue to be Nationalists par excellence. When Moslems also become such, we will be among the first to proclaim the advent of that glorious day from the housetops.

AFFILIATION OF WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. Bose has dealt with the question of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations. We could wish he had dealt with students' organizations also. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has recently expressed the opinion, it is reported, that students should not take active part in politics—whatever that may mean. What does Mr. Bose think? Should students have their own separate *political* organizations? Mr. Bose's answer to these questions would have been useful.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURE CONTACTS

Mr. Bose's observations on international cultural contacts by means of holding art exhibitions in foreign countries, exhibiting Indian films in foreign countries, attending international congresses and conferences, and similar other ways, show his breadth of outlook. There are some such conferences with which the British Government has something to do. There are others with which it has nothing to do. For example, the international P. E. N. Congresses, some world educational conferences, etc. Shrimati Sophia Wadia, Miss Kapila Khandwala, Dr. Kalidas Nag and a few other persons have attended one or more of them.

New Features in Mr. Bose's Presidential Address

In the discussion of so many topics of the day, one cannot help repeating oneself or reiterating what others have said. But what is repeated does not thereby lose any value. And Mr. Bose has a way of his own in repeating old things. We do not mean to say that he has not said much that is new or anything that is new. So far as we are aware no previous speaker has outlined the policy or policies to be adopted after the severance of the British connection, considered who will rule after freedom has been won, sketched out a plan of socialistic reconstruction, described the function of the Working Committee as the shadow cabinet of independent India, stressed the great importance of educating and training a Volunteer Corps, and emphasised the urgency of developing international cultural and commercial cont While sojourning abroad, he pointed out t India ought to have bilateral trade agreem with foreign countries.

Marks of Foreign Experience in Presidential Address

His address bears marks of the experi he has acquired abroad.

His visit to Turkey has made him real that the adoption of a foreign script is necessarily anti-national.

In the course of the discussion of t question who will rule after freedom has be won, he states :

> Looking at post-war Europe we find that only those countries has there been orderly and contin progress where the party which seized power under the work of reconstruction. I know that it will be arg that the continuance of a party in such circumstan standing behind the State, will convert that State int totalitarian one; but I cannot admit the charge. T State will possibly become a totalitarian one, if there only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany a Italy. But there is no reason why other parties sh be banned. Moreover, the party itself will have a de cratic basis, unlike, for instance, the Nazi Party which based on the "Leader principle." The existence of m than one party and the democratic basis of the Congre Party will prevent the future Indian State becoming totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of th party will ensure that leaders are not thrust up the people from above, but are elected from below.

Discussing India's policy after severance the British connection, he expresses the opinion

> When that severance takes place and there is trace left of British domination, we shall be in position to determine our future relations with Gre Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily ente into by both parties. What our future relations w Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to s That will depend to a large extent on the attitude the British people themselves. On this point I have be greatly impressed by the attitude of President De Vale Like the President of Eire, I should also say that have no enmity towards the British people. We fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest libe to determine our future relations with her. But we have real self-determination, there is no reason w we should not enter into the most cordial relations w the British people.

To show how the Working Committee m function as the shadow cabinet of independ India, Mr. Bose draws attention to recent Iri and Egyptian history.

> This is what President De Valera's Republ Government did when it was fighting the Bri Government and was on the run. And this is what executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it into office. The members of the Working Commi while carrying on their day-to-day work sh accordingly study the problems they will have to tac in the event of their capturing political power.

In explaining the difficulties and the partial ineffectiveness of the Congress ministries President Bose writes :

> In every country, the Ministers come and go, but the steel frame of the permanent services remains. If that is not altered in composition and character, the Governmental Party and its Cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps, in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent .services who really rule in every country. In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition. Their outlook and mentality is in most cases neither Indian nor national. A national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality.

Regarding India's indefeasible right to end British exploitation and check British competition, it is stated in the presidential address :

> The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account. I would like, in this connection, to cite the Irish parallel. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping law, aircraft, as also in connection with special privileges which it is thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals, such as those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal right in the State of Eire (or Ireland) on the basis of British citizenship, which is not recognised there. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

As regards the training of a volunteer corps, Mr. Bose thinks:

> A disciplined volunteer corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover, education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through summer schools and other institutions—and is a speciality in totalitarian states. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have. Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training are quite different from theirs, it will be admitted on all hands that a thorough, scientific training is a requisite for our workers. Further an institution like the Labour Service Corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and, with suitable modification, may prove beneficial to India.

In the matter of our foreign policy also, we should learn from other countries.

> I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her treaty of alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean. . . . We should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its state. We shall find in every country, men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a Communist State, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-Socialist States and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should, therefore, aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India. To create and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary.

Extempore Addition to Presidential Address

President Subhas Chandra Bose's address was prepared and printed before the ministerial crisis in Bihar and the United Provinces. Hence he had to supplement the passages in the printed address on detenus and political prisoners by extempore remarks, in the course of which he referred to the ministerial crisis and the Working Committee's resolution on it. He said :

> "Congress is entirely in the right and the Governors and the Governor-General are entirely in the wrong. You will remember that before the Congress Ministries took office they were given the definite assurance that there would be no interference in the day-to-day administration. The recent actions of the Governors of the U. P. and Bihar constituted a violation of this promise. The interpretation of section 126(5) given by the Governor-General, in my opinion, is based on a misconception of the Government of India Act. It is for the Ministers alone to assume the fullest responsibility for the administration of 'law and order.' The Working Committee had adopted a correct attitude which, he had no doubt, would be supported by the A.-I. C. C. and the open session."

Haripura Congress Session Resolutions

The important resolutions which the Indian National Congress passed at its three days' session at Haripura numbered seventeen. They were on the following subjects :

(1) The ministerial crisis in the United Provinces and Bihar; (2) Government scheme of federation; (3) The Indian States; (4) Kishans; (5) Rights of Minorities; (6) National Education; (7) Foreign Policy and the danger of war; (8) Indians overseas; (9) The Zanzibar situation; (10) China; (11) Palestine; (12) Excluded areas; (13) Retrocession of villages in Ajmer-Merwara; (14) Condolence

resolution; (15) Release of Rani Guidallo of the Nagas in Assam; (16) Kenya; (17) Midnapore Congress organisations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Seats in Legislatures

In the course of one of his speeches at Haripura Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have made a remark to the effect that the number of seats occupied in the legislatures of India by members of the different religious communities or sections of the people, was a trivial matter. If the franchise enjoyed by the people were on a democratic and nationalistic basis, if the constituencies had been formed on democrtic principles, and if every voter in a constituency had the right to vote for any candidate in his constituency he liked, irrespective of the religious community or section of the people to which the candidate belonged, then it would not have mattered much how many members of particular communities or sections of the people chanced to capture how many seats on the result of a particular general election. For, if the result of a particular general election proved detrimental to the cause of democracy or of nationalism, the next general election or some future general election might be expected to set matters right. But, if by law seats are given to different communities, classes or sections with the transparent and deliberate object of neutralizing the forces of democracy or of nationalism, surely the disproportionately large number of seats given to some communities, etc., in order that they may act as allies of an alien autocracy, is not a trivial matter.

In his presidential address Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has observed that one reason why the Congress cannot possibly alter its attitude towards the British federal scheme at any time is that the rulers of the States, not their subjects, had been given a disproportionately large number of seats in the federal legislature. His objection is twofold: Considering the population of the States, so many seats ought not to have been given to them; and, considering that the rulers are autocrats and would support the British alien autocracy, the seats assigned to the States should not be filled by nominees of the rulers. Now, it is a fact that in the British-ruled provinces of India seats have been given to minorities like the Moslems, the Europeans, etc., in excess of what they could have captured by virtue of their numbers and ability in open competition with other communities; and it is also a fact that this has been done because the members belonging to the Moslem, European and other favoured communities are expe to side with the British alien autocracy.

Therefore the assignment of seats to favoured communities in British India is o to the same objection as the allocation of s to the States. If, so far as the States concerned, the number of seats given to t rulers had been a trivial matter, Mr. Bose w not have mentioned it as one of the reas for the Congress opposition to the fed scheme.

Is the distribution of seats among communities in the legislatures of the Brit ruled provinces and in the federal legislatur trivial matter because it is the Hindus have been wronged by it?

We would ask Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru other Congress leaders to forget for a mom that it is the Hindus who have suffered to consider that the distribution of seats been a blow to Indian nationalism. among Indian nationalists, the Hindu elem naturally predominates in number and qual That may be an unpleasant fact to s classes and persons. But it is a fact. So more the Hindus are prevented from enter the legislatures by artificial means, the m must the cause of democracy and national suffer and be weakened.

So the distribution of seats is not a trivi matter.

It is because in six provinces the Hin could not be reduced to a minority in spite weightage being given to the Moslems, that Congress has been able to become the strong party in the legislatures there, and has avai itself of the opportunity to strengthen consolidate its position. It is because Hindus have been reduced to a minority in Federal Legislature by artificial means, t the Congress is not expected to be the strong party in it and may not be able to do national reconstruction work through it.

It is because of the distribution seats for bolstering up imperialism the Congress is not the strongest party the Bengal legislature. Those who live u communal raj in Bengal know that seats in legislature are not negligible things. E branch of the public service and all aspects the life of the people in Bengal are b affected for the worse by the communal dec

The non-Congress ministries and gover of Bengal and the Panjab are unwilling release their political prisoners before the ex of their terms of imprisonment. It is to these ministries and governors from pr that Lord Linlithgow has prevented the re of political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar and thus brought about a crisis. The ministries in Bengal and the Panjab would have been Congress ministries and there would not have been ministerial crises in U. P. and Bihar of the present kind, if there had not been a biassed distribution of seats owing to the communal decision.

Hence, the distribution of seats is not a trivial matter.

Hindu-Moslem Unity

Congress leaders appear to think that Hindu-Moslem unity can be achieved by practically accepting the Communal Decision and in addition agreeing to any further communal demands made by communally-minded Mussalmans. That would certainly bring about a kind of *Congress*-Moslem unity. But it will not be *Hindu*-Moslem unity. For Hindu Congressmen are not the whole of Hindudom, and non-Congressite Hindus still count and will continue to count, until Congress becomes broad-based on the entire Indian people's will by really nationalising and democratising itself.

Though outside the Congress, we believe in the Congress political goal and also believe that India ought to reach that goal by continuing to adopt non-violent methods.

We have not made any sacrifices for advancing the cause of Indian freedom, nor have we suffered *lathi*-charges and imprisonment. Nevertheless we may be permitted to observe that the initial mistake made by the Congress was to declare that it neither accepted nor rejected the Communal Decision. It ought to have rejected it outright and stood frankly and boldly for democratic and nationalistic principles. Had it done so, we are sure it could have retained or enlisted some nationalist Mussalmans in its rolls. That number, of really nationalist Mussalmans, would have gradually increased.

It has been reported that the number of Moslem nationalists is one lakh. How many of them have joined the Congress in the expectation that it would continue to practically support the communal decision and in addition concede further Moslem communal demands, is not known. Nor is it known how many have accepted the Congress creed unconditionally and without any mental reservation.

We are not only for Hindu-Moslem unity but also for the unity of all communities, classes, castes and sections of the Indian people.

An "Un-hearable" Song?

It was a good suggestion, perhaps made first by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, that some trained singers from Bengal should go to Haripura to sing "Bande Mataram" there. They went there and their music was highly appreciated. Though none of the reports in the papers which we have seen states that only the first few lines approved by the Congress were sung at Haripura, we may take it that it was so. But we are curious to know whether at any gathering which was not a meeting of the Congress or of any Congress Committee, the whole song was sung. We should be sorry to think that the singers were taken at so much expense to such a distant place to sing only the less important part of the song. We are not for any Congress body disobeying the Congress. But surely there would be no harm in gatherings other than formal Congress gatherings listening to the whole song.

But one cannot be sure.

In India there are men who are "untouchable." There are others whom many very sensitive persons at their meals must not see. They are "un-seeable." There are others again, who must not come nearer the same sensitive men than, say, 100 or 50 yards. We are unable to coin an epithet which will describe them axactly—"unapproachable" will not do. And there are also those whose shadows must not fall on these men of fragile purity. You can't call them "un-shadowable." There are harmless lunatics in this world. But these hereditary lunatics of India cannot be called harmless.

But we are digressing.

What we want to say is that, seeing that in India there are men who are "untouchable," "un-seeable," "un-approachable" (?) and "un-shadowable" (?), it would not be surprising if a song were considered "un-hearable" in great part.

Gogonendra Nath Tagore

In Gogonendra Nath Tagore, who died last month at the age of 71, India has lost a prominent artist. He was the eldest brother of Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore, founder of the Bengal school of painting. Gogonendra Nath did not exactly belong to the school founded by his youngest brother. He had a style of his own, or rather different styles for different kinds or classes of pictures. His Himalayan series, his landscapes, his illustrations of Rabindranath Tagore's "Reminiscences" and

"Gitanjali," his life-story of the Vaishnava prophet Sri Chaitanya, his Bengal village scenes, and his cartoons were masterpieces. Many of these appeared in the Bengali magazine "Prabasi." His cubist pictures were not executed in any style copied from Western cubists. His cubism was original and was his own.

More about his achievement and genius as a painter will be found in the two articles on him which appear elsewhere in this issue.

He was the founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Art and was prominently and closely connected with it for many years. He was also a founder of the Bengal Home Industries Association. The club, named "Vichitra," which was located at Rabindranath Tagore's Jorasanko "parlour-house," and which had for its object the cultivation of art and literature, was founded by Rabindranath Tagore and his two nephews Gogonendra Nath and Abanindra Nath.

Gogonendra Nath excelled also as an actor. Those who have seen him in Rabindranath's "Phalgooni" and "Baikunther Khata" will never forget his acting.

To many authors and artists he was a generous giver. A few of them had their *pucca* houses built at his cost. How he helped the national cause is known only to a few.

The magnificent collection of Indian and other paintings and other works of art which the family residence of the brothers Gogonendra Nath, Samarendra Nath and Abanindra Nath contains, is perhaps worth a few lakhs.

He was one of nature's gentlemen and the pink of courtesy. Even a half-hour passed in his company gave one an idea of the old-style cultured nobleman of Bengal.

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani

Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, who died last month full of years and honours, was in a sense the maker of modern Bhavnagar. He served that State in various capacities, including the highest, and his services to it have done it lasting good. Among Indian statesmen in Indian States he was the first to introduce prohibition in a State, and thus set an example to other States and British India. During the last decade he had much to do with the Indian federation movement. As one who thoroughly understood the British Indian and the Indian States points of view in relation to federation, he did his best to reconcile and bring the two closer together.

"Communal Poison Invades Britain"

The Indian Social Reformer writes u the caption printed above:

> You cannot touch pitch without some of it ad to your fingers. That British methods of Indian ad tration must eventually affect the methods of admi tion in Britain itself, was long foreseen by state like John Bright. The communal principle which now ousted all other principles—right and wrong and unjust, true and false,—in important sphere Indian policy, is beginning to have its repercussi Great Britain. . . . Col. Wedgwood wanted to know many of His Majesty's ambassadors and minister foreign countries were Roman Catholics. Mr. An Eden refused to answer the question. "Members of diplomatic service," he said, "are not required at time to state the church to which they belong. Any enquiry would, in my view, imply a reversion to standpoint of religious discrimination happily aban in this country for over a hundred years." He m have added, "and introduced in India thirty years a Indian Ministers are constantly pestered with ques as to the number and names of persons of different c and castes engaged in Government jobs ranging f judges to sweepers. No Minister dares to reply Mr. Eden did that he would on no account condes to reply to such inquisitorial interpellations.

Why should provincial ministers or t members of the Governor-General's Cou refuse to answer such questions? As they car out the policy of the British Government, it their duty to answer them.

British imperialists think that "the stan point of religious discrimination" is poison f Britain but nectar for India.

Burma Government's Courageous Statesmanship

The Burma Government has decided release all political prisoners and to lift ban on books dealing with advanced politi and economic thought. The political prison who are to be released in Burma include those who were involved in the recent rebell and they were not non-violent rebels. T courageous and statesmanlike decision se two purposes. It restores to useful citizens energetic men who would otherwise have r in jail for some time longer and thus incre the peaceful man-power of the country, an makes the Government popular. The pris are put on their honour. If they behave ourably, which we hope they will, both t and the country become gainers. If they not, the Government which was powerful en to imprison them can send them to again.

Mysore Too Releases Political Prisoners

Last month the Mysore Government, too, ordered the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of pending political cases.

Madras Government Releases Scores of Prisoners

When the controversy over the ministerial crisis was raging, the Madras ministry was quietly busy releasing scores of prisoners, and there were among them men guilty of crimes of violence, too.

So there **is** *some* provincial autonomy so far at least as the release of prisoners is concerned! Lord Linlithgow *has* allowed the Madras Government to be autonomous

Crimes of violence committed by non-political prisoners are not crimes of violence!

The "Nagar", The Bust and The Will of Vithalbhai Patel

The people of Gujarat, who held the most successful session of the Congress at Haripura, have honoured their great patriot, the late President Vithalbhai Patel, by naming the temporary Congress town 'Vithalnagar' and by placing a bust of him there of superhuman size.

But those who had and have it in their power to give effect to his will, by which he directed a lakh of rupees left by him to be used for foreign publicity purposes in the interest of India, have dishonoured him by acting contrary to his intentions.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose must have unveiled his bust with mingled feelings.

Ministerial Crisis in U. P. and Bihar

The Congress ministries in U. P. and Bihar wanted all the political prisoners still in prison there to be released simultaneously. The governors of the two provinces, as advised or ordered by the Governor-General, stood in the way of such wholesale release. So the ministries have resigned.

On first thoughts, both the parties may appear to have acted somewhat precipitately. For, the release of political prisoners individually had been going on in these provinces and the ministries have been pressing the governors thereof to agree to wholesale release during the last six months. Seeing that the ministers had waited so long as six months, one might ask. "why could not they hold their souls in patience a little longer?" And, as regards the governors, one might ask, "as they had previously released some political prisoners individually and were prepared to consider the release of the remainder individually, surely they could have agreed to the release in one province of about a dozen and in another of less than three dozen at once—that would not have set all the rivers in the two provinces on fire."

The Congress ministries in the two provinces had very good reasons for not waiting longer. They had won the elections on their election manifesto, in which one of the promises made was the release of political prisoners. And they had accepted office in order to be able to fulfil the promises made in the manifesto. The session of the Congress was imminent. They knew and felt that they would be called upon there to tell Congressmen what they had done to redeem their promises. It would not do to plead that the governors did not allow them to do what they wanted to do. They would be told that in that case their duty was to resign—they had already had ample time to release the political prisoners.

That the U. P. and Bihar ministries would have been called upon at Haripura to explain why they had not carried out the promise to release political prisoners, if they had not in the meantime resigned, is quite clear from the passage devoted to the "burning topic of the day," "the release of detenus and political prisoners," in Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's presidential address, which was written before the ministerial crisis. There Mr. Bose said:

> "The recent hunger-strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focussed public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite release. So far as the Congress Ministries are concerned, it would be well to note that the record of some of them has not come up to public expectation. The sooner they satisfy the public demand, the better it will be for the Congress and for the people who are suffering in provinces ruled by non-Congress Ministries. It is not necessary for me to labour this point and I fervently hope that in the immediate future, the public will have nothing to complain so far as the record of the Congress Ministries on this point is concerned."

All these considerations have led us to conclude that the U. P. and Bihar ministers have not acted precipitately. Their action has been quite proper. According to the Government of India Act, they are in charge of law and order. Their electors and the public at large hold them responsible for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity. If they be not given effective power to do what they want to, they should not be made responsible for what happens.

The Governor-General and the Governors of Bihar and U. P. have acted on the British imperialist assumption that the British rulers of India are more interested in maintaining peace and tranquillity, are more anxious to preserve peace, and know better what makes for peace, than the chosen leaders of the people. If this assumption be correct, law and order ought not to have been placed under the charge of Indian ministers. If, as we believe, this assumption is not correct, the ministers ought to have been made really responsible for law and order and given power unreservedly corresponding to the responsibility. What the Government of India Act has done is to make them responsible, but at the same time to keep the final power in the hands of the governors and the governor-general. The transference of power to Indian hands is a make-believe.

But even under the Act as it is, the Governor-General and the Governors need not have acted as they have done. The U. P. and Bihar ministries have proved clearly and effectively that they are both willing and able to tackle violence on the part of released prisoners and others. If the political prisoners whom they wanted to release were guilty of violence or incitement to violence after release, surely powerful police departments in the two provinces would be able to bring them to book. After all they were not even four dozen all told. Moreover, the ministers concerned had interviewed the prisoners in jail in the presence of the jail superintendents, and every one of them had said that they had ceased to believe in methods of violence. They knew they would be put on their honour and would be marked men. Under the circumstances, there was every hope of their becoming peaceful and useful citizens after their release.

The fact should also be taken into consideration that these interviews with the prisoners individually satisfied to an important extent the condition of consideration of their cases individually, insisted upon by the Governors.

In our opinion the Governors ought to have given their advice to the ministers frankly and left them free to take it or reject it. If the release of the prisoners in question led to disturbances with which the ministries could not cope—we are sure such a thing would not have happened, then the Governors could have taken any steps the law empowered them to do.

The British rulers of India ought to remember that in the long decades before Indian ministers had been nominally placed in charge of law and order, when these rulers were solely and really responsible for India's internal calm, unrest, communal and other riots and other turbances had been of frequent occur That shows that they are neither so wis so efficient as regards the maintenance of in peace and tranquillity as they consider t selves to be. Why not then allow I ministers to have a fair try?

There ought to be a limit to overwe conceit even on the part of British imperia

Not being constitutional lawyers, we d wish to say whether the Governor-General within his legal right to intervene in accord with sub-section (5) of section 126 of Government of India Act. But this we can that he has not acted properly in interfe with the U. P. and Bihar ministries' decisio release all political prisoners. It is ridic to think or to suggest that the peace tranquillity of these provinces—not to speak those of India—would have been jeopardised the release of a few political prisoners. Som the political prisoners are not the only priso guilty of crimes of violence. There are oth more numerous guilty of similar offences. Ev day, in all provinces, many of them are relea on the expiry of their terms of imprisonm *without their word of honour being given t they would in future refrain from acts violence.* If their release, day after d throughout the year,—and there may be scor of such released on a single day in a province does not give rise to apprehensions of distur ance of public peace in gubernatorial min we do not see why the simultaneous release o lesser number of political prisoners who h abjured methods of violence and given th word of honour to refrain from violence sho rouse such fears. Perhaps the gubernato mind really apprehends increased non-viol political activity directed towards the att ment of freedom, not recrudescence of viole It does not want any sudden accession of n workers in the ranks of Congressmen who non-violently active in the cause of Ind freedom.

It may be that the Governor-General more anxious for the indirect effect of the rele of the U. P. and Bihar political prisoners Bengal and the Panjab than for the effect the U. P. and Bihar. What His Excellency himself written shows that he does not w that the release of political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar should be used as a lever the release of detenus and political pris ers in Bengal and the Panjab. He acted, at least partly, with the intention saving the Bengal and Panjab ministries f pressure. Neither the ministries nor the go nors of these two provinces may have appealed to him for protection. He may not even have consulted them. He may have acted solely on his own initiative. But the intention is clear.

The step taken by the Governor-General shows that the Central Government does not like that the Congress ministries should do what would inconvenience the non-Congress ministries, at least in this matter. The latter are the proteges, the favourites, of the Central Government.

The Congress Resolution on the Ministerial Crisis

As the Congress resolution on the ministerial crisis, like some other resolutions, had to be explanatory and argumentative, it was very long, and cannot be quoted here. The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis by instructing the Congress ministries in the other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action. The Congress resolution has left the way open for His Excellency to reconsider his action. But from his statement on the ministerial crisis published on the 23rd February it does not appear that he is inclined to do so. Gandhiji has issued a convincing statement in reply to that of Lord Linlithgow, in which he states how the impending crisis may be avoided or prevented.

> One thing in His Excellency's statement gives me hope that the impending crisis might be prevented. He has still left the door open for negotiations between the Governors and Ministers. I recognise that notices were sudden, because in the nature of things they had to be so. All parties have now had ample time for considering the situation.
>
> In my opinion the crisis can be avoided, if the Governors are left free to give assurance that their examination of cases was not intended to be a usurpation of powers of Ministers and that since they had armed themselves with assurances from the prisoners, they were free to release them on their own responsibility and I hope that the Working Committee will leave the Ministers free, if they are summoned by the Governors, to judge for themselves whether they are satisfied by the assurances they may receive.

Further developments may take place before the Congress Working Committee meets by the end of the first week of this month.

Who Will Help Bengal Political Prisoners?

A large section of the public in Bengal—perhaps educationally the most advanced section—believe that for the good of the province its detenus and political prisoners should be released. Presssure would have been brought to bear upon the Bengal authorities to release them if the U. P. and Bihar political prisoners had been released. But the Governor-General has prevented their release. And the Congress ministries of the provinces other than those of Bihar and U. P. and the Congress itself are not in favour of making the release of political prisoners an All-India question. They want to localise the crisis. Therefore, the resignation of all Congress ministries to bring pressure to bear on the Central and provincial governments (including that of Bengal) for the release of political prisoners (including those in Bengal) is out of the question.

Hence, the detenus and political prisoners of Bengal can expect relief only from Mahatma Gandhi's intercession with Bengal's Governor and Ministers. If that fails, Bengal need not despair. Heaven helps those who help themselves.

We have again and again drawn attention to that sentence in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report where the Committee observed that they were 'perhaps' destroying India's unity to promote provincial autonomy! They were right.

Release of Detenus And Political Prisoners Not A Provincial But An All-India Question

As the detenus were never brought to trial, they are innocent in the eye of the law. They incurred the displeasure and suspicion of the Government because of their zeal or their activities in the cause of freedom. To whatever province they may belong, they wanted the freedom not of that particular province alone but of the whole of India. Therefore, as they are suffering for the whole country, not for a particular province, the question of their release is undoubtedly an all-India question.

The political prisoners are generally considered as being of two kinds: those whose offence included acts of violence and those who were non-violent. We are not trying to argue whether they were guilty or not, nor are we trying to extenuate their guilt. It is admitted that their guilt or the error of their ways was proved judicially. The question is, what led or misled them to do what they did? To whatever province they may belong, they acted, as they thought (they wrongly thought, in the eye of the law), in the interest of the whole country, not merely in that of the particular province to which they belong. They are suffering for the whole country. Therefore, if efforts are to be made for the release of political prisoners by any organization which works for the whole of India, that organization ought to take steps for the release of political prisoners of all provinces, not merely of any particular province or provinces. As the Congress *is* such an organisation, it ought to make the question of the release of political prisoners an all-India question. Mahatma Gandhi's actions show that he considers it an all-India question. The Congress has not yet, perhaps, looked at the question from the point of view indicated in this note.

It may localize ministerial crises. But it cannot localize or provincialize the question of the release of the detenus and political prisoners without being untrue to its all-India character.

Other Conferences During Congress Week

There were many important conferences during Congress week. The bigger dailies have been able to publish brief reports of their proceedings. We are sorry it is not possible even to mention them in a monthly review like ours, the Congress having taken up much space.

"These Trivial Questions"

We have genuine respect for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for the single-minded zeal, devotion and energy with which he has been serving the country for years. Therefore it is not with pleasure that we have to criticise any statement of his somewhat adversely.

Speaking on the Congress resolution on minorities' rights, he is reported to have said :

> The Congress had assured the minorities of their religious and cultural rights. The Communal Award, which they all opposed, had ensured them seats in legislatures. Now what remained to be satisfied? If one examined it, it was clear that the communal question was merely a problem created by the middle or upper classes for the sake of a few seats in the legislatures or appointments in Government service or for ministerial position. "Shall we, who have seen ups and downs in the fight for freedom and sacrificed our all in the cause of the country," asked Pandit Nehru, "go on fighting on these trivial questions?"

We have already tried to show that the question of "a few seats in the legislatures" is not a "trivial question." We shall now try to show that the question of "appointments in Government service" is not a "trivial question."

If an appointment in the public service going to this man or that meant only that one man got a few rupees and another did not, even then it would not be a trifling thing for any man who in spite of being the fittest candidate for a job did not get it. But it is not a mere question of the distribution of loaves and fishes. The carrying on of the administration effic and honestly is necessary even before we won Swaraj. For that purpose we requi appoint men who are fittest for particular of work and who are not corrupt. There we object to the communal distribution of and favouritism in such distribution. Ju and executive work, the prevention, dete and punishment of crime by the police, p health and sanitation and all "nation-build work suffer under such a system.

If even medical men are chosen not be they are the best available physicians surgeons but because they belong to a parti religious community, will Mr. Nehru call th trifle? Questions of life and death are trivial questions.

If police officers are chosen not for t ability and incorruptibility but because t belong to a particular religious community if these men do not do their duty, for exam in the matter of crimes against women, and consequence women's honour is not safe in province, is that a trivial matter? By way illustration we refer below to a particul gruesome case, much against our will.

Bindu Goalini's Case

The following are extracts from the rep of the trial of a case, which concluded on t 19th February last, and in which a wid named Bindu Goalini, had been subjected repeated criminal assaults during many we by five scoundrels :

> Mr. E. C. Simpson, Additional Sessions Judge Alipur, agreed with the verdict of the jury and sente Ali Haider, a muktear and a municipal commissione Barrackpore, and Ahmed Sardar (whom the described as Haider's procurer) to ten years' rig imprisonment each for wrongfully confining and crim assaulting Bindu Goalini, a Hindu widow of 21. A Aziz was sentenced to eight years, while Asgar and F were sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprison each.
>
> The jury unanimously found all the accused g of criminally assaulting and wrongfully confining woman at Ahmed's house. By a majority of four t they found all the accused guilty of criminally ass the woman during her stay at Ramjan's house on the occasions. By a similar majority, Haider and A were found guilty of assaulting her at Reja Mia's h The jury unanimously found Haider and Ahmed g of confining her at Reja Mia's house. By a s majority, all the accused were found guilty of wro confining her at Ramjan's house on the two occas Aziz was further found guilty of committing unn offence on her at Ahmed's place. Haider and A were given the benefit of the doubt on the charg sodomy.

It came out in the course of the eviden the case that unnatural offence was comm on the girl in a particularly cruel and revolting manner with serious injury to her, because, on account of repeated ravishments followed by an act of diabolical cruelty, the commission of 'natural' offence on her was no longer possible. We are extremely sorry to have to mention these gruesome details.

In sentencing the accused the judge remarked :

> "There is no school of behaviour that can justify the conduct of these accused persons and no extenuating circumstances of any kind can be pleaded in mitigation. What the court had before it at the trial was a sordid history of lust and carnal desire, brutal, unleashed, and uncontrolled, and carried to extremes beyond the comprehension of civilised men. Not only was chastity despoiled but it was besmirched and tarnished mercilessly, shamelessly and ruthlessly. The victim was an unfortunate defenceless girl, homeless and with no relations, and had her cause not been championed by the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj, it is possible that these offenders who prey upon the virtue of women, would not have been brought to justice. The women of the community are entitled to demand that their safety be assured by warning and example to others."

The last two sentences quoted above from the judgment deserve the serious attention of the Government, the police and the public.

Cases of such criminal offence against women are not at all rare in Bengal—rather the contrary, though the commission of unnatural offence on them is rare.

Commenting on the case, the *Hindusthan Standard* writes :

> The horrible oppression to which Bindu Goalini, a helpless widow, was subjected at Barrackpore by a set of scoundrels one of whom was a man of position, has been so aptly described by the Sessions Judge of Alipore that the case calls for no further comment. But there is one passage in the judgment which the Government should take note of. The Judge is of opinion that but for the Matri Sadan and the Arya Samaj it would not perhaps have been possible to bring the offenders to justice. Does this reflect credit on the police? We are afraid the police are not doing all they should in connection with such crimes, and surely it was time for the Government of Bengal to think of **the situation which, grave as it is, is considerably aggravated by the silence of the Muslim leaders and papers on the question.**

In view of the gravity of the situation referred to in the words in thick type in the foregoing extract—a situation which is by no means recent, we are constrained to observe that sincere Hindu-Moslem unity can never be brought about in Bengal unless there is cordial co-operation between the two communities in putting down crimes against women, to whatever community the women and the offenders may belong. There should at least be unequivocal and strong condemnation of such crimes in all unity conferences and in the newspapers of both communities.

In another case, in which the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta convicted the accused Abdur Rahman and a woman for having decoyed two Hindu girl widows from their village home and kept them in a house for immoral purposes, the magistrate observed in the course of his judgment :

> "Although the cases of these two unfortunate girls are pitiable and appalling, I suppose there are hundreds of girls in a similar plight, whose cases are never brought to the notice of the police."

The magistrate was perfectly right. There are numerous cases of abduction and criminal assault which are never brought to the notice of the police or the public. The main reasons are : very many police officers in the mofussil are unwilling even to listen to complaints in such cases; the aggrieved parties and the witnesses are terrorised by the scoundrels who commit these crimes; the fear of social obloquy and ostracism; and the indifference of the public (including Congressites) to the number and gravity of these crimes.

Indian States' People and "Kishans"

The Congress resolution relating to Congress Committees and Congress activities in the Indian States may not please extremists on either side. But it is a wise one in the circumstances. A similar opinion may be expressed on the resolution on *Kishan* Sabhas.

Resolution on National Education

In moving the Congress resolution on national education in the subjects committee, Acharya Narendra Dev is reported to have said :

> The present system of education was opposed to their culture and heritage. It was denationalizing. The educational system was designed with a view to making Indians clerks to administer imperialist laws. It had made Indians lose sight of their great heritage and become slaves. On the other hand, the national scheme of education sought to reinstill a sense of true citizenship in the people and make them really serviceable to the Motherland. He also spoke of the sad plight of educated unemployed. This was the result of such a system of education.

These remarks are far too sweeping. Most of the leaders of the Congress had their education under the present system. They have not been denationalized. The system may be partly denationalizing, but not entirely. It is not entirely opposed to our culture and heritage. That we have got some idea of our culture and heritage is partly due to the present system of education. Originally, the system may have been designed to turn out Government servants of subordinate grades, but, later, it has undergone some changes. Most, if not all, the fighters for the freedom of India are products of the present system of education. They are not slaves. The products and present-day students of the indigenous Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic seminaries are not more free from servility than the persons educated in the schools, colleges and universities conducted according to the present system.

The proportion of educated unemployed may be greater in India than in other civilized countries. But there are considerable numbers of unemployed graduates in other countries also.

The Wardha scheme has its merits. But its advocates ought to carefully consider *all outside* criticisms made by competent persons. They ought not, like Mr. Manu Subedar in *Harijan*, airily dismiss all criticism with a superior air.

Britain Mollifies Mussolini

The British prime minister has mollified Mussolini by sacrificing Mr. Anthony Eden, the foreign secretary. Let us wait and see how much farther Britain will go to make friends with Italy. British imperialists are evidently not yet ready to meet the challenge of all who are disposed to dispute their supremacy on land, sea and air. But will their present policy ever make them ready? Is it not strengthening the challengers and gradually destroying Britain's prestige?

Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth

Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, the Armenian scholar, the veteran author of "The Armenians in India," has been deservedly elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain.

Congress Opposition to Government Federal Scheme

The Congress resolution opposing the British Government's Indian federal scheme is worthy of support so far as it goes. In addition to the defects and harmful features of the scheme pointed out by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, in his presidential address, and some other Congressmen, it has been pointed out that it reduces the majority of the people to the position of a hopeless minority. We should like all true nationalists to declare in advance that no federal scheme will be acceptable to them which reduces the majority to a minority, maintains the provisions of the Communal Decision and extends all or any of them to the Indian States.

Congress Attitude Towards Burma Re-stated

The Congress attitude towards Burma was re-st and re-defined by a new clause added to the Cong constitution. The new clause removes Burma from Congress provinces and creates a new 'Burma Commit- working for the freedom of the people of Burma.

Acharya Kripalani moved the new clause in constitution, which reads as follows :—

"There shall be a Congress Committee with p to organize subordinate committees in accordance w the rules framed by it and approved by the work committee. The Burma Congress Committee stands f the freedom of the people of Burma."

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, further explaining the C gress attitude, said that the question of Burma w undoubtedly a difficult one. It was neither a provi of India nor a part of it.

Mr. Nehru said, 'It will be absurd to say t the Burma Committee stands for the freedom of In and not Burma. We do not want Burma as a colo province of India.'

Mr. Nehru added that he was not attaching m importance to the fact of the separation of Burma. H always treated it from a realistic point of vi Conditions in Burma differed and most of the resolut passed by the Congress had no bearing on them. I would be wrong also to treat Burma as a foreign col like Malaya, where there was a large number of India

Burma is certainly not a colony of Ind and cannot be treated as one. But it is al true that it possesses a large Indian populati larger than the Indian population of Malay the Federated Malaya States and the Un-federated Malaya States combined. What i more, Burma has large tracts of unoccupied an undeveloped territory, and is quite adjacent t India. The area of the Province is 261,61 square miles and population (in 1931) 14,667,14 The density of population is only 56 persons t the square mile. Hence there is bound to b migration to the Province from India.

Chinese Air Raid on Japanese Empire

TOKIO, FEB. 23.

Eleven Chinese planes participated in the f Chinese air raid on the Japanese empire, bombing t Taihoku aerodrome in Formosa. Ten bombs we dropped. No serious damage is reported.

Later it was reported that Shinchiku, forty mi from Taihoku, was also bombed and private houses we struck. There were several casualties.

This telegram shows that, though th Japanese continue to occupy new areas i China, the Chinese are in a position to take t offensive.

Spain Fights Illiteracy In The Midst Of War

Valencia (NNS)—Loyalist Spain, in the midst the war, is engaged in a gigantic educational progr Progress in the establishment of schools may be s from one example, that of Sabadell. This town had state primary schools a year ago with 2,000 childre attendance. To-day it has 100 schools with 5,000 pu

But primary schools are not enough. Adult illiteracy, the heir of the past, must be wiped out. For this reason the Ministry of Education decreed that "flying brigades shall be created to fight against illiteracy, whose functions shall be to teach the illiterates to read and write, particularly in the countryside." These brigades are composed chiefly of members of youth and women's organizations under the control of the General Board of Primary Education. In this way the Government hopes to make up for the neglect of former governments.

That is how Spain has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of war. How marvellously the British Government in India has been fighting illiteracy in the midst of peace!

"Rebellion" in Abyssinia

All is not yet quiet on the Abyssinian front. The people of Abyssinia are still fighting the Italians here and there and the latter are calling the former rebels!

It may be a hopeless struggle. But it shows the spirit of the people of Abyssinia.

Class War Abroad and in India

We have only as yet the beginnings of class war in India. What the future may bring cannot be accurately forecasted now.

We should be happy if our country did not become the battle-ground for Indian fascists and Indian communists. Indian socialists are as yet only figuratively on the war-path. And Sardar Patel, a great autocratic democrat, openly declared at Haripura that he had long tolerated the socialists, but (if provoked further?) he would pay them back in their own coin (figuratively?). President Bose is for a socialistic reconstruction of India, in which the have-nots are to be gainers at the expense of the haves.

So the powder-magazines seem to be ready. Cannot the Indian genius discover some means and method by which India's socio-economic problems may be solved on the basis of justice without a repetition of the violent struggles in the West? We expressed this desire before, and do so again now. Mahatma Gandhi has all along been urging the adoption of non-violent remedies for our ills. His principles find an echo in some passages quoted in *Harijan* (and, in part, in *The Leader*) from Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means* :—

> "To be regarded as successful, a revolution must be the achievement of something new. But violence and the effects of violence—counter-violence, suspicion and resentment on the part of the victims and the creation, among the perpetrators, of a tendency to use more violence—are things only too familiar, too hopelessly unrevolutionary. A violent revolution cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence, which are as old as the hills. We insist that ends which we believe to be good can justify means which we know quite certainly to be abominable, we go on believing, against all the evidence, that these bad means can achieve the good ends we desire."

The results of violence cannot be consolidated by compensatory acts of non-violence, *viz.*, of justice and goodwill. In the opinion of Aldous Huxley, such compensation is impossible in the nature of the case, psychologically impossible. For,

> "A tradition of violence is formed; men come to accept a scale of values according to which acts of violence are reckoned heroic and virtuous. Violence, as we have seen, can produce only the effects of violence; these effects can be undone only by the compensatory non-violence after the event; where violence has been used for a long period, a habit of violence is formed and it becomes exceedingly difficult for the perpetrators of violence to reverse their policy. Moreover, the results of violence are far-reaching beyond the wildest dreams of the often well-intentioned people who resort to it. The 'iron dictatorship' of the Jacobins resulted, as we have seen, in military tyranny, twenty years of war, conscription in perpetuity for the whole of Europe, the rise of nationalistic idolatry. In our own time the long-drawn violence of the World War produced the 'iron dictatorship' of the Bolsheviks. The threat of world-wide revolutionary violence begot Fascism; Fascism produced rearmament; rearmament has entailed the progressive deliberalization of the democratic countries. What the further results of Moscow's 'iron dictatorship' will be, time alone will show. At the present moment (June 1937) the outlook is, to say the least of it, exceedingly gloomy."

U. P. Ministerial Deadlock Ends

It is very good news indeed that the United Provinces ministerial deadlock has ended. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the U. P. Premier, had an hour's interview with the Governor on the morning of the 25th February and a final settlement was reached. The Pandit saw His Excellency again at 3 in the afternoon that day when the terms of the settlement were further discussed and the following statement was issued by His Excellency the Governor and the Honourable the Prime Minister :

> "We have had a full discussion between ourselves about the present situation and the recent developments. We have arrived at agreed conclusions and the Hon. Ministers are accordingly resuming their normal duties. The cases of certain prisoners classified as politicals have been individually examined and the Governor will soon be issuing orders, on the advice tendered to him by his Ministers, to remit under section 401, Cr. P. C., the unexpired portion of the sentence in each case and to order their release.
>
> "The cases of the remaining prisoners are being individually examined by the Minister concerned and appropriate order will be similarly passed thereon within a short time.
>
> "We have had also a long discussion on the mutual relation between the Governor and the Ministers. We discussed the recent statement of His Excellency the Viceroy along with the views of Mahatma Gandhi on it and also the resolution passed at Haripura about the resignation of Ministers and the previous statement made by His Excellency the Viceroy last summer.
>
> "There is no reason to fear any usurpation of or

interference with the legitimate functions of the responsible Ministers. We are both desirous of maintaining healthy conventions and with goodwill on both sides we hope we will succeed."

On the 25th February the Hon'ble Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, prime minister of Bihar, received a letter from His Excellency the Governor of Bihar intimating the latter's desire to meet Mr. Sinha next morning. Mr. Sinha agreed to meet him. So it is expected that the ministerial crisis in Bihar also will soon come to an end.

Lord Halifax Becomes British Foreign Secretary

Lord Halifax, better known in India as Lord Irwin, has been appointed Foreign Secretary in the British cabinet to succeed Mr. Anthony Eden.

The opposition has indicated that a full Commons debate on Lord Halifax's appointment will be demanded, both Major Attlee and Col. Wedgwood Benn making it clear that it is felt strongly that the Foreign Secretary should be from the House of Commons instead of the Lords.

The debate will probably be held next week.

—*Reuter.*

British Government to Recognise Ethiopian Conquest?

LONDON, FEB. 24.

Defending Government's decision with regard to the Anglo-Italian talks in the House of Lords, Lord Halifax declared that Government were not prepared to let slip the opportunity from which peace might spring. They might be disappointed, but that did not necessarily prove that they were in the wrong, and emphasised that the British policy was unchanged.

With regard to Abyssinia, he said that provided the consent of the League of Nations was obtained, we should be willing to consider the recognition of Italian conquest as part of a general settlement.—*Reuter.*

International brigandage changes its ethical character in course of time if the brigand possesses sufficient armed might.

Prison Conditions, Police Torture, Girls As Chattel

Mr. C. F. Andrews has issued the following statement from Santiniketan through the *United Press* on prison conditions, police torture in India, and the treatment of minor girls as chattel :

"While the attention of the general public has been rightly concerned with the release of those political prisoners who have declared themselves individually and personally ready to renounce violence and secret conspiracy and follow the Congress principles of non-violence and truth, the lot of other prisoners in Indian jails should not be lost sight of; for it is due to intolerable conditions in jails themselves that hunger-strikes so frequently occur.

"The general public, which read the newspapers, had been made painfully aware of things which are being done within prison doors through the misconduct of the police. First of all, Sir J. D. Young, the Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court, has delive judgment in terms which are very rarely employ the highest dignitary of the law. He has con methods of police torture of a most horrible kind had been used to extract evidence. The Chief J at Patna, has passed a judgment in equally sc language on the gross corruption which was re by a miscarriage of justice in a sordid police ca Orissa. A father had actually "sold" his daughter for Rs. 500 to be the concubine of a in a small feudatory state. The child had died a short month after this disgraceful transactio taken place. If it had not been for the bravery young social reformer exposing this wrong doing a terrible state of things would never have been b to light; and for more than ten years this young had to suffer until the High Court justified his co In such High Court judgments as these, we can glimpses of intolerable things which ought to be an end to at once. We can also be practically c that for one such act brought to light there are of exactly the same character which still go on in dark.

"I have received from Indian leaders, men of challengeable veracity, accounts (some in writing things unspeakably evil which they have witnessed their own eyes while in prison during Non-Co-opera days—how wretched prisoners, fellow human beings, tussed like fowls and beaten and then forced th abject terror to do humiliating acts which degrade very soul : how men of gentle breeding have been to intolerable shame by being compelled to expose th selves before others, while performing their natural f tions : how refined men have been hand-cuffed locked up in the darkness in solitude till they h nearly gone mad : how others have been forced to and sleep in cells where lingering germs of disease w likely to infect them : how any brave freedom of sp has been deliberately broken by all kinds of p torture.

"While visiting Indian prisons, in order to prisoners, I have myself heard cries that I can n forget. This personal experience, and the narrati have heard from others on whose word I can rely, made me convinced that in many prisons the system has been built up on fear : any reformati the prisoner has been entirely neglected. Prisoners gone out from these prisons much worse than when came in.

"Let me add, at once, that I have met also Su tendents of Jails who are both humane and kind, of high character, eager to do what is mercif just. But the system, which has insiduously grow and has led on to these incessant hunger-strikes shock the public needs badly overhauling in province; it requires the introduction, after training, of an entirely new type of prison sta also requires the separation of the judiciary fro executive and no question of the extra expense for a moment be allowed to stand in the way of supremely necessary change.

"If Harendra Nath Munshi's lamentable through his hunger-strike to obtain better con creates in the public conscience a greater vigilan awareness as to the wrongs, which still go on unre within the prison walls, it will not have been in

—(*United P*

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for Febr page 237, col. 1, between lines 22 and 23, further improvement could be effected. So the

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY LAKSHMINARAYAN NATH, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

PLAN YOUR

EASTER HOLIDAYS

ON E. B. R. LINES.

. CONCESSION RETURN TICKETS- BASES OF FARES.

1st, 2nd & Inter classes—$1\frac{1}{3}$ single fares.
3rd class—(a) $1\frac{2}{3}$ single fares for distance upto 200 miles.
(b) $1\frac{1}{2}$ single fares for distance over 200 miles.

MINIMUM DISTANCE FOR ISSUE—66 miles.
PERIOD OF ISSUE—From 8th to 18th April/38.
CURRENCY OF RETURN HALVES—upto midnight of 2nd May/38.
BREAK OF JOURNEY—Allowed in both directions.

2. "TRAVEL AS YOU LIKE" SEASON TICKETS FOR UNLIMITED TRAVEL OVER THE ENTIRE SYSTEM.

1st Class	Rs. 60/-	Inter class	Rs. 15/-
2nd Class	Rs. 40/-	3rd class	Rs. 10/-

ISSUED FROM 8th to 18th April/38.
VALID FOR 15 DAYS but not beyond midnight of May, 2, 1938.
BREAK OF JOURNEY—As often as desired.

. BANGLAY BHRAMAN

Buy a copy of the Bengali Illustrated Booklet on Travel entitled "BANGLAY BHRAMAN" obtainable at WHEELER'S BOOKSTALLS AND AT ALL STATIONS—Cost As. -/8/- (Annas Eight) only per copy.

o. T/49/38.

---

w on Sale— **Dr. SUNDERLAND'S NEW BOOK**

EMINENT AMERICANS
WHOM INDIA SHOULD KNOW

PRICE PER COPY Rs. 3. PER V. P. P. Rs. 3-9.

For Modern Review Subscribers: Rs. 2-8, post free; Per V.P.P. Rs. 2-10.

e Christian Leader writes :

Dr. Sunderland's selections of Americans for his iature Hall of Fame, and his comments on the n and women selected, are just what we should ect. He has singled out for description and pathetic interpretation men and women of hetic power and pioneering spirit, Lincoln, erson, Garrison, Lowell, Paine, O. W. Holmes, nning, Whittier, Lucy Store, Julia Ward Howe, ace Greeley, C. A. Eliot Charles F. Dole, and he living Alice Store Blackwell. Would that might be understood and judged as a people by courageous and devoted servants of justice, and peace!

he stories of these heralds of a larger faith ide Dr. Sunderland with occasion and material the service he has for so long been eager to der the cause of friendship between Indian American Liberals.

The Christian Register of Boston says :

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find anywhere else such charming sketches of so many eminent Americans within the covers of one small book. The subjects of these brief sketches seem to come alive under the skilful pen of Dr. Sunderland.

Without exception we may say that these eminent Americans were genuinely interested in the political and personal freedom of all sorts and conditions of men.

The book is a splendid series of vivid essays. It should appeal strongly to American readers, as well as the people of India for whom it is intended. One of its happiest features is Dr. Sunderland's interpretation of the philosophical and religious viewpoint and the description of the high moral and spiritual character of each individual sketched.

Fredrick Lewis Weis

o highly praised by **The Hindu, Bombay Chronicle, Sind Observer, Hindusthan Times, Guardian, The Hindusthan Review, The Tribune, The Indian Review, Unity, The Servant of India, The Leader and many others.**

The Modern Review Office, 120-2, Upper Circular Road,
CALCUTTA

JABAKUSUM

HAIR OIL

জবাকুসুম তৈল
जबाकुसुम तैल
JABAKUSUM TAILA

A PRODUCT OF THE GLORIOUS EAST

JABAKUSUM stands out as the world's best brain cooler & hair-grower.

Available at your favourite stores.

C. K. SEN & Co., LTD.,
CALCUTTA.

Gurukula Library
[illegible]

APRIL 1938

THE MODERN REVIEW

The Late Ramsay MacDonald: *Sudhindra Bose*
Art in Primitive and Ancient Life: *Ashoke Chatterjee*
The Indian Centenary in British Guiana (illust.): *C. F. Andrews*
The Language Problem of India: *G. Thiagarajan*
Musical Life in Austria in 1937 (illust.): *Heddy Fulop-Miller*
The Recent Indian Crisis: *Bool Chand*
International Understanding Through Education: *P. Seshadri*
The Hindu Middle Class in Bengal: *B. K. Roy-Chowdhury*
Bengalees and Non-Bengalees: *Anilbaran Ray*
Match Manufacture for Cottages (illust.): *Satish C. Das-Gupta*
Unsung Shrines of Italy (illust.): *Manindra Moulik*
Our Curriculum and Text-Books: *S. N. Ray*

Inland: Rs. 8-8.
Foreign: Rs. 11-8

EDITOR
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

BENOY

As. 12.

HISTORY OF ORISSA

BY R. D. BANERJI

In two volumes of Royal 8vo. format. Printed on the finest antique paper and illustrated by numerous plates

Both Vols. I and II OUT **Price Rs. 20 per Vol.**

Half-Morocco Binding, Rs. 25 Per Volume

This book, which was written by the late MR. R. D. BANERJI just before his death, is the finest history of Orissa yet published. The illustrations are all specially engraved on two-hundred screen plates.

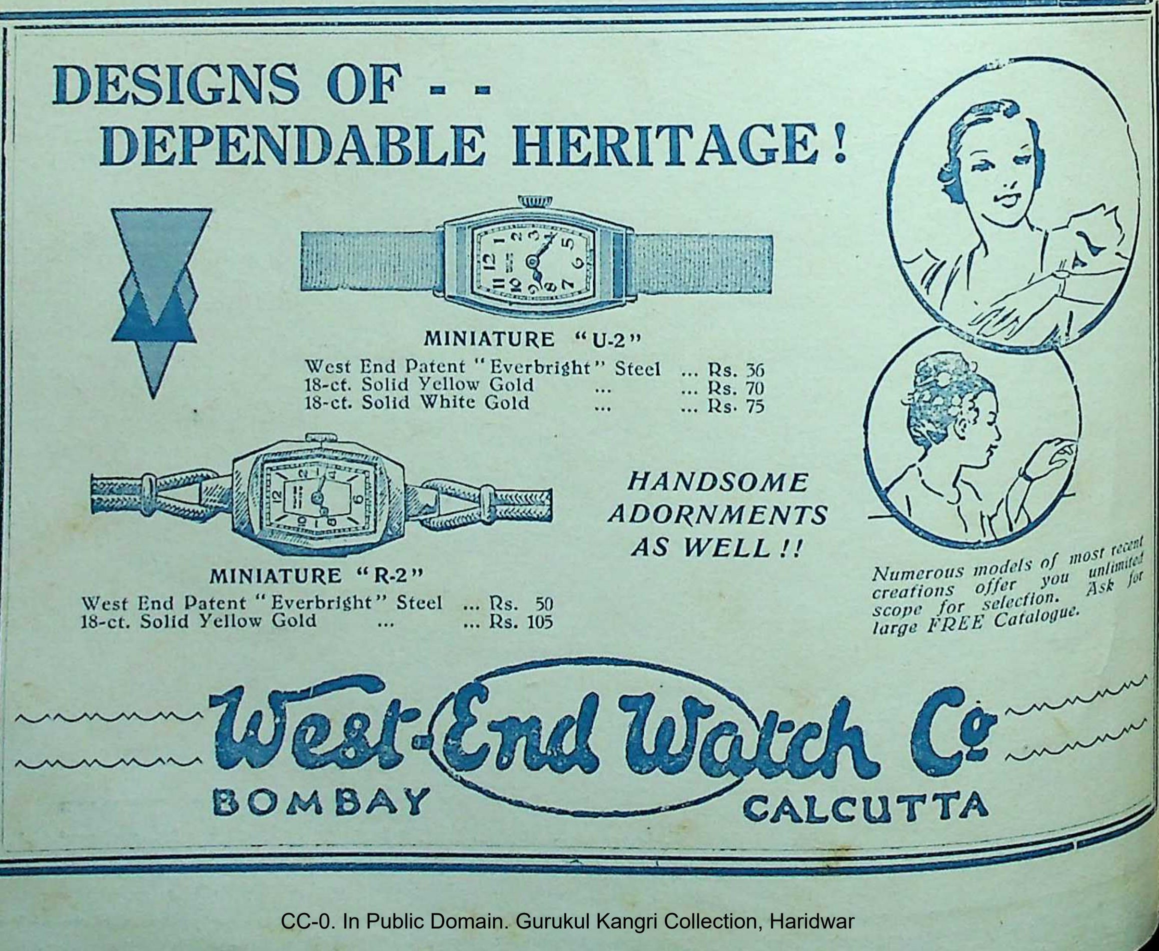
From **The Servant of India** :—

"The second volume of this posthumous work fully maintains the standard of the first. The difficult task of arranging and presenting in a readable form the sordid and disjointed history of a land during its decadence and painful death has been attempted with considerable success, though the author has had to digress very often to state and explain unused, forgotten or discovered original sources, on which that presentation is based.

"The chapters on Maratha and British administrations afford much food for reflection to the administrators and citizens of India today. Marathas, Oriyas and Bengalis, Indians and Europeans in India, Hindus of different denominations and Muslims, have all poignant lessons to learn, mistakes to avoid, wrongs done to atone for. Appendix V shows the archæologist Mr. Banerji to have been an impartial student of modern history as well, and he has rightly drawn attention to the failings of the people of Bengal from the days of Clive to those of Macaulay."

All lovers of history and literature should order their copies straightaway from

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, CALCUTTA



DESIGNS OF - -
DEPENDABLE HERITAGE!

MINIATURE "U-2"

West End Patent "Everbright" Steel	... Rs. 36
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ...	... Rs. 70
18-ct. Solid White Gold ...	... Rs. 75

MINIATURE "R-2"

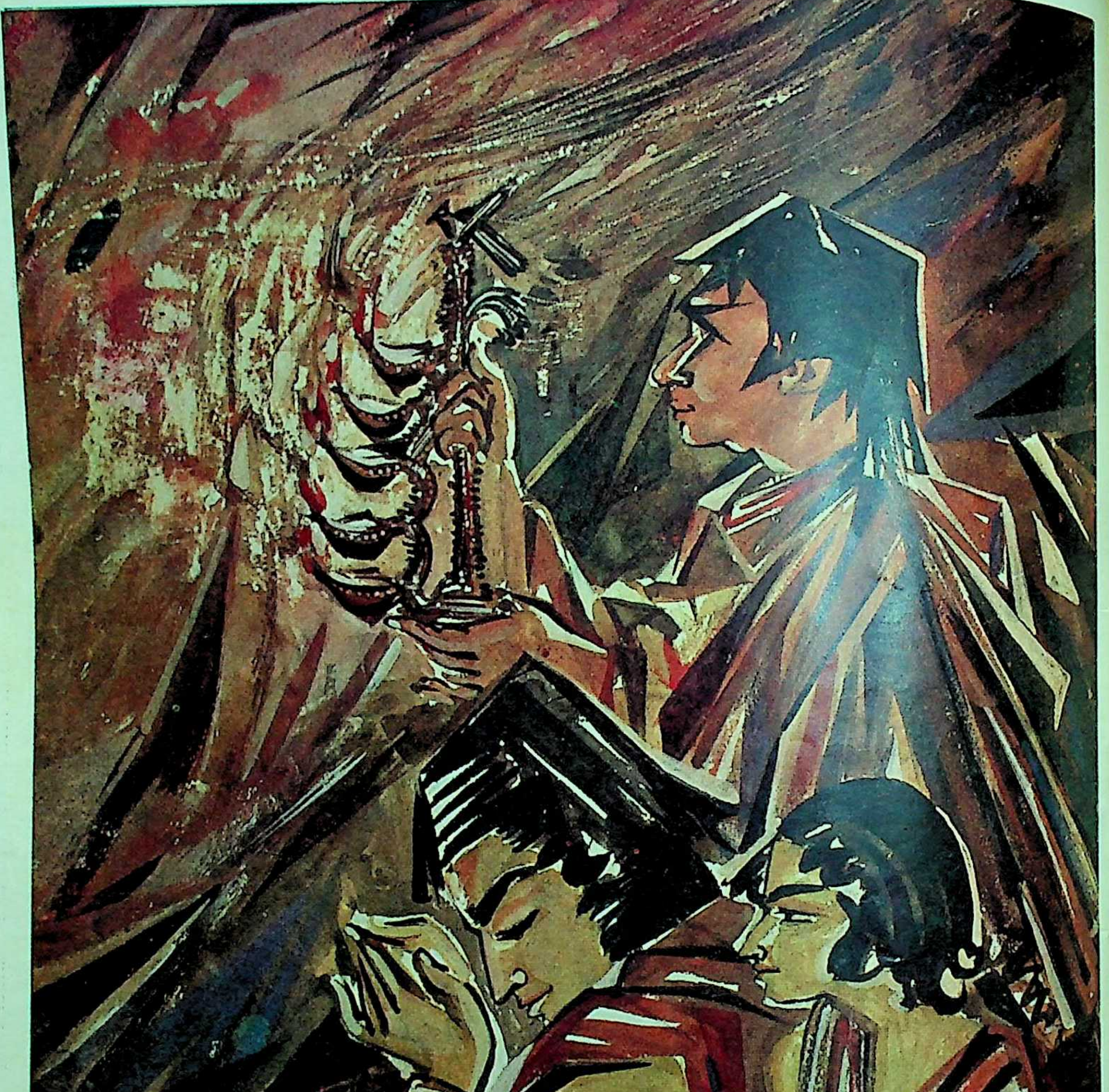
West End Patent "Everbright" Steel	... Rs. 50
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ...	... Rs. 105

HANDSOME ADORNMENTS AS WELL!!

Numerous models of most recent creations offer you unlimited scope for selection. Ask for large FREE Catalogue.

West-End Watch Co.
BOMBAY CALCUTTA

76306



OFFERINGS
By Sudhirranjan Khastgir

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

APRIL 1938

Vol. LXIII, No. 4 WHOLE No. 376

THE LATE RAMSAY MACDONALD

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE

RAMSAY MACDONALD, who was almost as well known on this American side of the Atlantic as on the European, died all but unnoticed in the depths of a retirement to which he descended after scaling the heights of success. His career was a British success story along American lines. The son of a thread-bare, despised Scotch laborer, he became Premier, representative of American tradition of the "poor boy makes good", rare among the natives of the United Kingdom.

Yet one American estimate of J. Ramsay MacDonald is that he was idealistic and weak. Another is that he was highly patriotic, nationalistic, and imperialistic.

He came out of obscurity on a radical and pacifist tide, achieved power in a role in which neither radical nor conservative knew whether he was fish or fowl, and sank again into obscurity—when death found him.

His visits in the United States are still remembered by many. In 1929 he made his historic trip to this country, discussing naval armaments with President Herbert Hoover while the two sat on a log, cheek by jowl, on the banks of the Rapidan River. That talk laid the foundations for the naval peace conference in London early in 1930. But that was of no significance to India.

Just a little while before MacDonald started on his peace pilgrimage to America, his underlings in India had suppressed Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* and would have thrown its publisher, Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee, into jail, if he had not paid the heavy fine inflicted on him. The book was supposed to be offensive to the English bureaucrats.

As Ramsay MacDonald was crossing the ocean on his way over to the United States, twenty of the outstanding leaders of this country sent him a radiogram demanding the release of the publisher of *India in Bondage*. The signers of the message included the names of great social and political leaders, university professors, newspaper editors, authors, a member of Congress—a group of most distinguished, cultured, and representative Americans. They said that "the book is in no way hostile to Great Britain, but advocates what you yourself and the British Labor Party long have powerfully advocated, namely, self-rule." They further stated that "in the name of international democracy and peace, which you are now eloquently championing before the world, we request that you order the immediate release" of the publisher of the book, and the "dismissal of the officials responsible for this outrage against the freedom of the press and human rights."

This American protest was published in the New York *World*. But what came out of it? Nothing, so far as Mr. MacDonald was concerned. He did not even condescend to acknowledge the receipt of the radio message, though he acknowledged many other messages. Yes, he was busy. In fact, he was too busy to know that unless peace and liberty are reconciled, there will be neither.

I also drew the same conclusion from what Norman Thomas once told me about James Ramsay MacDonald. Mr. Thomas is the leader of the American Socialist party and was thrice candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Mr. Thomas is to the American Socialist party what Mr. MacDonald was to the British Labor party, although Mr. Thomas has penetrated deeper into the aspirations and tragedy of American life than Mr. MacDonald did of the British. Anyway, Norman Thomas was a close friend of J. Ramsay MacDonald. Mr. Thomas told me that when Premier MacDonald was in America in the interest of naval peace, he called on the Premier to solicit his friendly intervention on behalf of the political prisoners at Meerut, but Mr. Thomas could not get the Premier even to consider the subject. Mr. Thomas also wrote a personal letter to Mr. MacDonald asking him to release the unfortunate Meerut prisoners. The letter was apparently opened by a secretary for the answer was most perfunctory, I was informed. And that was all the help which came from the silver-tongued Messiah and nothing more. There you have it again! Ramsay MacDonald was more empire loving than peace or liberty loving.

Mr. MacDonald was just another empire-worshipper. It seems that nearly all the natives of the Foggy Island are imperialists: imperialism is a part of their skins. Once there was a saying: "Scratch a Russian and find a Tartar." Now there ought to be another saying: "Scratch an Englishman and find an imperialist."

From 1931 when Mr. MacDonald dissolved the Labor government to become Premier of a "National" coalition espousing a form of economic nationalism, he was a prisoner in Tory camp—despite his outward honors as commanding general. He scrapped his own Socialist creed and broke with his Labor party, carrying with him only a handful of followers. Was it the tragedy of a break with one's essential past and principles?

Professor Harold J. Laski of the London University, writing in the May issue of the *Harper's Magazine* (New York), 1932, assured us that Ramsay MacDonald's change of front was not due to a sudden change of conviction, for Ramsay MacDonald himself had refused to admit conversion. The essential cause of his political metamorphose, we were told, was love of applause, fear of unpopularity a the dominant caste, reverence for mo grubbing plutocrats, growing fondness aristocratic pomp and circumstance. D Laski was not at all impressed with the al "patriotic courage" of the Premier. "N before in British political life," wrote L "has the Prime Minister of one party ej his colleagues from office to become leader o government made almost wholly of men w but a day before, were his severely cri opponents." Laski left no room in the mi of his readers whether the Great Man in Downing Street was a flaming leader of a w peace crusade, a shining patriot, or a g betrayer of "essential decencies of public li The truth is that MacDonald and logic w seldom on friendly terms.

I heard Ramsay MacDonald over the ra make his final speech from New York dur his last visit to this country in 1932. He h a resonant voice and his sentences were full oratorical juice. He referred naively to t British possessions as "one great happy famil where "all are treated as equals" and ot such petrified prejudices. Very funny. H spoke also in the interest of cooperati between the peoples of the United States an the British Isles—the usual theme-song o all visiting Englishmen. The generality o Americans is immune from rhetorical bland ments, but that elocution of MacDonald w big with the Anglophiles. I do not, of cou mean to imply that he was other than enti orthodox and respectable—he was too dead e then to be anything else.

Mr. MacDonald in his free-lance d served as the English correspondent of T *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The Indian cause that time found in him a strong champion. H even wrote two books, *The Awakening of In* and *The Government of India*, advoca freedom for the Indian nation. More, in days when he was out of Parliament and ou office he used to write articles for the New Y *Nation* denouncing English policy in India; when the opportunity came to him to alter t policy, he did nothing. In commenting on Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of T *Nation*, says in a recent issue of that maga "Never was there a clearer case of a m whole point of view being affected—his m fiber impaired, his vision blurred—by the c he held."

The greatest days of James Ra MacDonald's life were the days of the W

War. His steadfast opposition to the war, despite such obloquy as few men experience, revealed whatever best there was in him. He was greater in his hours of seeming adversity than in those of seeming success. But in the end it appeared as if there were some satanic lord of the universe, some cynical cosmic jester so to order affairs that the MacDonald who opposed the imperialism of the World War should be the champion of British imperialism in India.

MacDonald's colossal vanity and oily respect for the rich and mighty prevented his good qualities from developing. "He was a lonesome man," his eldest daughter lamented the other day. He had lost his comrades, his real friends. And among his new companions he was still a stranger. A sad, forlorn figure. Will this man occupy a high place in the long judgment of history? Will he be numbered with the great? I am inclined to believe he will never be accused of being truly great.

Iowa City
U. S. A.

THE INDIAN CENTENARY IN BRITISH GUIANA

By C. F. ANDREWS

The Year 1938 will mark the first landing of Indian settlers in Denmark, or British Guiana. Those who are there in residence at the present time have decided to celebrate this event on May 6th, 1938, and they have made an appeal to Indians in the motherland to share with them in their rejoicings over this event and if possible to send out representatives from India to assist in the celebration.

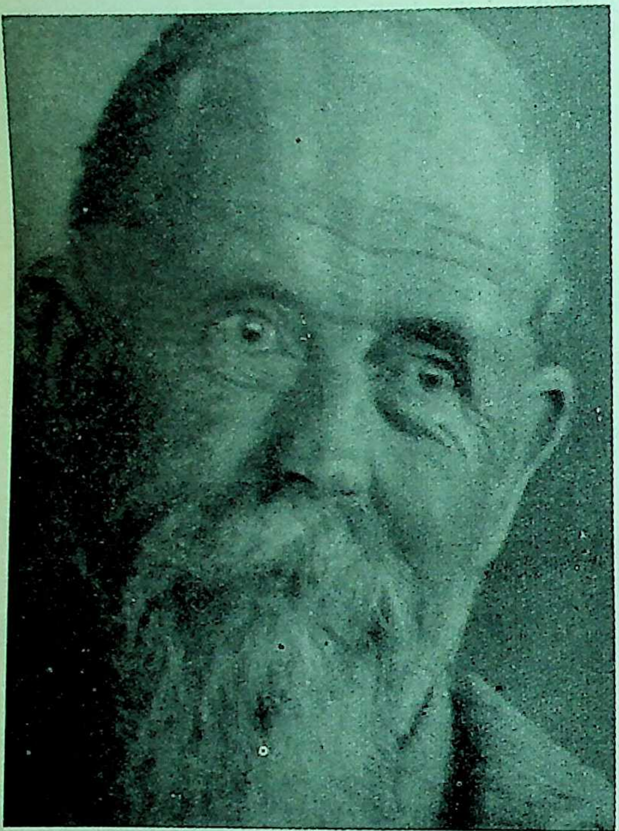
In the year 1838 one hundred and fifty-six colonists set sail from Calcutta in the ship *Hesperus* for British Guiana where work was offered them on the sugar plantations. There was no indenture system at this time and they went out in simple faith hoping there to start a new life. After a long voyage lasting many months round the Cape of Good Hope, they landed at the capital called George Town. Thus began the very first settlement from India in the West Indies. Six years later Indians landed in Trinidad which is an island close to the Guiana Coast and from this time forward many of the Windward Islands took Indian emigrants. On the voyage out they endured incredible hardships and many succumbed.

British Guiana, or Demerara, lies about six degrees North of the Equator on the coast of South America that forces the great Gulf of Mexico. Trinidad and Tobago and Barbadoes are the nearest islands. Then come a long line of islands,—Grenada, Dominica, Martinique, Antigua, St. Lucia, St. Kitts, Nevis and others still smaller. Jamaica, where Indians also settled, lies a thousand miles away, further up the Gulf to the North-West. In all these West Indian Islands sugar has been cultivated as a staple product for more than two hundred years. In the eighteenth century the cultivation was carried on by slave labour from the West Coast of Africa and the population at the present time all over the West Indies, represents the descendants of these West African slaves.

When slavery was abolished in all the British Colonies in 1833-35, the whole sugar plantation system in the West Indies was in serious jeopardy because the African Negroes, who had been emancipated refused to work on the sugar estates any longer. It was at this critical juncture that efforts were made in different parts of the world to induce free labour to come over and renew the work. At first this was done by private recruiting, and, as we have seen, the first settlers both to British Guiana and Trinidad came over of their own accord under no indenture, though there was an agreement that they would be ready to undertake agricultural work. Even before any Indian settlers had gone out to the West Indies more than seven thousand had left for Mauritius, which is in the middle of the Indian Ocean and much closer to India itself.

Owing to the high mortality on the voyage and the irregular conditions under which recruiting was conducted, the East India Company introduced, with the help of the Colonial Office, a system called Indenture, which for nearly a hundred years attempted to regulate this traffic. But in the long run it led to even worse evils than those that had prevailed at the first, and because it had the Government of India behind it, the recruiting was in the long run much more numerous than it would otherwise have been.

This indentured Indian labour, under the Government of India control, proved so immensely advantageous to the sugar planters, and the profits made by it were so great, that this indenture system gradually spread in almost every part of the world. The French were able to export labour from India to Reunion. Martinique and Gaudeloupe and also to French Guiana. The Dutch exported the same form of Indian indentured labour to Dutch Guiana. The British Colonies of Natal and Fiji were added to the list on the British side, and most of the West Indian islands at one time or another continued to receive Indian recruits.



C. F. Andrews

Ceylon and Malaya which were much nearer to India, imported Indian labour by different systems of their own. The Ceylon method proved to be even more objectionable in its results than indentured labour, as i volved permanent indebtedness. This t system (as it was called) was abolished in 1 just one year after the indenture system been ended.

The Malaya Indian labour has been only form of recruitment, that by any st of imagination could be called 'free.' I volves a verbal monthly contract between employer and the labourer. A minimum w and a free passage are offered. This mo contract is the one labour recruiting meth South India which still survives; and even t many evils are met with, which cann overcome.

At last, on January 1, 1920, this ter curse of the indenture system was brough an end. An Emigration Act was passed 1922, which declares, that :

> "Emigration for the purpose of unskilled la shall not be lawful except to such countries and on s terms as the Governor-General in Council by notifi in the *Gazette of India* may specify in this behalf."

Under the same Act a heavy penalty imposed on anyone who "attempts to cause assist any Indian to emigrate." Ceylon a Malaya are, at present, the only two count notified in the Government of India Gazette.

In all these Colonies, therefore, includi British Guiana, every Indian is now free. has rights of land purchase, though these curtailed in Natal and also in Fiji. No m Indian labourers have gone out under inden for more than twenty years. The actual cruiting was stopped in 1917. But, before t happened, the number of emigrants had so creased that even when those who wished do so had gone back after their indenture over there still remained behind a large s Indian population. This is now growing natural increase, so that today the follo figures are roughly accurate :—

Ceylon	800,000
Malaya	600,000
Natal	180,000
Mauritius	290,000
Fiji	85,000
British Guiana	136.000
Trinidad	142,000

The figure for Malaya varies greatly year to year; at one time, it was over 70 In each of the estimates here given, there be a margin of inaccuracy. The Indian rate is usually high and the death rate low.

British Guiana Indians, who celebrate centenary in May, 1938, have earnestly to point out that this event has nothing to do with the beginning of the indenture system in that colony; for that system has been throughout a curse and not a blessing and they have no wish to commemorate it. This centenary is quite different. It is intended to celebrate the landing of the first Indians, from India, in the Colony. It is necessary in British Guiana to call them *East* Indians, because the original inhabitants are called either West Indians, or American Indians. In British Guiana these aboriginals are very few in number and probably do not amount to more than between 6,000 and 10,000 all told. They live in the depth of the forest and it is very hard to find out accurately how many there are. They live almost entirely by hunting in the forest and by growing small patches of edible roots such as yam and manioc. They also eat the fruit from the trees.

Aboriginal tribes cutting a 'clearing' in the forest

British Guiana itself is a very strange country in its soil formation. The alluvial land along the coast, which has been made from the silt of the huge rivers, flowing from the interior forests and mountains, has not yet reached such a height as to be altogether higher than the level of the sea. It is like the soil of Holland. The sea has to be kept out by dykes. The surface water can only escape from the land at low tide. Thus this low land is very easily flooded. Yet, at the same time, it is immensely, productive, if only the sea water can be kept out.

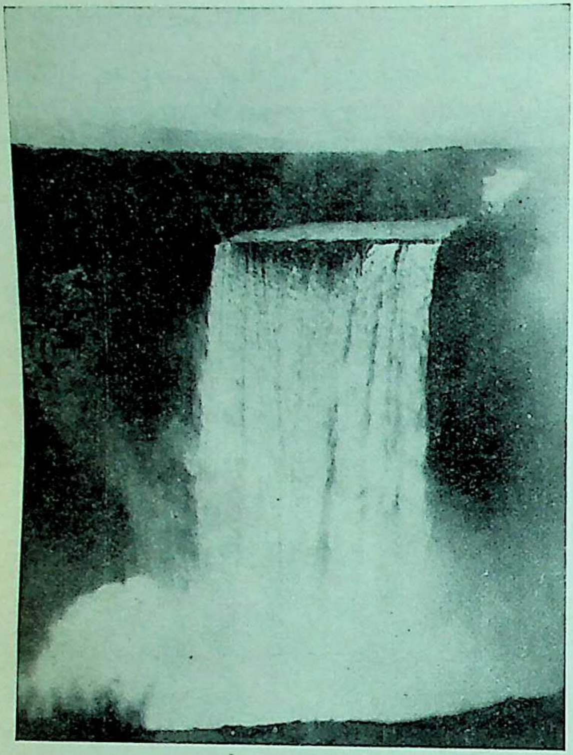
In the old days, only sugar was grown: but the Indians have introduced rice cultivation, and have shown themselves to be excellent cultivators. In this way, they saved the Colony from bankruptcy when the sugar prices had reached their lowest figure.

Beyond the rice and sugar belt, there is virgin forest. This goes on for miles and miles into the interior, till the land suddenly rises and mountain ranges begin, with high savannahs, or grass lands, where cattle might easily be reared.

It is here, in the interior, that the highest waterfall in the world exists, whose volume of water is only surpassed by Niagara and the Zambesi Falls. Those who have seen Niagara say that the Kaieteur Falls of British Guiana are far superior, both in beauty and in majesty. The illustrations, here given, will show how magnificent they are. The other photograph shows a group of American Indians in the forest, cutting down the bamboos and clearing a small patch for cultivation.

The Indian settlers have prospered considerably in recent years, since the abolition of indenture. The extraordinary fertility of the soil and the large rainfall with abundant sunshines all combine to produce an amazing growth of fruit and vegetables, so that it has been rightly said that "no one could starve in Demerara."

Perhaps the greatest disadvantage, which I experienced, when I stayed there for some months, was the prevalence of mosquitoes. Nearly all the year round they continue to annoy one, as soon as even the sun goes down, and it is necessary always to sleep under a mosquito net. At New Amsterdam they are worst of all. George Town has now become much more healthy owing to a proper drainage system.



Kaieteur Falls

The climate would be unbearably hot, if it were not for a trade wind which blows from the sea during a great part of the year, at a certain time every day. When this breeze drops, then the trouble, both from heat and mosquitoes, begins; but as long as it blows, the air is pleasantly cool.

While the enterprise of the Indian community has given them a high standing among the diverse population, there is one side where immense improvement might be made, namely, in the education of Indian girls. There are good opportunities offered, but a dearth of trained teachers. What, perhaps, is n needed at once is one really first-rate wo teacher, who could train others. Can I supply such a teacher? Whoever goes, o to go out with a missionary spirit: for t enterprise will need great courage at the st But in the end, the work will be amply rew ed. The whole community is feeling this gr want and there would be every encourage given.

It is a great happiness to me to relate t the Indian community has become splendi united. There is practically no communal t sion and there is an ardent and deep devot to the motherland. In the course of time, th can be little doubt that leading Indians w gain more and more prominence in their n West Indian home. A sincere and friend spirit has grown up between the Americ Negro population and the Indian immigran There is also a very kindly feeling between t East Indians and the Chinese. The latter a well-educated and well-organised, and th invite leading Indians at all times to their ow festivities.

If the education of the young East Indi girls could be raised to a higher standard, the would be every inducement to the parents t keep their girls unmarried till a later age. Since a large proportion of the emigrants come from the North of India and their orthodoxy in thi matter does not go very deep, it would be prob ably quite easy to win the agricultural village to a later marriage age, if only education facilities could be provided.

Since there is no racial or colour bar, an the basis of election is the same for all race it should be quite possible, if public pressu were brought to bear, to get sufficient fun for such a purpose. Among the Americ Negro population, and among the Chinese, th proportion of girls who are educated is mu higher than among the Indian populatio Therefore, it has become the greatest need all today to remedy this defect. Nothing th I could think of would bring about more fru ful results. Indeed, the whole future of t Indian community seems to depend, more th anything else, on this one factor.

ART IN PRIMITIVE AND ANCIENT LIFE

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

When we discuss the art of the ancient peoples of the world, namely, the Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Chinese, Hellenes, Hindus, or Romans, we should be on guard lest the word ancient be misunderstood to mean primitive. For primitive art belongs to a group apart altogether and deals with the artistic creations of peoples who are not necessarily separated from the modern nations of today by time. Primitive art is the art of those smaller communities of men whose life and conduct are less complex and elaborate than those of the so-called civilized nations of the world. Primitiveness is a simpler and more contented form of existence and, as such, does not display that variety and complexity of impulse which we associate with civilized life. It is usual for the civilized type of humans to arrogate to themselves a manifold superiority over primitive peoples, not always with a logic which is entirely convincing, nor again in a spirit which satisfies the highest ideals of their civilization. There being no transcendent standard by which two different schemes of existence can be compared and evaluated with a view to award places in point of superiority and inferiority, any assertion of superiority by the exponents of one civilization over those of another, merely provides another instance of that detestable "greater than thou" attitude, which is so common with people harbouring an inferiority complex or a guilty soul.

The primitive races of the world differ from the civilized ones, in that they live a more direct life and suffer less intensively from that spirit of progress which has often driven whole communities to run a mad race round and round in a vicious circle. A speedy sequence of changes is not synonymous with progress; for a sense of direction is more necessary for progress than mere velocity. A study of the history of dead and existing civilizations demonstrates the futility of being constantly on the move with a diminished sense of true values and without a sound enough purpose, and solely to get over that spiritual and inward feeling of *ennui* or boredom from which all over-elaborate and super-active civilizations so habitually suffer.

But for the interference of civilized invaders the primitive races, generally speaking, would display more vitality and continuity of life and conduct. Races have been known to have lived and flourished at a slow rhythm of existence over very long periods without suffering any pronounced ups and downs in their economy, religion or art. Primitive art demonstrates this abundantly and the aesthetic aspect of these arts is no less interesting than the human lesson it provides to the student. Weaving, carving, basketry, tatooing, mat-making, pottery, painting, sculpture (among the Aztecs, Taltecs, Zapotecs and Mayas of America sculpture was remarkably advanced), metallurgy and jewellery, architecture and the minor arts are all found in primitive civilizations. Some may lack one or more of these, but generally speaking all primitive races have a strong aesthetic side to their life. That primitive races indulge in dancing, music and pantomimes of sorts, is also well known. In their aesthetic expression they may not come in a line with the civilized races of the world; but one may assume that for their own purpose, their arts are satisfactory enough, in so far as they have been known to have practised these arts during fairly long periods. Some of the objects produced by the primitive artists would easily bear comparison with the work done by members of civilized communities; others would be considered crude or even defective according to civilized standards. But the artistic efforts of the members of these simpler cultural groups, prove beyond doubt that they have their own artistic urges and express the same to their own satisfaction. It is not for us to dictate that they should not be satisfied with so little; for satisfaction is an intimately personal matter and can never be enforced nor dictated.

The primitive type of civilization as we find it in India possesses most of the artistic features that we have mentioned. The Mundas, Sonthals, Gonds, Garos, Khasis, Kols, Bhils, Nagas, Todas and the other primitive folks, who have lived in India since days immeasurably far away in the past, practise the different arts intensively enough to give these a very important place in their lives. Without any complex intellectual pretensions, these simple people weave, carve, execute decorative paintings, make jewellery and arms, dance and sing with a simple charm and grace which is really soothing and creates but gentle ripples on the surface of the artistic consciousness. There is no attempt at agitating the soul until its very depths are thrown up in violent waves of emotion; nor does primitive art pretend to probe into the innermost corners of the heart with a view to explore and expose something new at each thrust. Their garments are vividly colourful, their other handicrafts gracefully decorative and their song and dance is a page out of the book of nature itself.

In the moonlit glades of their forest homes the Sonthal maidens sway and swing like delicate branches in a gentle breeze, imitating the motion of breakers at low tide and the accompaniment of soft music chanted in chorus reminds one of the distant murmur of surf.

With the red hibiscus in the coils of their jet black hair and the prominent red and black designs on the folds of their *saris,* they roll up to, in wave motion, and, recede from their young men, whose drums beat out a constant rumble, adding a virile note to the phantasy.

There is a tendency among certain critics and scholars to explain away all primitive art as the ritual or symbol of some superstitious belief or magic. It is not the purpose of this discussion to challenge any such assertion save and except where it suggests that primitive art is alien in spirit to the art of civilized men on this account. For, even if we assume the all-pervading sway of totem and magic over primitive life, we need not necessarily discard the aesthetic elements present in it. Religious beliefs and tradition have dominated practically all art, and any assumption of aesthetic barreness as an essential outcome of connection with religious belief would demolish the aesthetic basis of the art of Byzantium and Italy and, for that matter, of many other countries and periods. Primitive art may be different in the quality and strength of its aesthetic content, but beyond that we cannot go. The aesthetic emotion, conception and external projection are all present in the art life of the primitive races. It is as futile to deny this as to hold that primitive men lack the basic instincts of sex and self-preservation or the protective, self-abnegatory or gregarious instincts.

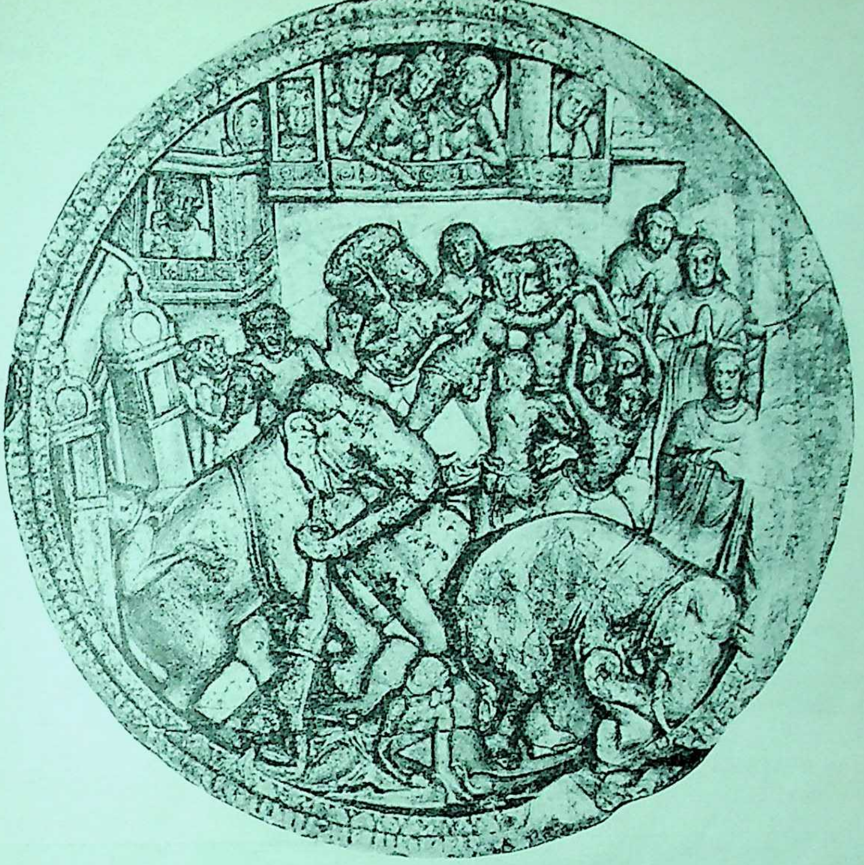
All this prolonged discussion of primitive art has been necessary with a view to keep it separate from the ancient art of civilized or more complex communities. The primitive races have lived and behaved with much more stability and have conserved their arts in a more or less unchanged form as compared the races who have sought variety and ch with an almost insane fervour. Whether urges have materially contributed to the unfolding of the Divine conception of hu evolution, is a question which we cannot should not try to answer.

The art of ancient times, as far as we judge of it, reduces itself to material obj of art. It is a certainty that the anc Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian and o civilized communities which have ceased to e culturally, had their poetry, music, dance drama in some sense; but the available mate does not provide any scope for a fuller app ciation of these arts. Architecture, sculptu painting and the decorative and useful arts however, substantially represented in the rem of these extinct civilizations. A study of th gives us a fair idea of the art life of th people. The European countries, China, Jap and India present a fuller picture in that t ancient art of these lands is more or less co tinuous with the more recent and we know m more of the peoples of these countries and their life and aspirations because they are st living and are, often, manifesting the same similar aesthetic impulses as compared to th remote ancestors.

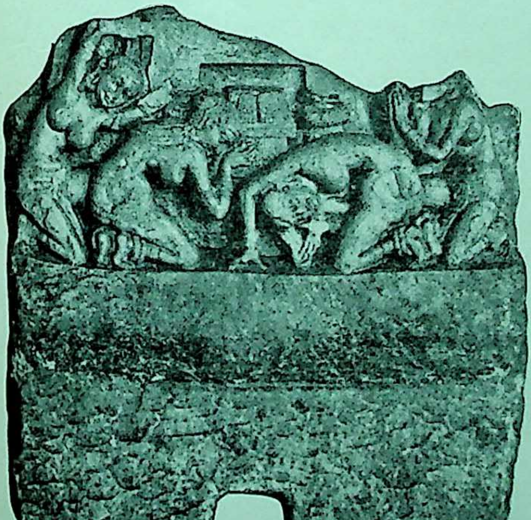
The first relics of ancient Babylonian a come from a period which may be placed ab 6,500 years ago. Even at this remote period had attained a certain perfection and it lea to the conclusion that other and simpler fo of arts existed even before this time. Am the seals and other objects of art, workmans of artists of great talent is often noticed s by side with common " bazaar stuff," as we m say. Human as well as animal forms are se and these are often modified in terms of relig beliefs and with a view to convey some me ing. The cylinder seals of the Babylonians a the most common and important art relics those days. Bronzes are also found as stones with sculptured representations, wh are of a much later period.

It is from Assyria, however, that we more variety and wealth of material. Ma ficent low relief on ample stone surfaces indeed a high tribute to the Assyrian ar The art of Babylonia and Assyria depict intense religious outlook and convention o rigidity which suggests a highly developed esoteric priestly cult.

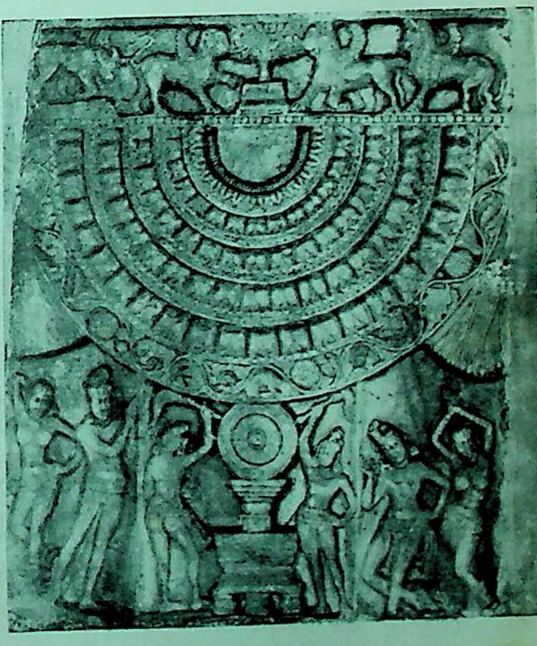
" The religious aspect of art in Egypt cludes all that is known of it," says Fli Petrie.



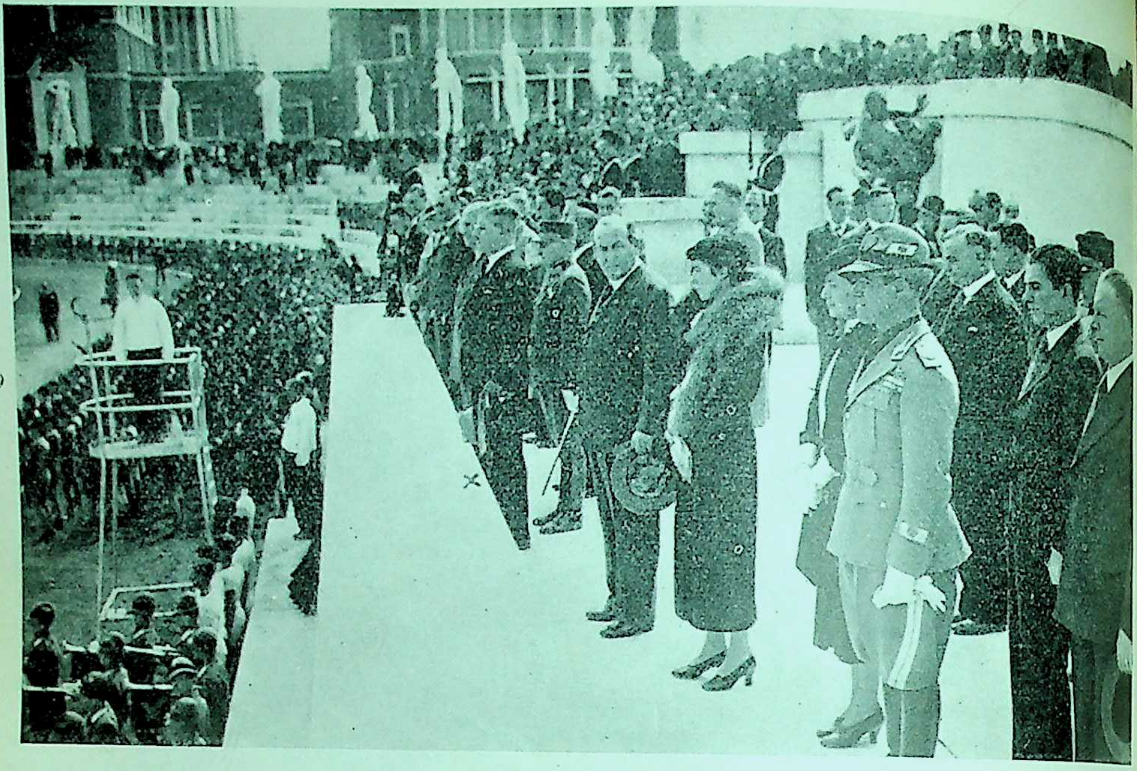
Subduing the elephant—Amravati



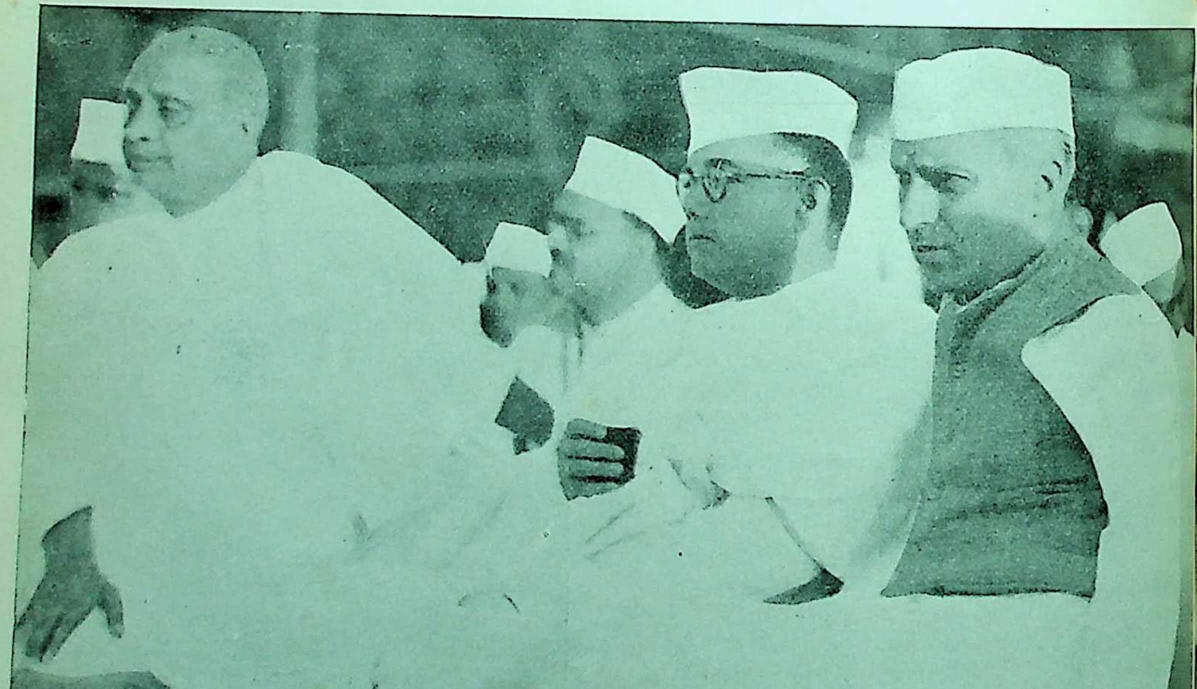
Women prostrating themselves at the feet of the Buddha—Amravati



Relief from Amravati



Chancellor Schuschnigg (X) and General Goemboes at the Mussolini Forum reviewing a parade of the Members of the Italian Academy



President Subhas Chandra Bose welcomed in Bombay

> "The earliest sculptures are tombstones and tables of offerings for the benefit of a deceased person; the earliest statuary is of figures in which the soul of the deceased might reside, made as lifelike as possible in order to give him satisfaction; the figures of servants with offerings, or of serfs to cultivate the ground, were for service in the next world; the whole of the tomb sculptures, paintings and furniture—carved coffins, canopic jars, tablets, and all else—resulted from the religious theories of the future life. The buildings that remain to us are nearly all temples, the collosi which stand in them were habitations for the many *Ka*-souls of the king; and even the battle scenes on the walls are all part of the display of religious fervour, and culminate in the triumphal processions of captives dedicated to the god, or led by the god as his appanage to be entrusted to the king's administration. The civil life of the lay Egyptian has almost vanished, the palaces and towns are nearly all below the plain of Nile mud; and it is only sepulchral and religious remains that—being placed on the desert—have thus been preserved to us."

Among Egyptian symbols may be mentioned the following: Different tribes are represented by their emblems such as the hawk, lion, scorpion, jackal and pelican. These animals are often depicted as doing things that the members of the tribes did, such as breaking down walls of towns, making captives, etc. The king is a strong bull, a fish with two hands or a hawk with a human hand by which it holds a cord binding a captive. Gods and goddesses are also similarly depicted. Animal heads are placed on human bodies and the sphinx is a human head on an animal body. A great degree of artistic talent is displayed to effect these strange conjunctions without hurting the aesthetic sense. Among ceremonies depicted are noticed sacrificial scenes, offering, endowing with gifts (generally by gods) and purification ceremonies. Exquisite objects were made in ancient Egypt and gold was used in profusion.

Judging by the temple and religious arts of the Egyptians, one can safely assume that their civic existence, at least that of the nobility, was full of luxury, pomp and splendour. Variety and change run through the entire length of Egyptian art history and this dead civilization is a sad monument to the inexorable laws of decay and the ephemeral nature of even the supremest form of human achievement and power.

The sublime poetry and imagery of the *Rigveda* would give us a basic explanation of the inborn admiration of and intimacy with nature and natural forces which is found in Indian art. Such passages as the one addressed to the *Maruts* shows a deep communion with nature and would corroborate the "straight from the heart" character of Indian naturalism.

> "The bellowing bull of the flood pours forth the seed of life to the plants. He blasts both trees and demons; the universe trembles beneath his heroic arm, and the innocent man shudders as the roaring giant smites the sinners. As the horses bound beneath the whip which guides them, to his moist messengers announce his coming, and he is heard afar off, like the roaring of a lion, as the god takes form in the rain-bearing cloud. The winds rush forth, the lightenings fly, the plants upraise their heads, the sky is swollen. Abundance pours forth for all living creatures when the god sheds his sap upon the earth . . . . . Roar, O god, thunder and engender life, drive across the heavens in thy chariot heavy with downpours, drawing the open water-skin whose mouth is hanging over us, level the slopes and the hollows. Tip up the great bowl; let it be emptied out in torrents unrestrained, flood both heaven and earth with rich moisture, and make a good watering trough for the kine."

Or to Agni in the *Mahabharata*:

> "In thee all doth live; clothed in the form of the sun, Thou takest up the waters of the earth with thy beams; then, by the rains which thou dost pour forth in their season, thou restoreth life to all things. Then are all things born of thee anew: the twining plants, the green foliage, the lakes, the favoured reservoir of the waters, the whole of that moist palace, subject to *Varuna*."

The Indians were thus fully eloquent in expressing their feelings and rich in their appreciation of the beauty of things long before they made the sculptures of Sanchi or Bharut or painted the earliest pictures at Ajanta. The imagery which illuminated their soul, found first expression in words; but when the occasion arose to give material shape to a more well-defined religious feeling, it assumed the shape of what may be termed an adoration in stone.

The artists who worked the sculptures at Bharut and Sanchi excelled in the execution of floral and animal motives. Their relative inefficiency in the rendering of the human form may be due to inexperience or to the floral and animal symbolism prevailing at the period. The Buddha was not to be portrayed and the story of the Buddha is told elaborately and with great effect without the Buddha appearing anywhere. In the story of the conception, the young elephant; in that of the nativity, the lotus; in the great departure, the riderless horse; in the assault of *Mara,* the tree with the empty seat underneath with demons and courtesans; and so on. The symbols tell the story, and the human form of the Buddha never appears. Describing Sanchi, Monsieur Rene Grousset, conservator of the Musee Guimet, exclaims:

> "What love of nature is to be seen in them, what an understanding of floral and animal forms! Just as our Cathedrals are encyclopædias in stone, so the gates of Sanchi unroll before our eyes the marvellous poem of Indian nature."

Buffaloes, tigers, serpents, antelopes, elephants, peacocks and *nagas* or *garudas*:

> "As we stand before these scenes, with their delicate and tender feeling for nature, Assyrian bas-reliefs seem very conventional, and even Greek bas-reliefs almost strike us as cold."

The Greek influence in Indian art passed through different phases; but with the fall of Greek power in India, this element became thoroughly absorbed and assimilated into Indian ideals and forms until no trace of its separate existence remained anywhere. The Kushan and Guptas and, more or less contemporaneously with them, the Andhras in Southern India, slowly moulded the aesthetic ideals of Indian art until proportion, harmony and refinement became all-pervading. The Greek started making Buddhas and now it became quite the usual thing to depict the Lord.

Amaravati is particularly interesting on account of its purely Indian style and the supreme elegance in form attained here by the Indian sculptor. We may call it idealism or spiritualization or just a superior aesthetic realisation. More elastic and vitally graceful, the sculpture of Amaravati can no longer remind anyone of ivory-carving or of woodwork. Ethereal in refinement, these figures are totally sculpturesque in a more keenly aesthetic sense than even in the case of Hellenic statuary. Gupta sculpture gave the final touches to the plastic conventions of ancient India. These were not based on any intellectual analysis of the perfect form as in the case of the Greeks; but followed the naturalistic reasoning, which gave a continuity to Indian aesthetic thought. The drawn bow, the leaf of the *neem* tree, the wagtail, the eyes of a roe, the lotus, the sesame flower, the pomegranate, the stone of the mango, the conch-shell, the elephant's trunk or the spawning fish, all contributed to the sum-total of the grace and beauty of the human form. These were not merely metaphorical but usually alive with a keen realism. In the rhythm of the attitudes, the lines provided by flowers, plants or animals reappear. The various attitudes and gestures were rendered in a more refined way but retained their connection with the ancient conventions in the field of dance and *abhinaya,* while newer conventions attained maturity. They spoke a language which conveyed to those who could understand it, a *rasa* of supreme spiritual flavour.

The failure of the earlier schools of Bharut, Sanchi and Mathura to render the human form with effective realism and grace, has been ascribed, by certain critics, to inexperience or to an arrested outlook born of a tradition of wood and ivory carving. It seems surprising that the restricted vision of the wood and carver should impose itself so forcefully only in relation to the treatment of the h figure, and vanish entirely, whenever the s tor attempted animal or plant form, yie place to an amazing vision of grace, supp and vigour. One has perforce to look for other explanation and it has been provide Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda in his *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the B Museum.* He mentions three things in this nection. First, the natural stiffness of postures of *yoga,* for instance the rigid erec in the *Kayotsarga* posture as found in images of the Jinas.

The second is that most of these sculp were done in medium relief and were mean serve as mere architectural ornaments. third factor is the difference of outlook in reg to the beauty of the human form, of the Hi sculptor as compared to that of the Gre "With the Indian," writes Rama Prasad Chan "the form that is auspicious, but not necessar pleasing to the eye, is beautiful." He qu the *Chaitanyacharitamrita* to describe the si of a *Mahapurusha.*

These are :

1. He hath feet with level tread.
2. Beneath, on the soles of his feet, wheels appe thousand spoked, with tyre and hub.
3. He hath projecting heels.
4. He hath long fingers and toes.
5. Soft and tender hands and feet.
7. His ankles are like rounded shells.
8. His legs are like an antelope's.
9. Standing and without bending he can touch rub his knees with either hand.
12. His skin is so delicately smooth that no cleaves to his body.
14. The down of his body turn upward, every of it, blue-black in colour like eye paint, in little c rings, curling to the right.
15. He hath a frame divinely straight.
17. The front of his body is like a lion's (w narrow waist).
18. There is no furrow between his shoulders.
20. His bust is equally rounded.
21. His jaws are as a lion's.
22. His eyes are intensely blue.
30. He hath eyelashes like a cow's.
31. Between the eye brows appears a hairy white and like soft cotton down.
32. His head is like a royal turban.

Similar signs of a *Mahapurusha* described in other and much older texts they all seem to point to an astrological ori The beauty of the womanly figure is also de with in this auspicious and astrological way

Add to these the restrictions imposed the conventions of attitude and gestures and artist meets a formidable array of aesth commandments before which his sense of beauty stands like a naughty child before an admonishing governess. It was pointed out in the last article that the Indian artist faced the problem of conventions with an undaunted courage and succeeded very well indeed, after sometime, in achieving "art," in spite of these restraints upon his freedom of expression. The Amaravati School had already mastered these difficulties and the different pieces of this School, for instance those depicting the women prostrating themselves at the feet of the Buddha, the prince with his court of servants and women, the adoration of the stupa, and the descent of the elephant, show clearly the evolution of the art and predict its further development in Mahavalipuram. Gupta art is only the culmination of these tendencies. Elegance and refinement had already come and Gupta art accentuated and further refined the ideals and added a serene spirituality to it, which seemed to be the finishing touch. The post-Gupta schools of art, continued in the now perfected tradition and examples are too numerous to give here. The art of Gaud or Bengal under the Pala and Sena dynasties was a continuation of the Gupta tradition. This art perhaps was less spiritual and refined as compared to the best specimens of the Gupta period; but it displays an excellent execution of established conventions with occasional variations which are its own.

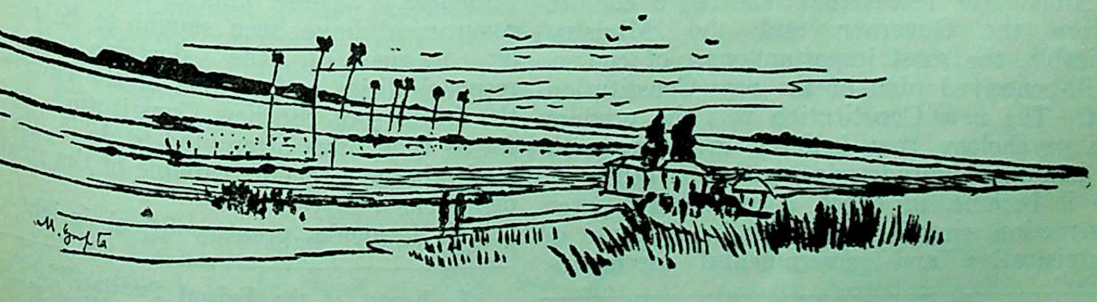
The art of India under the Musalman rulers portray very truthfully the character of the rulers. Let us look at Babur through the eyes of M. Rene Grousset. He says :

> "Babur almost reminds us of one of Clouet's portraits of nobles at the Louvre. And he is indeed a true Renaissance type—a gentleman of exalted lineage, with a passion for literature and art, anxiously observing all forms of humanism, at once a dilettante, an adventurer, and a statesman. Possessing, to quote Renan, 'great good sense and a certain intelligent and gentle quality free from fanaticism, a subtle, just, unprejudiced and open mind.' He was at the same time a poet, and even on the imperial throne of India felt home-sick for the landscapes of Ferghana, the grassy plains where he had been won't to dream in the days of his youth. 'The violets are lovely in Ferghana, it is a mass of Tulips and roses' he says, or he will quote verses full of an epicureanism that is quite Persian. 'Sweet is the coming of the new year, sweet is the juice of the grape, but how much sweeter is the voice of love. Snatch Babur at all the pleasures of living, for life doth flee, never to return.'"

This is indeed an inspiration, far removed from that realization of endless struggle and sorrow and that hankering after *Nirvana* or the passionless, changeless and eternal state of radiant inaction. That this outlook will lead to colourful weaving and embroidery, the making of exquisite miniatures, the soft and haunting strains of the *gazal* and *thumri,* and to a profusion of sensuous imagery of great refinement and decorative appeal, is only natural. Even sorrow and pain become sensuous, like tender caresses to objects associated with the beloved who is no more. The inspiration is lyrical and intimately personal. The Mogul miniatures and pictures are vivid with this personal element and very few things in the art of the period would aesthetically transcend the purely personal feelings of man, the mortal, and his fleeting joys, sorrows and limited aspirations. It is a deviation from the sublime, but is certainly not ridiculous. For, intensive living may not give a chance to the human soul for flights to the far distant regions approachable by faith, reason and the intellect; yet it enables one to look minutely into life itself and to purify, ennoble, refine and subdue its cruder and grosser manifestations by means of aesthetic correctives.*

---

* Being substantially the second lecture delivered before the University of Madras under the Sir George Stanley Endowment, 1938.



THE RECENT INDIAN CRISIS

BY BOOL CHAND

[The recent constitutional crisis in Bihar and U. P. over political prisoners is happily over. It has, we hope, cleared the air and produced better understanding in the ranks of the Government as to the conventions on which smooth working of any constitution must rest. But since some of the constitutional issues that have been raised by Mr. Bool Chand are important and deserve consideration, we are publishing this article which was written more than a month back.—Ed. *M. R.*]

I

WRITING about the resignation of Congress ministries on the question of the release of political prisoners, Professor A. B. Keith said in a letter to the *Scotsman*[1] that 'it is decidedly unfortunate that the clash between the ministries of U. P. and Bihar and the Governors should have taken place on an issue which afforded strong constitutional grounds for the expectation of the Ministers that their advice should have prevailed.' This statement, unimpeachable in its accuracy and depth of insight, sums up the whole nature of the recent constitutional crisis in India.

The implication of this statement is twofold. It implies, first, that a clash between the Governors and the Congress Ministers was quite inevitable and was bound to come sooner or later. It implies, secondly, that the Governors showed lack of wisdom and diplomacy in forcing the clash on an issue on which, on commonsense grounds, the position of the Ministers was really stronger than that of the Governor.

II

Why was a clash between the Governors and the Ministers so inevitable?

Among the forces that rendered a conflict between the Governor and the Ministry inevitable, the most important was, of course, the ill-conceived plan of the new Constitution itself. The new Constitution was the product of a psychology that believed in giving with one hand and withdrawing with the other, so that it became, in effect, a most hotch-potch construction, singularly lacking in all sense of administrative and governmental mechanics. Based on the avowed recognition of the prin that 'the responsibility of the Governme India will in future rest on the Indians th selves,'[2] it sought to undo all the im cations of that basic principle by creation of safeguards, special responsibi and legislative and financial powers of Governors and the Governor-General, an the end produced a most illogical and complic scheme which was bound to prove c unworkable in practice.

Under any system of responsible governm there are only two legitimate means by wh the Governor may make his influence intervention felt in the sphere of governm Firstly, he may discuss policy with or ad the Ministers and thus seek to influence th opinion, so that the Ministers might virtu adopt the Governor's views as their o Secondly, he has the constitutional rig (although such a right has already becom obsolete in the United Kingdom and Dominions) to dismiss the Ministers who not agree with his views and choose o Ministers who might be prepared to defend actions in the legislature. But the validity this second course is dependent upon composition of parties in the legislature: adoption would be legitimate only if the Ministers had any chance of securing a majo of following in the legislature. In the ev however, of the failure of the Governor obtain Ministers, with a majority in legislature, to support him in his views, implications of responsible government absolutely no alternative for the Governor to surrender his own views to those of Ministers. These implications of respo government have been sought to be nega by means of the doctrine of sp responsibilities and powers of the Govern the framers of the new Constitution, and i far as they have attempted to do so, they made the new scheme capable of the creati deadlocks and conflicts.

It bespeaks great political insight o

---

[1] Dated 17th February, 1938.

[2] Report of the Federal Structure Sub-Co of the First Round Table Conference, Cmd. 3778, p

part of the Congress that they endeavoured to insure against these deadlocks and conflicts by asking, before forming governments in the provinces where they had clear majorities in the legislatures, for an assurance 'that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference in regard to their constitutional activities.'[3] In their anxiety to secure the acceptance of offices by the Congress, the Secretary of State and the Governor-General evaded the issue thus raised by the Congress and gave an assurance in a general way that 'the essence of the new Constitution is that the initiative and responsibility for the whole government of the province, though in form vesting in the Governor, passes to the ministry as soon as it takes office.'[4] How extremely vague and unsatisfactory such an assurance was, seems to have been realised by the Congress from the very start; for they openly avowed their hostility to the constitutional scheme, the consequence of whose operation, from the very nature of its inception, could be nothing but to produce daily crises and conflicts between the Governor, acting on the airy foundation of his special responsibilities, and the popularly responsible Ministers, whose business it is understood under a system of responsible government to be to govern the country.

III

All this goes to show that the occurrence of a clash between the Governor and the Ministers was, in any case, quite inevitable; but as Professor Keith says, in arising over the issue of the release of political prisoners, it arose in a most unexpected manner and over an issue 'which afforded strong constitutional grounds for the expectation of the Ministers that their advice should have prevailed.'

The circumstances leading to the present conflict may be briefly stated. It was in July last year that the Congress party formed ministries in the seven provinces where it had a clear majority. One of the demands put forward in the Congress election programme had been that political prisoners throughout India should be released, whatever their offence. When the Congress took up office, it naturally began the prosecution of that policy. With regard to political prisoners, who had been sentenced for crimes in their nature admittedly grave, the course that was adopted was one of gradual release after the consideration of the merits of individual cases and on a promise from the prisoners that they had abjured the creed of violence. Under this policy about a hundred persons had been released in the various provinces, when it was felt by some that this process was painfully slow. In Bihar, nine of the prisoners resorted to hunger-strike in order to enforce their demand for the immediate release of all prisoners. Having satisfied themselves that the prisoners had really changed their creed and believing in the reasonableness of the prisoners' demand and in view of public opinion in the country, the Ministers in Bihar and U. P. unanimously advised the Governors to effect the immediate release of all prisoners. Under instructions from the Governor-General who took advantage of section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act to issue orders to a Governor 'as to the manner in which executive authority . . . is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof', the Governors of Bihar and U. P. rejected this unanimous advice of their Ministers. Upon this, the Ministers had no alternative but to resign.

IV

A correct judgment as to the validity or otherwise of the action of the Governors and the Governor-General must depend upon the evaluation of two or three issues. The first is, how far would the release of about forty political prisoners constitute a grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India.

Speaking on behalf of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Winterton, in his statement in the House of Commons on the 16th February, referred to the prisoners in question as 'so-called political prisoners,' some of whom were 'dangerous terrorists with very bad criminal records,' and suggested that 'the doctrine that crimes of violence, if actuated by a motive that can be described as "political," need not be subject to the law of the land . . . . must strike at the very root of law and order in India.' But it must be pointed out that the emphasis of Lord Winterton's statement is all wrong. That the crimes for which some of these criminals had been sent to gaol were in their nature clearly grave is true; but their crimes were essentially conceived as protests against what they felt profoundly to be an alien despotism. With the provinces already ruled by elected majorities, their whole attitude to law and order must change from hostility to co-operation. That this is so is eminently borne out by the fact that 'many political prisoners convicted of violent crimes have been discharged before now, and during the period of office of the Congress ministries no menace to the tranquillity of any part of India has been created.'[5]

---

[3] Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi, dated 17th March, 1937.

[4] Lord Zetland in the House of Lords, dated 8th May, 1937.

The truth is that in the world today there is hardly any force which stands so strongly for non-violence as the Indian National Congress under the influence of Gandhi. The Congress Ministers, who are responsible for the advice to release political prisoners, themselves are pledged to that creed of non-violence and they would not release prisoners simply to enable them to resume their criminal activities. 'Congress stands more to lose,' said Mahatma Gandhi,[5] 'than the British authorities, if during its regime in any province disorders take place.' Indeed, it is absurd to suppose that the release of forty prisoners, even if 'dangerous terrorists with very bad records,' could constitute any serious menace to the peace or tranquillity of the country, when hundreds of exactly similar prisoners had been released already. And even if it were taken for granted for a minute that the released prisoners might show signs of reverting to their violent activities, surely the arms of law are long enough to take hold of them again, and this time with the approval of the Indian public too.

It cannot be forgotten that the primary responsibility for law and order rests upon the ministry itself. That, in fact, is of the very essence of the principle of responsible government. For an alien Governor-General or Governor to pronounce upon the consequences of such a step as the release of political prisoners, with most of whom the Congress Ministers are presumably intimately in touch, having lodged in the same prisons with them, in complete opposition to the unanimous advice of these Ministers, is openly and clearly presumptuous, from the point of view of practical politics as well from the point of view of constitutional propriety, whatever might be the letter of the law on the subject. If any British statesman is prepared to recognise that India now is on the road to democracy, he must also at the same time recognise that the release of political 'martyrs' is a symbol of that democracy to Indians.

V

The question then arises as to why Governor-General did instruct the Governo reject the Ministers' advice. On grounds commonsense, the action of the Govern General is clearly incomprehensible. It see to be impossible to hold that the menace the peace or tranquillity of India due to release of these political prisoners, some whom have only short periods of their senten to expire, can be nearly as great as the inju done to that peace by the disappearance of Congress ministries of Bihar and U. P. possibly the other five Congress provin also.'[6] Then, 'the prospect of the Govern being able to secure effective ministries non-Congress character in these provin seems negligible, and puppet ministries mere supported by the Governors are mo objectionable. For the Governor to assum control is open to the gravest objection. Und the new regime he will be governing in fl opposition to the declared will of the electorat and it will be difficult to convince the electora that the cause of his action is at all adequat They will inevitably believe that the opportuni has been taken to eject the ministries not for the ostensible reason which seems paltry, but because they are becoming too popular.'[6]

But even if the intention of the Britis authorities was to break the influence of th Congress, the time and the issue chosen we clearly impolitic. Congress today is in a fa stronger tactical position than it was a ye back. 'Then it had behind it only the cheerin memory of a successfully fought election: no it has added the reassuring record of eig months' efficient administration.'[7] In an case, the dispute is concerned with the relea of political prisoners, an issue which is simp and clearly understood by the Indian masse and in which the sympathies of the orient must always be with those who favour releas and at a time when the Congress is meeting its annual session with a record strength 200,000 delegates.

The best face that can be put on the acti of the Governor-General is to treat it as a c of bad judgment on his part. The Governme seemed to be quite sure in its mind that wh ever the issue 'Congress Ministers are not anxio to give up office: they have lately been closely engaged in preparing their budgets.'[8]

---

[5] Mahatma Gandhi's statement, dated 16th February, 1938.

[6] A. B. Keith, in a letter to *The Scotsman*, da 17th February, 1938.

[7] *Manchester Guardian*, dated 18th February, 19

VI

There is, however, one aspect of this crisis, which has not been as widely appreciated in India as it should have been. The point needs to be emphasised that the rejection of Ministers' advice was defended by the Governors on the basis of the Governor-General's orders under sec. 126(5), so that the constitutional issue that emerges out of this crisis is concerning the relationship between the Governor-General and the Provincial Governments in the new Indian Federation.

In every Federation, the relations between the federal centre and the units have always caused struggle and raised problems. But such struggle is confined to the sphere of legislative powers: in purely administrative matters, the provinces have usually been left to themselves. Even in Canada, where the power of appointment and removal of the lieutenant-governors of the provinces is vested in the Central Government, the Dominion control of the lieutenant-governors has been of the slightest kind, in view of the fact that the lieutenant-governor is guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers. Such a plea should have particular force in India, where the Central Government has, theoretically, far less element of responsibility to the people than the provincial governments. If the Governor of a province can justifiably disregard the advice of his Ministers on the plea, openly advanced, that in doing so he is acting under instructions from the Governor-General, surely there is something fundamentally wrong with the principle of responsible government.

Apologists of the Governors have said that both Governors have closely observed constitutional proprieties![9] But the mere observance of constitutional proprieties is hardly enough to justify the action of the Governors, and particularly of the Governor-Genearl. The reason that has been adduced for the Governor-General issuing his orders to the two Governors to reject the advice of Ministers for the release of political prisoners is that the release of political prisoners in the two provinces would lead to an increase of pressure on the non-Congress governments of Bengal and the Punjab which they might be unable to resist. That reason, even if the legal right of the Governor-General to issue such an order under the ill-planned scheme of the Government of India Act 1935, be admitted, is clearly unconvincing. On behalf of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi has already definitely agreed to the procedure of the release of political prisoners after consideration of individual cases in Bengal, but otherwise, (i) just as the release of political prisoners in Bihar and U. P. can have the effect of forcing the hands of Bengal and Punjab governments and creating difficulties for them, so, indeed, can the non-release of political prisoners (the governments of Bihar and U. P. might well say) create interminable difficulties for themselves, and (ii) if the release of political prisoners in one province can create problems in another where the government is differently constituted, where is the guarantee that the effecting of far-reaching social and economic reforms in one province would not lead to a similar effect in another? Would, then, the Governor-General come forward with his intervention at all times that any provincial government thinks of some social or economic reform? Is not there something funny about a conception of Federal Provincial relationship, which leaves everything ultimately to the whims of a single individual at the top?

---

[8] *Times*, 15th February, 1938.

[9] *Times*, dated 16th February, 1938.

INDIA'S WOMEN SCIENTISTS

By ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA

In the first week of January last the Indian Science Congress held its meetings in Calcutta on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee, in co-operation with the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Many eminent scientists from all parts of the World attended the function and contributed many interesting papers. Many women scientists of India joined the deliberations and read many interesting papers on their researches. Besides reading papers, they joined in the discussions on various topics of scientific interest and many of them joined as delegates and made the session a success. We give below the names of the papers that were read before the Congress.

In the Section of Physics and Mathematics the following paper was read by a woman scientist:

1. On the Theory of Absorption in Ionised Gas, by Mrs. Bibha Mazumdar, Calcutta.

In the Section of Chemistry the following papers were read:—

The P_H of Aqueous Solutions Containing Boric Acid and Hydroxylic Substances, by S. M. Mehta and Miss K. V. Kantak, Bombay.

2. Aqueous Solutions of Sodium Aluminates, by Miss O. Joseph and Mata Prosad, Bombay.

3. Synthesis and Resolution of α-ethoxystearic Acid, by Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswami Ayyar. Bangalore.

4. Synthesis of $\alpha\beta$-eicosenoic Acid, by Miss P. Devi and P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Bangalore.

5. Halogenation, Part XXII. Chlorination and Bromination of Toluene under the Combined Influence of Sunlight and Halogen Carriers, by P. S. Verma, Mrs. P. Annapurna, S. Rao and A. Krishmurty, Benares.

6. Essential Oil from the Leaves of *Sphrenthus indicus*, by Miss Mary Mathen and B. Sanjiva Rao, Bangalore.

7. Essential Oil from *Listœ zeylanica*: the occurrence of di-cadinene, by Miss Mary Mathen and B. Sanjiva Rao, Bangalore.

8. Synthesis of Meta-oxazine Compounds, by N. W. Hirwe and Miss K. D. Gavankar, Bombay.

9. Aroma in Butter, by Miss R. Karnad, Bangalore.

10. Dielectric Constants of Mixtures of Alcohol, Benzene and Water, by S. K. K. Jatkar and Miss N. Shama Rao, Bangalore.

In the Section of Geography and Geodesy:—

1. The Geography of Disease, by Miss M. W. F. Waddington, Madras.

In the Section of Psychology:—

1. A Study of the Handwriting of Children in S by Miss R. Ghosh, Calcutta.

In the Section of Anthropology:—

1. Inter-caste Differences in Blood Group Distr tion in Bengal, by Mrs. E. Macfarlane, Calcutta.

2. The Palaungs of the Shan Hinterland, by R. Sahni and Mrs. Shama Sahni, Calcutta.

In the Section of Botany:—

Dr. (Miss) E. K. Janaki Ammal was the presi of the sub-section of Genetics and Cytology.

The following papers were read by women scientists in this section:—

1. Chromosome behaviour in Saccharum spontan X Sorghum durra hybrids, by Miss E. K. Janaki Am Coimbatore.

2. A lower Gondwana flora from the Salt Ra Punjab, by Miss Chinna-Virkki, Lucknow.

3. The Effect of Carbon Dioxide on Water E into the Roots, by T. Ekambaram and Miss V. Kamalam, Madras.

4. Parmeability of the Xylem Vessel Wall, by Ekambaram and Miss V. K. Kamalam, Madras.

In the Section of Zoology:—

1. Observations on the Reproductive System. Case and Embryos of *Chiloscyllium griseum*—Mull. Henle, by R. Gopala Aiyar and Miss K. P. Na Madras.

2. Observations on the Structure and Functio the Nidamental Glands of *Chiloscyllium griseum*— and Henle, with a note on the formation of the capsule, by Miss K. P. Nalini, Madras.

3. Preliminary Observations on the Structure of Uterus and the Placenta in *Scoliodon Sorrakowah*, Miss G. Mahadevan, Madras.

4. The Arterial System of the Mud Turtle, *Lis punctata*, by Miss B. K. Dhillon, Lahore.

5. The Spermatogenesis of *Clibanarius pada* by Miss C. K. Ratnavati, Madras.

The above facts show that if women of country are given proper facilities to do res work and encouraged by the award of res scholarships, stipends, etc., they will be position to do scientific research work, i way inferior to that of any of their sisters other parts of the globe.

MATCH MANUFACTURE FOR COTTAGES

A New Idea, and a New Method

By SATISH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

STORY OF MATCH MANUFACTURE IN INDIA

THE match industry in India has passed through many striking changes. The earliest factory that exists today is the Gujerat Islam Match Factory, Ahmedabad, established in 1895. During the Swadeshi days of 1906, match manufacture received an impetus. Many factories were established but by 1915, almost all of them were closed down either for want of capital or for unsuitability of site or for defective product or faulty management.

Matches continued to be imported. The pre-war imports were principally from Sweden and Norway on the one hand and Japan on the other hand. The Indian market was roughly divided half and half between them. But during the war, Sweden materially lost its world market. In 1918, Japan exported 11 million gross boxes to India while Sweden's share was 0.1 million gross. At the close of the war, the mutually competing Swedish interests were moulded into one and the present Swedish control of match industry almost all over the world was built up quickly. By 1923, Sweden again shared half the Indian market with Japan. But by 1927, Japan shared only 6 per cent of the Indian market, Sweden having wrested the market from her.

IMPOSITION OF HEAVY IMPORT DUTY

In 1922, the Indian Government wanted to increase revenue by imposing a heavy duty on importation of matches. It was Re. 1-8 per gross. Although it was purely a revenue duty yet it operated as a protective one and match factories began to spring up in India in large number. Some of the new Companies were Indian but very big factories run by Swedish and Japanese capital were established at the same time. Government obtained a revenue of Rs. 154 lakhs from this duty, which began to decline progressively. In 1923-24, it was 138 lakhs and in 1925-26, it fell to 118 lakhs. As the Indian factories grew up and became more and more efficient, government apprehended serious decrease in customs revenue from imported matches and it was estimated that it would come down to about 95 lakhs in 1926-27, and the fall was likely to continue in sharper incline.

THE TARIFF BOARD ENQUIRY

Under the circumstances Government entrusted the Tariff Board to investigate the position of match industry in India and recommend if the industry needed protection and if any excise duty should be imposed to recoup the loss of revenue. This was in 1926 and the Tariff Board forthwith undertook investigation and submitted a report in 1928.

Things however were allowed to continue as in 1922 right upto 1934 when an Excise Duty equal to the import duty of Re. 1-8 per gross of matches (60 sticks) was imposed. The import duty was increased so as to impose a like protective duty in addition to an *ad valorem* duty. The year 1934 therefore marks a new stage in the Indian Match Industry. Foreign imports dwindled and the excise revenue increased, and amounted to Rs. 238.5 lakhs in 1936-37. Events were happening rapidly between 1922 and 1934. The match makers in India had their time of plenty during this period and all engaged in the manufacture reaped large profits.

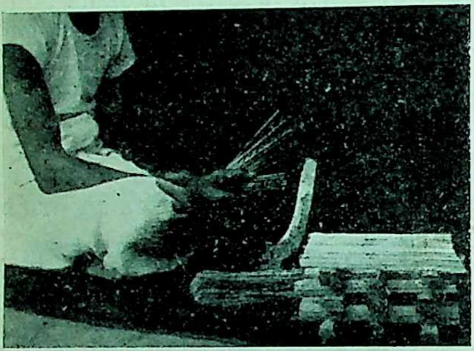
Splitting bamboo

THE SWEDISH COMPANY'S COMPETITION

Match prices were however falling rapidly every year after 1922 as Indian production was increasing. The Swedish Company's objective to control the Indian market contributed also materially to the fall in prices.

The Tariff Board Report observes :

> "With the virtual cessation of Japanese imports in 1926-27, the competition in India entered on a new and more acute phase. Production in India rose rapidly between 1923-24 and 1926-27, and may be estimated in 1927 at about 13½ million gross. The total productive capacity is about 18 million gross, excluding the cottage factories, and the demand is in the neighbourhood of 17 million gross. The Swedish Match Company has made no secret of its aim of securing at least one-half of the Indian market with either locally manufactured or imported matches. In order to achieve this purpose, it has had not only to increase its productions* but also to reduce the prices both of its Indian and imported matches, especially on the Bombay side. In pursuance of this policy at the end of the calendar year 1927 it had brought up its Indian production to 4·16 million gross while its imports amounted to 3·59 million gross. It thus commanded a market of 7·75 millions out of an estimated demand of about 17 millions in 1927."



Making strips from flats

A glance at the schedule of match prices given in the appendix to the Tariff Report will further clear the position.

Match prices per gross

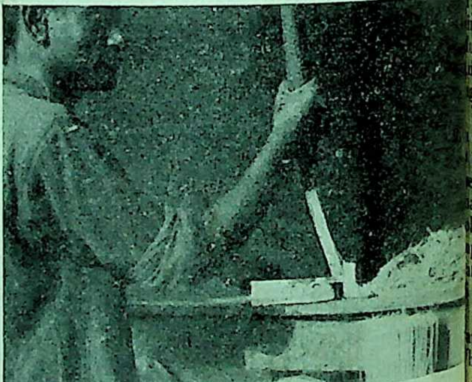
	Sept., 1924 Rs. As. P.	April, 1925 Rs. As. P.	June, 1926 Rs. As. P.
Ambarnath Safety 1st (Swedish Company)	2 3 0	1 13 0	1 9 0
Other Indian Factory Safety	1 15 0	1 13 0	1 7 6

In two years the prices per gross a to have fallen from 35 annas to 25 ann Swedish Company and from 31 annas t annas for Indian Companies, which is a 30% fall.

As the Swedish Company became and more securely established the comp grew keener, not between Japan and S as Japan was already ousted but betwee foreign capitalised companies in India a Indian companies.

The Indian Companies alleged tha Swedish Company was threatening them ruin and appealed to Government to give a preference by taxing the foreign capit companies. It was one of the objects o Tariff Board Enquiry to go into this matter and give their opinion. They alleged tha Swedish Company was offering to purchase ventures on pain of extinction in case of re They alleged that in order to discredit ma made from Indian wood, the Company put market some very inferior quality matches Indian wood, which successfully created aversion for Indian Company's matches. justifiably, as Indian products were then e to some of the best matches.

The Swedish Company fills up the la portion of the Tariff Report as it does that the match trade all over the world. In or to have a correct idea of the Indian ma industry and its bearings, it is therefore ne sary to know the aims, objects, methods resources of the Swedish Company. The Report has done this by culling the Com history as appeared in the Company's pa *The Swedish Match Company* pub under its own name and also by col materials from several of the prospectus balance sheets of the Company which f



A shear cutting strips into splints

---

* Production of the Swedish Match Company's Factories in India (million gross)

		1924	1925	1926	1927
Bombay	..	·182	·785	1·997	2·296
Calcutta	..	·054	·443	·947	1·217
Burma	..	—	·080	·221	·384
Assam	..	—	—	·031	·269
Total	..	·236	1·308	3·196	4·166

part of the record of the Tariff Board Enquiry. The following is an excerpt from the report :

"In 1903 two of the largest and the oldest of the match factories in Sweden known as the Jongkoping Company and Vulcan Match Works formed a combination which then or soon after absorbed five other companies. The ability of the Swedish match industry to compete in foreign markets which had been crippled was largely restored by the adoption of this course. But there still remained about eleven factories outside the group which, whether they competed against it or against one another, constituted a distinct handicap to maintenance of prices in foreign markets upon which the prosperity of the industry almost wholly depended. In 1913, Mr. Ivar Kreuger of Messrs. Kreuger and Toll, by the establishment of a Company called the United Swedish Match Factories, brought these factories under one single control. The entire industry thus passed into the hands of these two combinations and though there was in the home market a good deal of co-operation between the two, competition in foreign markets was unavoidable. During the war Sweden had almost entirely lost its foreign trade. In 1917, in order to recapture it, the Swedish Match Company was incorporated and the two combines were brought under the single control of that Company with Mr. Ivar Kreuger as Chairman."

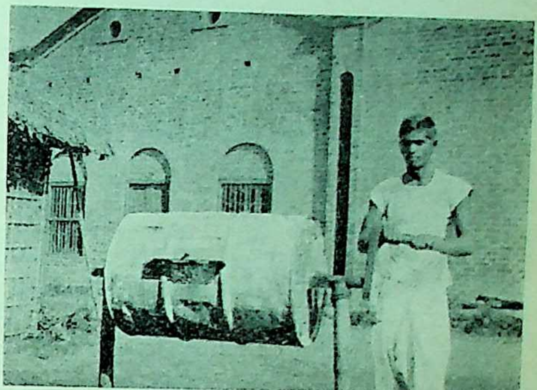
* * * *

"It may be estimated that the Swedish Match Company now controls not less than 65 to 70 per cent of the total world's demand. It has built its factories practically in every important country in the world and where no factories exist, it exports matches from Sweden. In more than twenty-five countries it has either a complete monopoly granted by the Government or a virtual monopoly acquired in different ways to which we shall presently refer. In 1927 it entered into an arrangement with Messrs. Bryant and May under which, in substance, the British Company was to operate in the whole of the British Empire excluding Asia and the Swedish Match Company outside that area. The only European countries of any importance that are practically now outside the direct control of the Company are Finland, Austria-Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia, but it is believed that in Austria-Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia also it has a working arrangement as regards exports.

"The object of the Company is to secure a position in every possible market of the world, which would enable it eventually to regulate prices. The acquisition even of the major part of the business in a market will not enable it to achieve this object. Either a complete monopoly must be obtained or a majority interest in every important unit constituting the industry. As we have stated, it has already secured this power in respect of 65 to 70 per cent of the world's market.

"We shall now briefly describe and give some illustrations of the methods adopted to secure its object. Where circumstances are favourable the Company obtains a direct monopoly from the State. In some cases the monopoly is granted because it is considered to be in the economic interest of the country. As an inducement to grant concessions moneys are advanced sometimes as a direct loan to the Government at a low rate of interest or in the shape of discounting at a low rate the royalty payable to the government during the whole period of the monopoly. The Company's arrangements with the Greek Government may be cited as an illustration of this policy. Where this is not possible, and especially where the industry is sheltered by a high tariff, the Company acquires in the country, by negotiation, existing factories or builds new ones. An attempt is then made to obtain control of the industry amicably. If this proves unsuccessful an intense price war is initiated until the local industry surrenders. For example, in Belgium very severe competition prevailed before the Company obtained virtual control of the industry. In this connection the statement recently made by the President of Belgian manufacturers before the special Committee appointed by the Belgian Government is of some interest.

"The cartel (meaning the Swedish Match Company) makes more money by the matches manufactured in Sweden and in other countries by it than on those manufactured in Belgium. It is therefore to its interest to close down in Belgium as many factories as possible. The price war which the cartel is capable of carrying on during years in all countries to which Belgium can hope to export matches * * * * is very formidable. It is a matter of public notoriety that last year a Belgian factory was compelled to go into liquidation on account of this price war; the assets realized in the liquidation were not enough to pay 10 per cent to the shareholders.



A drum for polishing splints

"In Germany also the Swedish Match Company has acquired a controlling interest in about 65 per cent of the industry and the German Government, fearing that the whole industry might pass into the hands of the Trust, agreed in 1927 to a compromise. * * *

"Japan was the most formidable competitor of the Swedish Match Company in the East and, therefore, as we have stated in an earlier chapter, an intense price war was carried on against Japan in all the markets of the East, especially in India. In the end the Japanese industry succumbed to this competition. According to our information, the Swedish Match Company has now a controlling interest in about 80 per cent of the Japanese industry.

"While we think that nothing has so far occurred in the activities of the Swedish Match Company in India which calls for Government action, it must be admitted that the resources of the Swedish Company are sufficient if it so desired, to crush for a time at least all competition from Indian firms and capture for itself the whole of the Indian market." * * *

So, this was the Company that was rivalling in 1927 against the small Indian capitalised units. As a result of this rivalry, prices continued to fall and productive capacity increase. Even in 1927 Indian productive capacity much exceeded the entire consumption demand.

THE EXCISE ACT

The Excise Act came in 1934. Match was taxed heavily and the prices were fluctuating, but competition with Indian capital continued to be keen. The effect of the duty was that match could now be manufactured only in licensed premises. The larger and smaller units have to pay the same duty, namely, 8 annas per gross boxes per 20 sticks. For example :

Duty on 1 gross of 40-stick boxes is Re. 1-0-0
Duty on 1 gross of 60-stick boxes is Re. 1-8-0
Duty on 1 gross of 80-stick boxes is Rs. 2-0-0

Singeing or burning off bristles from splints

Government made a distinction between larger and smaller manufacturing units and provided for a rebate of 10 pies per gross boxes of 40 sticks in case of cottage factories and defined cottage factories as those who make not more than 100 gross a day.

The Tariff Board opined that units producing less than 5,000 gross a day, could not be paying and based their calculation of fair cost and selling price, at the time of report, upon such 5000 gross units. No wonder that the Government put 100 gross units as cottage units although they are regular factories, using power and mostly coming under the Factories Acts, as units smaller than 100 gross a day, were beyond conception then.

RUINOUS COMPETITION COMMENCED

Immediately after the operation of the Excise Act commenced, we find that the powerful Japanese and Swedish Companies operating in India were faced with over production which resulted in consequent severe price cutting. The Indian manufactures though insignificant, were invited in a conference of the manufacturers in 1935 and there was a proposal to restrict production to 13,000 gross daily at Calcutta. Nothing however came out of endeavour and keen competition prevailed, still continues.

At the present moment prices have down so low as to make it almost unprof for the small producers. They however continue to exist working under great han How long they may continue is a probl shall analyse the present (1938) prices of m

Calcutta consumes 60's and the retail is Rs. 2-4 per gross or one pice per box. of this, Re. 1-8 goes to Government as leaving 12 annas per gross to the prod The retailer keeps at least three annas per or one pice by selling one dozen boxes an anna per gross may be put for transport wholesaler's commission leaving only eight per gross to the match manufact With annas eight the manufacturer has to his cost of production of 144 pieces com matches ready for sale and also make prof

In the cost of 40's the share of the m facturer is equally meagre but the middle has a good margin. The 40's sell for one per box in the mofussil or Rs. 2-4 per g The manufacturer sells 40's to the wholesaler Re. 1-7 at Calcutta, and gives out of it rupee to government and keeps seven annas himself. The mofussil buyer gets it at Re. to Re. 1-10 after paying for packing and rail freight, according to distance. The mof wholesaler sells it at Re. 1-11 or Re. 1-12 gross leaving a margin of eight to nine annas gross to the retailer, while the manufac earns only seven annas per gross by way costs and profits.

Match manufacturer in either case gets to seven annas for manufacturing a gross m boxes of 60's or 40's. The better known larger manufacturers may obtain an anna this and the small manufacturers obtain anna less. These later, who mostly manuf 40's have to be often content with getting annas per gross or half-anna for making dozen match boxes. Here again, the sm manufacturer has not the market as he desire to have. The larger manufacturers one to two months credit to the mofussil d The smaller manufacturers therefore in sp lowering prices cannot have much of a c against larger manufacturers.

It appears that match prices have re the bottom for the manufacturer. In the going paragraphs I have shown that price in 1927 was Re. 1-7 for smaller I manufacturers. This has come down n only seven annas or less and to add to they have to compete with a rival who can afford to give unlimited credit. The smaller units rely upon the personal labour and supervision of the proprietors as their profit and may save something from the rebate of 10 pies per gross, although I understand they cannot retain the whole of the rebate which is absorbed by cost of production.

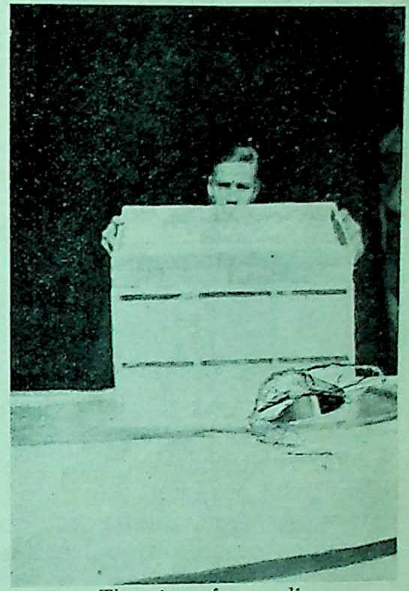
Cottage Manufacture : A New Idea and a New Method

Having shewn the present position of Indian match factory industry, I shall take up the matter from altogether a different aspect. For some time past, I was trying to hit upon an industry in which school children may participate to such an extent that the industry will maintain them and their teachers by only 4 hours' daily labour. It was difficult to find a suitable cottage industry answering this test. Then it occurred to me why not try matches? I thought that tons of newspapers are being distributed in districts and Talukas. They are generally wasted. If they are converted into match boxes, an waste product will be well-utilised and form a cheap and handy material for manufacturer. As for sticks, bamboos grow everywhere and I thought that they might be made into sticks quite easily in cottages. I tried the idea and found that the proposition was not only a feasible one, but had great possibilities.

I put myself to manufacture of matches. The product has been wholly satisfactory. The cost is equal to the cost of smaller units exclusive of the indirect cost of supervision, depreciation, house-rent, etc. Matches, under these conditions, may be made in remote villages in cottage scale without power-driven machineries and means may be devised to protect the industry from competition from the very large units.

Where a fully equipped automatic factory employs one man, a village unit making from one to ten gross per day will employ 10 men. There are now ten to eleven thousand men employed in the industry in the smaller and the larger factories. But if all the matches were made in cottages, it would employ 10 times that number or one lac people in villages. But if all these matches were made in residential schools, it would keep two lacs or over, students employed who would not only be receiving free education on the produce of their labour, but would be maintaining their teachers as well. If a school is so minded, the boys may send a small amount every month to their parents to compensate for their absence from field-work which most parents would appreciate.

For achieving all or a part of these, the Government should come forward and render necessary help and remove the existing handicaps. I shall later on indicate the nature of help needed in order to make hand-made match industry possible, and now describe the processes for hand manufacture of matches as introduced for experiment at Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur. Processes upto the manufacture of finished splints and boxes are carried on there. The rest of the processes from dipping to packing require to be conducted in a licensed factory. The Bangiya Deashalai Karyalaya and the Lily Fire Works, very generously helped me to conduct these processes at their licensed premises. Khadi Pratisthan has applied for a manufacturing license and Government is considering the matter. It should be noted here that match boxes and splints are upto now made from wood. Any factory making wood veneers for match boxes and wood splints has to be licensed like a match factory. This regulation cannot apply to cardboard boxes and bamboo splints. The excise regulations permit wrappings to be put on veneers so as to make boxes, and frames to be filled with splints, outside the licensed premises in Bengal.



The sieve for grading

Process of Manufacture of Hand-made Matches.

Splitting Bamboos

Bamboos are taken green or as fresh as possible. If they are dry they are to be kept under water to make the pieces amenable for easy operation.

Bamboo is split into pieces and these are marked off into lengths between nodes to multiples of lengths of stick and an extra half inch over all for each node length. The nodes refuse to be split and are knotty and are thrown off. The cut pieces from inter-nodes are now made into bundles according to lengths.

Frame-filling or arranging splints for dipping

Making Flats And Strips

The next process is to make flats from the lengths. The thickness of each of these flats is equal to the thickness of the sticks. For this purpose a piece is held vertically and stamped with a marking tool. The pieces are then split and made into flats, along the marks. The outer and inner layers are thrown off. The outer layer refuses to burn quickly and is therefore rejected. The inner layer refuses to be splintered correctly and is weak and is therefore rejected. The middle flats after separation are taken and arranged in bundles. The layers of the original pieces are kept arranged on the floor, in the order they were split, separately for the next operation.

These flats are then divided into strips. A bundle of flats is taken and held before a vertical knife (Bonti) and pushed through. The common vertical knife of kitchen is used.

Splints from Strips

The strips are taken up in bundles and then cut into splints. A shear is used for this purpose. This shear can be made by a vill smith if properly directed. A close view given in the illustration. There is a gauge pl by the side of the shear, upto which the stri are pushed, thus ensuring definite length splints.

Drying the Splints

The splints are to receive several treatments before they can be used for matches. First, the splints are sun-dried. Generally four days exposure in the winter is enough to dry. They may be dried by being spread over a sheet of iron, kept hot by a slow fire beneath. This is particularly useful during the rains. The splints contain about half its weight of water so that their weight is to be reduced to half by drying. A test for completion of drying is to take a stick and apply one end to a lighted fire. The stick should then burn without smoke right upto the end.

Polishing the Splints

The splints are now rough and show fine hair-like protuberances with which they are nearly matted. The hairs are to be separated from the body and they have to be polished. For this purpose, the splints with some sand are put into a drum and rotated. A cheap polisher has been devised at Sodepur. It is an iron drum through which an wood axle passes. The axle is mounted on 2 poles stuck on the ground. The drum has four shelves inside so as to offer obstruction to contents while rotating. An old 40 gallon drum such as is used for transport of oils is used for the purpose. It will hold about six seers of dry splints and require one hour's rotation. Six seers of dry splints will go to make about 10 gross of matches.

The sticks after polishing are taken out and winnowed to separate the bristles or hairs. Winnowing is done with the household winnower.

Singeing

Even after this stage the splints show minute hairs protruding out which are stuck fast to the body. These cannot be separated by rubbing or pulling. A singeing or burning-off process makes very fine polished sticks possible from bamboos. For this the splints are spread on a floor and the flame of a blow lamp is allowed to play lightly over them. The splints are to be made non-glowing. They are now soaked in a very weak solution of Phosphoric acid. The period of soaking may vary from half an hour to 10 hours according to the strength of the acid. The phosphorated splints are again dried.

GRADING

The splints require now the final treatment of grading.

A sieve frame has been devised at Sodepur. It is divided into squares, much like the case of a compositor. The bottom is made of a sheet of perforated zinc and is removable. The splints are piled over the sieve and shaken. They drop vertically into the squares and pass through the holes. The thicker ones are kept up. Three grades of sticks according to their thickness may be separated out of a batch of splints. We find that after grading the same size of match box will hold 40's, 60's and 80's sticks. This is a great point for the number of sticks in a box may be increased without increasing the size of the box and thus ensuring a compact thin box which is more convenient and better prized for using.

FRAME FILLING AND DIPPING

The individual sticks have now to be dipped first in paraffin and then in the tip-composition. But each stick cannot be taken by hand and dipped for it will take a very long time to do so. Dipping frames are therefore used. The process of arranging the splints on a lath which is a long and thin strip of wood, and piling the laths so as to form a frame is called frame-filling. For very small units, such as two or three gross of match boxes per day, the frame may be hand-filled by an ingeneous but simple method devised at Sodepur.

For somewhat larger output, of say 5 to 10 gross boxes a day, the frame-filling may be done with the help of hand frame-filling machine which has also been devised at Sodepur. It will cost nearly Rs. 200 to get such a machine made. This is the only costly item for a manufactory making 10 gross or upwards boxes. But for smaller units this is unnecessary. The dipped sticks are then dried in the shade and packed in boxes. The match sticks thus made are unbreakable and burn better than the common wood splints. They are indeed a superior article.

BOX MANUFACTURE : MAKING PASTE-BOARDS

Boxes are made from old newspapers made into paste-boards. A brush is used for smearing the surface with starch paste. Four sheets are laid one over another. The wet boards are stacked under pressure overnight so that the sheets may bind together and get compressed. They are next dried in the sun and kept pressed flat for storing.

CUTTING THE BOARDS

The sheets are now to be cut into sizes to make the inner and outer boxes. The scissors or a duptrie's flat-knife are not suitable for this purpose. A guillotine is unsuitable on account of its cost. A simple device has been adopted at Sodepur to cut boards into shapes accurately and quickly. The boards are taken in bundles of fifty pieces and are clamped between wooden boards, the widths of which correspond to the widths to which the paste-boards are to be cut. Several of these wooden boards are arranged in parallel in top and bottom pairs and are clamped on a frame. A saw passes through gaps kept between the parallel boards. After, cutting through in one direction, the strips are arranged in another frame and cut across giving the pieces. Three sizes of strips are necessary for a box. One for the outer box and two for the inner box, one of which goes to make the sides and another forms the bottom.

Pasting paper to make *boards*

MAKING INNER AND OUTER BOXES

The cut sizes are folded, to form the crease, over small rectangular shapes and are then wrapped with blue paper for completing box manufacture. The wrapping papers are obtainable in rolls in desired widths and are the same as are used in usual factories.

The end of the roll is passed under and through a wooden trough containing thick starch paste. The wrapping is done here and the strip is cut off. The outer box is simply made by wrapping the blue cover over the folded board but the inner box requires two operations. The side strip is held in the hand and then wrapped with the blue strip which is wider than the side. The formed side is put on a form and the bottom is laid over it and the wrapper folded down. This completes the inner box.

BANDEROLING, LABELLING

After the match boxes are filled with the dipped match sticks, they are closed with a strip of stamp like paper supplied by the excise department. This is banderoling. The banderols are sold for 40's 60's and 80's at Re. 1, Re. 1-8 and Rs. 2 respectively for a gross boxes. It is by selling these banderols that the excise department realises its duty on matches and it is through this that the excise department check that each match sold has paid its of duty. The manufacturer's label is finally.

SIDE PAINTING

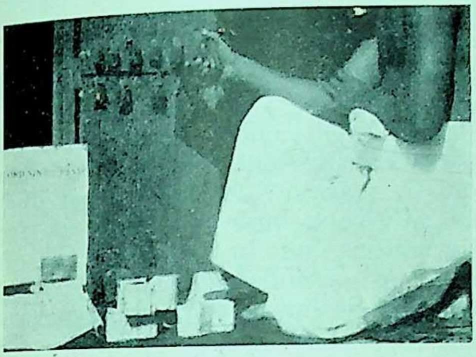
Yet another operation remains. The label boxes are arranged in trays so that the come uppermost. The sides are then pain with the side painting composition. After side is painted and dried the boxes are tilted another tray thus bringing the other side to top. This receives a coat of paint and is dri The painted boxes after drying are made i dozen and gross packets. This completes manufacturing process.

COST OF MANUFACTURE OF MATCHES FROM BAMBOOS AND NEWSPAPERS EMPLOYING HAND APPLIANCES AND HAND POWER ONLY

		60's		40's	
Material : For 100 gross					
Old newspaper 1 md.		Rs. 3 8 0		Rs. 3 8 0	
Flour for pasting		„ 1 8 0		„ 1 8 0	
Bamboos 20 pieces		„ 2 8 0		„ 1 12 0	
Chemicals		„ 7 0 0		„ 5 0 0	
Labels and wrappings for boxes ..		„ 3 0 0		„ 3 0 0	
			Rs. 17 8 0		Rs. 14 12 0
Labour :					
For making sticks from bamboos: starting with whole bamboo; 3 men finish sticks enough for 10 gross 60's in one day for 100 gross		30 men		20 men	
For Making Boxes :					
Pasting paper	4 days				
Cutting boards	6 „				
Box making: 3 men finish 10 gross boxes daily. For 100 gross	30 „	40 men		40 men	
Frame Filling and Finishing :					
3 men can finish 10 gross daily starting with frame filling and finishing into packets, for 100 gross		30 men		30 men	
Supervision and Assistant :					
2 men daily for 10 gross, for 100 gross		20 men		20 men	
Total ..		120 men		110 men	
		@ -/4/-:	Rs. 30 0 0	@ -/4/-:	Rs. 27 8 0
Interest and other incidental charges			„ 2 0 0		„ 1 8 0
			Rs. 49 8 0		Rs. 43 12 0

The direct cost of 60's is at annas 8 per gross and 40's is at annas 7 per gross. Indirect costs such as repair, depreciation, rent and tax, travelling, etc., have not been taken into account.

In calculating the costs labour has been charged at four annas per day. With dexterity, a man can do more work than is indicated and earn proportionately more. Dexterity is everything in cottage match manufacture and is attainable by practice and constant effort. It is amazing to see how quickly a trained hand can make splints and boxes.



Sawing paste-board for making boxes

DIFFICULTIES UNDER PRESENT EXCISE ORDERS

The present excise regulations are such that cottage match manufacture in very small scale is not practicable. The annual license fee is excessive for proposed cottage units and the nature of the excise supervision is such that smaller units cannot be established in any number and the rebate now granted to cottage factories calls for enhancement for still smaller units.

(1) A license has to be taken now for match manufacture for which a fee of Rs. 100 is to be paid irrespective of the capacity of the factory. An annual registration fee (for the license has to be renewed every year) of Rs. 100 is nothing to a factory making thousands of gross daily. A factory making 100 gross a day may find difficulty in paying this amount but for smaller units, it is impossible to pay this fee every year. For a daily 2 gross unit, the annual value of turn-over is Rs. 300 at eight annas per gross and 300 working days in the year. Such a place of manufactory may bear only a nominal annual registration fee.

(2) According to the present rules, an Inspector has to take daily records of production and a couple of excise peons are as a matter of fact kept on watch while the processes are going on. Expenditure for this may amount to Rs. 100 a month. It is impossible for the Government to employ this staff wherever a small unit is set up. At present in towns where several cottage units of 100 gross are operating, one Inspector takes responsibility for several factories. This is because the factories are within a short distance.

(3) The rebate of 10 pies per gross for 100 gross units is small and not enough to enable them to exist against competition. But for still smaller units much larger rebate inversely proportional to the daily output is necessary.

SUGGESTED CHANGE IN "THE MATCHES (EXCISE DUTY) ORDER 1934"

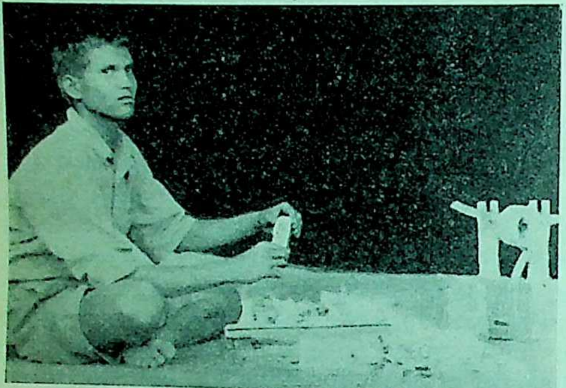
(1) The difficulties arising from excessive license fee may be overcome by basing the fee on the capacity of the units. Now a 10,000 gross daily output unit pays the same fee as the 100 gross a day unit. This can be altered and a two-rupee per gross fee may be imposed for daily gross capacity for large units and a rupee per gross fee for 100 gross units and under. Thus a 10,000 gross unit shall pay Rs. 20,000 and a 2 gross unit will pay Rs. 2 as the annual license fee. This will mean an increased income from the larger units which will go towards covering the supervision expenses for the smaller units.

(2) The Post Offices now sell revenue stamps. The banderol is also a stamp-like article and may be made available to the rural factories from Post Offices. As for supervision, it can be exercised, for example, through the Post Office by the Post Master, through the Sub-registrars (revenue department) or through the Union Board Presidents. These departments may exercise a sort of daily supervision through

Making the inner boxes

their peons and the officers-in-charge may call weekly, say, on Sundays, for general supervision and for drawing up reports. Those who may thus do some extra departmental work, may be remunerated at the expense of the Central Excise Department.

In case of existing factories the banderols are issued on credit and payment is made monthly according to the number of grosses issued out of licensees' excise controlled godowns. But for these smaller units banderols if sold for cash, these and the finished matches become the licensees' property and direct control over the godown will be unnecessary. The chief point of supervision will be to see that the manufacturer does not issue unbanderoled matches. It will be criminal to do so and this crime is so easy to detect that there will not be much temptation to break the law and the constant presence of an excise peon may be dispensed with.

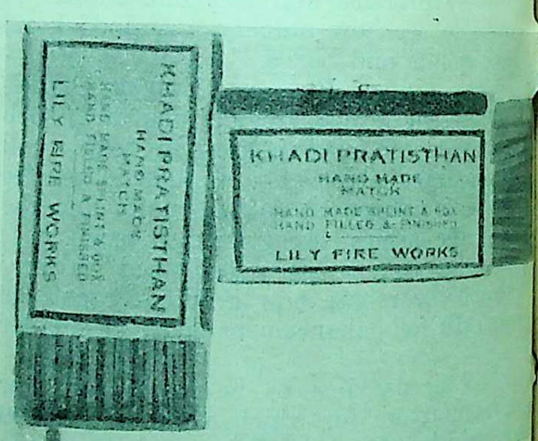


Making the outer boxes

(3) The Government has accepted the principle of supporting cottage industry even at a reasonable sacrifice of revenue. For example, the smaller match factories at present enjoy this benefit to a certain extent in the shape of rebate but for which many factories would have stopped working. The cottage sugar producer pays no excise duty, while the sugar factories have to pay it. By extension of this principle, and with the sacrifice of a little revenue much unemployment may be removed and the loss may be compensated for by taxing the larger units. The smaller units of 10 gross may be given two annas per gross rebate and more to still lesser units. I am afraid that it will take many years to divert to cottages even a small fraction of the present total output of matches. Threfore there is no apprehension of any appreciable fall of revenue at the introduction of such a measure. But to the exte diversion takes place, villages will become lively than they are at present.

NEED FOR LEGISLATION

The villages are dying for want of i tries. Mere agriculture cannot support people. This has been proved beyond d If all the necessary articles are produce large factories, the villagers and cottagers bound to be starving. If we convert all jute into bags in jute mills, if we make all sugar in sugar mills, our soaps in man Soaperies, our cloth in cotton mills, our le in huge tanneries, our shoes by tens of tho pairs per day in single factories, our matche automatic machines and our paper by to paper mills, and husk our paddy in rice m and grind our flour in flour mills and press oil-seeds in oil mills, what will be left for villagers to do but to die? If they have t saved, the process must be reversed. The m must be taxed to feed the cottage industr The outlook should be changed and instead using our intelligence for installing the m labour-saving machinery, attempt should made to employ as many men as possible i particular production consistent with its ut



The completed *match* from paper and bamboo

Cottage production of matches has thing about it that it can employ ten times men than is required in automatic factories. yet the product may be sold to the consu at the present price with a little aid from Government. It uses an waste product in shape of old newspapers and its waste can used for another useful article. We have fo that the waste bamboo from match manu tures, the nodes and the outer and inner co of inter-nodes constitute about 50 per cent of the whole bamboo. We have been able to make good white paper out of this waste bamboo, left after making splints, in a cottage scale. Match manufacture in cottages may therefore go hand in hand with paper manufacture.

I have not gone minutely into technical details of processes of manufacture. I have attempted to rouse interest in an industry which can be installed in cottages in spite of the existence of large factories. I do hope that members of the Central Legislature will take up the cause and see that the necessary changes are made in the Matches Excise Duty Order of 1934, so that match manufacture in small units may be possible.

INDIAN RAILWAYS POLICY REGARDING COTTON FREIGHT RATES

By M. F. SOONAWALA

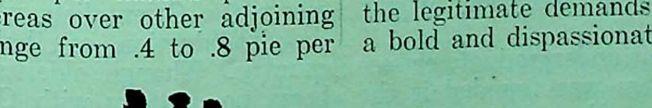
The recent announcement by the Government of India declaring their inability to make any reduction in rates of railway freight on cotton as suggested by the East India Cotton Association is, to say the least of it, staggering. It is common knowledge that the rates have since long remained pegged up too high. At a time when the cotton prices have slumped abnormally the obduracy on the part of the Government of India in refusing to afford adequate relief by lowering freight rates is highly detrimental to the interests of growers, inasmuch as this heavy charge stultifies free movement of the commodity, especially when the abnormal overproduction of American cotton this season of 1,87,000 bales seriously endangers any healthy tone of the local market.

The Railway Administration most vitally concerned in handling cotton traffic is the G. I. P. Railway, which is state-managed. It caters for such important Textile centres as Bombay, Sholapur, Delhi, Nagpur, Ujjain and Cawnpore. Its ramifications are spread far and wide from North to South and in the Western Territories, moving cotton from the rich fields of Berar and Nizam's territories. For import and export as well as for internal communications its policy vitally affects cotton trade of India. And still it is an anomaly that the rates fixed are abnormally high. The general schedule rate is 1 pie per maund per mile ("C" Schedule) whereas over other adjoining railways the rates range from .4 to .8 pie per maund per mile. Of course, there are a few special low rates existing, but the effect thereof is more to foster import of foreign stuff than encourage internal trade.

To bring a khandy (784 lbs.) of Punjab cotton to a place like Nagpur would entail a charge of some 20 per cent and to move cotton from Ahmedabad to Sholapur almost 22 per cent. Levy of such heavy charges seriously impedes equitable spread of the indigenous stuff.

The Indian Railways Administration evidently lacks an elastic control. Its rigid formulæ enforced in utter disregard of public welfare and of alteration of time and circumstances detract much from its otherwise splendid record of growth and utility. The Government of India trot forth the excuse of loss of revenue to the tune of Rs. 1½ crores. But they disregard the incontrovertible fact that encouragement to cotton cultivation and trade in this vast sub-continent by reducing a moiety of the burden of railway freight would directly swell the goods traffic with resultant increase in revenue. The fixation of rates at present is lop-sided and badly needs drastic overhauling.

The urgency of tackling this important problem of far-reaching significance cannot be denied and in view of the vast interests at stake the Government of India should cast off the slough of inertia and conservatism and meet the legitimate demands of the trading public in a bold and dispassionate way.



OUR CURRICULUM AND TEXT-BOOKS

Some Conventional Lies of Our University

By Prof. S. N. RAY, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

Now that the cause of education has been engaging a good deal of public attention and educational problems are being re-examined with a view to satisfactory solution, I hope, I shall be pardoned for discussing a subject which is very familiar to us, and at the same time very much neglected, neglected because it is so familiar. I am thinking of our curriculum and text-books which are not a little responsible for some of the vexing questions with which our present system is confronted. The time seems opportune for such a task, for the University has recently changed the Matriculation syllabus to suit our requirements. Reform of our undergraduate studies is already overdue, and we can reasonably look forward to its thorough overhaul.

Education in a country is no longer a matter for the few who enter the University. It comprehends the whole nation, and as such must be viewed from the standpoint of national welfare. Dilettantism which came in the wake of the European Renaissance has no place in a world where life is ringed about with uncertainties. The boasted Humanities did well when life had many social corks to keep it bobbing on the surface. Today we are visibly sinking, and in a world where the sense of security has vanished, we must do all to conserve our power and increase our efficiency. What formerly was thought to be the inalienable part of a gentleman's education is no longer so. At one time in Europe none was regarded as a gentleman without skill in dancing and fencing. Holofernes in *Love's Labour Lost* represents another type of culture—the type of the Renaissance when people were gone mad with the music of words. Today everything is judged by its utility—its place in the whole scheme of mental equipment. Even the aesthetic value of literature today depends on the relation of the writer to the productive activity of society. None need be shocked if education too is appraised by the same standard.

The Arts course in our undergraduate classes with which our University was founded is the relic of quieter times when life was easy, education was for the few and no starvation stared us in the face as the result of a wrong choice of subjects. But the times have changed be recognition and the few opportunities whic Arts students formerly enjoyed in life a longer existent. It has, therefore, be necessary to re-arrange the Arts subjects way which would not only provide aes enjoyment but increase our efficiency. I indeed true that the problem of unemploy cannot be solved by the University. In a country that question is one on which a Gov ment rises or falls. But the University can a great measure, check the evil by introdu courses of study which will cultivate the m of its alumni as well as help them to fi living.

If one estimates our University curric for Arts Examinations by what has been s above, he will not be long in discovering t they are antiquated, that they are adventitio rather than justified by our real needs. Let consider the I. A. course. Besides English a Vernacular which are compulsory, the optio subjects are Sanskrit, Logic, History, Civics a Mathematics of which three must be tak Apparently the aim of the curriculum is to g the readers a good footing in languages an wide range of general knowledge. But is curriculum so designed as to secure the gre measure of knowledge with the minimum los energy? Are the subjects so linked up that t lead from the Intermediate to the B. A. M. A. by an easy glide? So far as Beng concerned the course is about the same as the Matriculation Examination, and if students were asked to take up Hindust instead, they would acquire something additi and useful. Sanskrit is a much abused sub It finds no encouragement anywhere in life. occupies a despised corner in our curricu and if it is there at all, it is perhaps due to anxiety of the poineers of Western educatio please the Orientalists who opposed vigor the introduction of that education into country. Though older and more valuab bears no analogy with Greek and Latin. the latter hold a distinct position in the s and intellectual life of Europe. Without L none can enter the Church and the Law, a research in ancient Literature, History and Philosophy can be carried on without its help. Hinduism has no organized Church and no priestly hierarchy. Three parts of our studies relate to subjects where Sanskrit has no place. It never comes into our life except for teaching and studying our ancient culture. If that is the only purpose it serves today, its standard of teaching should be worthy of its position in the world of culture. But our University has made it one of the softest subjects by making shamefully easy passes possible. We should remember that it is one of the few things for which India is known to the world, and none who loves his country can lower its prestige. Mathematics of course is a useful subject, and one who intends to make a higher study of it must take it at the Intermediate stage. The position of Logic however is not clear. It does not increase what is called general knowledge, nor is its ignorance a handicap in the professions. It merely causes bewilderment to the fresher, totally ignorant of the history of European thought. Not being associated with anything known to him, the names of Aristotle, Bacon, Jevons, Reid and Mill evoke no interest in him. One wonders how it found a place in the Intermediate curriculum. The Calcutta University is firm in its opinion that it must be studied before Philosophy is taken in the B. A. class. As a student of Philosophy, I never felt that it ever placed me in an advantageous position, nor have I met anybody who thinks that it did so to him. We took up Logic as many undoubtedly do so now to pass the Examination and forget it. Our champions of Logic would surely be shocked by such a profanation. They point out how it disciplines the mind, imparts a method to our thought and helps us in our investigations. Nothing is a greater disciplinarian than hunger, and so long this is present we want nothing to teach us method in our argumentation. I may therefore be pardoned for thinking that Logic has no place in the I. A. curriculum. Logic is the relic of Middle Ages when the monks studied it for defending Christian theology. Later on Inductive Logic worked havoc in theology. Still the missionary in India driven to bitter extremeties by the cunning Brahman, sought its alliance for demolishing the ramparts of Hinduism. This is clear from a speech of Dr. Alexander Duff before the General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1835. Describing the ordeals of the young missionary in this land—this chief seat of the Devil—to use his own phrase, he said that it was impossible to meet the Brahman on his own ground. If the missionary asserted that the Christian religion was the best, the Brahman asked for his authority and credentials. If the missionary referred to history, the Brahman twitted it by remarking that the European history was not even thousand years old, whereas his own history extended as far back as four million years. If he spoke of miracles, the Brahman came out with his own which set all comparison at defiance. The missionary had no weapon to cut the fine gossamer, the airy subtleties of Hindu Logic. Dr. Duff concluded, therefore, by suggesting that the first step to proselytizing India was to give her European history, Logic and general knowledge. I am not sure that this consideration did not weigh greatly with the first framers of our curriculum who were already under the influence of Reid and Mill. Whatever the motive, Logic has out-lived its time and purpose. It has fallen upon a world in which people question its importance by the Marxist Canon of Productive utility to society. One would now choose something more tangible than this wordy warfare. If Logic is such a necessary subject of study, let those who specialize in Philosophy read it at a higher stage. Let Intermediate students pursue a course which would help them on to a career.

I do not know what led our University builders to include Greek and Roman History in the Intermediate course when the History of Modern Europe would have been more suitable and logical? Did it also proceed from the European's anxiety to strike us dumb with the glory of Greece and the splendour of Rome? Or, was it due to the influence of Macaulay whose enthusiasm for Greek and Roman History is well known? Whatever the cause, the system is unhealthy and illogical and encourages the pernicious habit of cramming. In teaching, normally one should proceed from the familiar to the unfamiliar by easy and imperceptible transition. It seems therefore reasonable that a student should know the history of his own country first and then by association pass on to that of countries with which it is intimately connected politically, economically and culturally. Thus having acquired sufficient knowledge of the present, he should think of the past. If the teaching of history is to be integrated, it is bound to follow some such plan. Thus instead of having Ancient Greek and Roman Histories at the Intermediate stage, our students should read Modern European History and the history of modern Asia, particularly of China, Japan and the U. S. S. R. in Asia. Ancient Greece and Rome can wait till the B. A. class.

Of late our vernaculars have come to their own. It has not only been an act of barest justice but of great wisdom. Now that they are growing from strength to strength, I believe I should be pardoned for reviewing their position in I. A. and B. A. as a teacher and not as a politician. For well-known reasons English has been a compulsory subject up to the B. A. Examination, and as a counter-blast the vernacular has been pitched against it. This may be a good patriotic step but not a sound educational policy. If the University set up an Honours course in the vernacular, its position in our national life would have been vindicated. Our already overcrowded time-table has been burdened with two additional hours per week by the vernacular. At present an Intermediate student has to take up five subjects for which he has to attend at least twenty-two lectures per week, excluding the tutorial and practical classes. Consequently, he is kept busy with nearly four classes a day. Similarly an Honours student has to attend at least twenty-two lectures per week at the rate of five lectures for Pass and Honours subjects and two lectures for the vernacular. A student who has to attend so many classes hardly finds any time for specializing in his Honours subject. He cannot make any profitable use of the library, nor has he time for thinking for himself. The University nowadays is laying great stress upon physical exercise. With such a heavy demand on the student's time and energy, I doubt very much if anything can be done either towards his recreation or his physical development. It is no wonder, therefore, that the vernacular is regarded as a useless infliction on our already overlectured students. It has in no way gained in prestige. It is still the same old neglected subject. Many of us who received their education before the vernacular was made compulsory, command a better knowledge of it than those who are being spoon-fed by the University. The time has come when our senators should consider whether it is not desirable to leave the Honours students unhampered by any obligatory subjects, English or Vernacular.

The Alternative Bengali like Pali has seduced students by its softness from the rigours of such a great subject as Sanskrit. We must not forget what position Sanskrit occupies in the world of culture. By the institution of this sort of unhealthy competition between Bengali and Sanskrit, some people are led to think that the advanced study of Bengali can be completed even without the knowledge of Sanskrit. It is a shame that our brilliant M. A.s in Bengali are often as ignorant of Sansk studies as a science student. Who can th of an English graduate from British Univers who has neither read Latin nor Anglo-Saxon

With the thought of the undesir competition between Sanskrit and Bengali his mind, one must remember the inequality the syllabuses of subjects prescribed for same examination. That our curriculum requi a thorough revision would be clear to us if take into consideration the existence of hard soft subjects side by side. The syllabus of P as an alternative to Sanskrit, of Civics as alternative to History or Logic and of Bot as an alternative to Physics or Chemistry very low. A student who passes his examinat with Sanskrit has to work much less than who takes up Mathematics. Though we Sanskrit prayers in our cradle, is it not abs that our Intermediate students know nothing the Vedas, whereas a foreign student study at the University of London for the sa examination has to read a selection of the R Veda. The syllabus of Civics is too inadequ to be an Intermediate subject. In power understanding there is very little differe between the Intermediate and B. A. stude So if B. A. Pass students can follow th rudimentary course of Economics prescribed fo them, why cannot we expect our Intermedia students to do the same? This has becom absolutely necessary in view of the fact th our Economics students with a good Hono degree find themselves at sea when they take the same course in a foreign University. I ha heard a large number of our brilliant gradua who later joined the London School of Econom complaining of this lamentable backwardness our University.

If this is true of Economics, it is no l true of other subjects. Of English I will s nothing. It is well known that our Hono course in this subject bears no comparison w the syllabuses of Oxford, Cambridge and Lond It is a foreign language and our deficiency i is pardonable to some extent. But none sh imagine that I am seeking to justify t hopeless state into which the teaching of Eng has fallen in this country. What is m shameful is that our graduates in Indian subj do not attain a high standard of efficiency, much so that many of them are not welc even to the London School of Oriental Stu where the authorities are very anxious to h our graduates. Not a few of them are refu admission to Research classes. I heard fro Persian gentleman attached to the Pers

Legation in London how an Indian student receiving a state scholarship for doing research work in Persian in the London School of Oriental Studies had to be coached by him in Persian from the very elementary stage. The reason for this backwardness of an Honours student is not far to seek. One important cause is that he has very little time at his disposal to spend for the subject in which he is expected to specialize. He finds his Honours subject sandwiched between two others and these demand not a little attention to get a pass. His two short years come rapidly to an abrupt end even before he realizes the scope of his studies. In a subject like English he can never acquire a firsthand knowledge of his books. Indeed if he tries to do so, he has to repent his folly at the time of the final reckoning. He, therefore, has to trust himself to cooked answers, cribs and handbooks that tell him about the books he ought to have read. A good scholar of our Universities is not always a person who is at home in his subject but one who knows all about books about books, opinions about opinions, - reviews of views. There is such a complaisance about this sort of affair in our University circles that the equanimity of our legislators is never disturbed by the desire for knowledge. The examiner who is very often a teacher is not ashamed of expecting originality from students in the face of circumstances he is perpetuating and pretending not to know. This brings to my mind an amusing episode which took place when I was an M. A. student. A professor who never lost an opportunity of airing his scholarship had a favourite in our class. Every day he asked him if he had read this book or that, and the inevitable answer was 'yes'. In this way it was found that not to speak of English literature which he knew from Beowulf to Sacheverell Sitwell, he was acquainted with the whole of Greek, Latin, German and French Literatures. In later life when I became more intimate with him, I found that he had not read even one-tenth. Everybody will realize that this system encourages cramming, sham and hypocrisy. Superficiality finds greater recognition in our academic circles than genuine scholarship.

Everybody considers the acquisition of a good knowledge of the English language and literature as something absolutely necessary. All our efforts tend towards that goal. Even the teaching of history is subordinated to that consideration. The great educationists who embellish our Faculties must be spending sleepless nights to find out the best means of teaching our junior students how to read and write English well. One wonders how far that purpose is likely to be served through the books recommended by the University for the Matriculation and the Intermediate Examinations. The Matriculation Prose "Selections" is dominated by writers of the 18th and early 19th century. One of the recommended books is *Ivanhoe*. Scott and Macaulay are two of the most favoured authors of Calcutta University. We are having *Ivanhoe* off and on for the last 25 years, but never had *David Copperfield* or *Under the Green Wood Tree*. Does the University expect that our young learners should model their style on Scott and Macaulay? Or, do these authors possess an extra charm for our young men and women? Has the University ever inquired from any English circulating library how many people read Scott and Macaulay today? When our University was founded in 1857, these authors were very modern indeed. But since that memorable event, the world has moved away nearly a hundred years, and during this time other great writers have flourished in England. The Englishman today sets before his children rather the prose style of Bennett, Shaw, Priestley and Churchill than that of Addison, Scott, Carlyle and Macaulay. The preference of our University for these reminds one of the second play of Bernard Shaw's trilogy, *Back to Methuselah*, where the Prime Minister of Post-war England parades his up-to-date knowledge of political literature by quoting from Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social*.

Sometime ago the learned members of our Faculty discovered that our students were neither appreciating the beauty of English literature nor acquiring its grace of style without reading the Bible. It is a mere platitude to say that the Bible must be studied by all serious students of English literature. But what grace can that scholar acquire whose grammar is imperfect, vocabulary scanty and taste unformed? Our great educationists would have done much better if they had recommended Fowler's *Modern English Usage* instead. The University is practically insulting the Holy Bible by thrusting it upon the unwilling hands of our teachers and students. The Bible is the most neglected part of our English syllabus.

Nobody will deny that the selection of text-books plays the most important part in the education of the men and women of a country. Yet how perfunctorily is this performed by the authorities. We have a Text-book Committee under the Government in which Truth is not valued unless it is the communal truth, where facts must be judged not from their conformity to eternal verities but to the scriptures of a sect. We have Boards under the University where not an inconsiderable consideration is the financial gain of the University. We have the Managing Committees of Schools and their Headmasters and Headmistresses who can be prevailed upon by publishers and who, if the rumour is to be believed, are not inaccessible to graft. The result is that many a poor career is ruined for ever. My mind cannot help dwelling upon a sad episode of my own life. When I was a student of Class VI, we read the whole of the first book of Geometry in Bengali. Next year we did the same thing in English from Gaurishanker De's Geometry. When I was promoted to Class VIII, Sir Gooroodas Banerjee became the Vice-Chancellor and our Headmaster who was an up-to-date gentleman prescribed Sir Gooroodas's Geometry. As the arrangement of that book was different from the previous ones, we had to do it over again. In Class IX, our Mathematics teacher insisted that we must follow Hall and Stevens. It is a wonder that our interest in Geometry still survived. In English too we had the same sad experience. In every new class, we were greeted with a new Grammar, and before we had gone as far as the definition of the Indefinite Article—and definitions made or marred us those days—we were confronted with a change. In Sanskrit we read the same thing from class VII to the Matriculation class, for the syllabus has been handed down like the language itself, from the days of our forefathers. And who can suggest that in the whole history of Sanskrit literature comprising three thousand years, there are other things to be read? But the tale of woe does not end here. The 'noble zeal' of our students can be equally repressed by an overzealous teacher. A niece of mine read in a local school sometime back, and when she rose to class IV, Nelson's *High Road of English Literature* was set as one of her text-books. The poor girl had to cram all about Cædmon, Cynewulf and Chaucer without ever realizing whether they were English authors or primeval beasts. The Headmistress was educated in a Convent and had no idea as to what might be of interest to our students. mistook our Bengalee girls for English g The pedantry of our learned University men women has not a little warped the n delight of our boys and girls in liter Like Addison, Scott and Macaulay, our Un sity prescribes by rotation Collins' Odyssey Iliad, presumably with the hope that the stu who by reading the Bible have seen one s of English thought, should be acquainted the other, *viz.*, the Hellenic World. Co delightful handbooks were written for En school children. Sometime back one of t books was recommended by the University set book for the I. A. Examination, and announcement was made that it would be e by a great classical scholar of this country remember how we waited with baited br and throbbing heart for the promised delecta as the hungry Hebrews did for the voice of in the wilderness of Sinai. It came at last from the Publishers' anvil one autumn morn And behold! It was all Greek! The lear editor showed how the lines of Collins' Se Reader faithfully echoed the Greek verses Homer! We were all floored.

The whole system of our educa encourages humbug and hypocrisy. It flouris upon shallow superficiality which shines on t surface but is rotten at the core like the De Sea apple. If our Bengalee intellect st disgraced today, it is the system that is resp sible. The University, we all know, was foun to produce clerks. It is a wonder how it blundered, from time to time, into sending genuine scholars, great thinkers, leaders of t and mind. Hitherto its main aim has bee flood the market with its output. The hallm has served its purpose, superficiality has been admired. But the times are already b and we are found wanting in every spher life, the glossy exterior notwithstanding. I k this is an unpalatable confession, but the t must be told that the work of reformation speed up. If the University seeks to pro genuine scholarship, this system must smashed and the whole thing reorganized.

BENGALEES AND NON-BENGALEES

By ANILBARAN RAY

THE anti-Bengalee feeling which is becoming rampant in some provinces of India is fraught with very grave consequences. The British conquest of India in the last century was accompanied by a Bengalee penetration which was really a surprising phenomenon. There was a time when the Bengalees had a very large share of the services in North India. Under the auspices of the British rule they were raised to the status of a community which had some influence in these provinces. Those days are gone. Mainly aggravated by economic causes a strong reaction has set in and in many provinces the plight of the Bengalees has become very precarious. Thus, for example :

> "For some years past the Assamese are carrying on vigorous propaganda to oust the domiciled and settlers' community from the political, social and economic life of Assam."

Bengalees in Bihar find it difficult to get admission into schools, colleges and even hospitals. In some cases municipalities are refusing permission to Bengalee-settlers to possess suitable plots of land for building houses. Antipathy to the Bengalees has extended even to their culture. Some time ago, the prize distribution ceremony of the Ravenshaw Girl's High School at Cuttack agitated the mind of the local public considerably because the Lady Principal, Miss Sudhansu Hazra, dared to select a drama of Rabindranath to be staged by the girl students. In this connection, *Vaitarini,* a local paper, observed :

> "We want to tell Miss Hazra that she must either give up her bias or give up her post in Orissa; for the days are past when Bengali dominance was being tolerated without a word of protest by the goody goody Oriyas. No Bengali official eating the salt of Orissa has the right to exasperate public opinion in Orissa in the manner Miss Hazra has done. The Government should take broad hint that the Oriyas are out to assert their legitimate rights in the land of their birth and that they will not tolerate such Bengali officials in Orissa, big or small, as will dare interfere therewith."

Increasing obstacles are being put in the way of Bengalee communities securing a fair share in the public services. Even rules are being made to curb their commercial and business activities. In the passion of the moment, it seems to be completely forgotten that such provincial ill-feeling is fatal to the cause of Indian nationhood; and it is very unfortunate that the Bengalees also are infected by the same virus. In imitation of the other provinces, they also are raising the slogan, "Bengal for Bengalees." The journals in Bengal are busy collecting statistics to show how the non-Bengalees have cornered the Bengalees in their own province; and as an inevitable result, anti-Bengalee feelings are becoming more and more aggravated. Unless this growing evil is checked without delay, the future of India is gloomy indeed. Even if India can somehow gain independence, she will be torn to pieces by communal and provincial conflicts, and her condition will be much worse than what we are witnessing today in China.

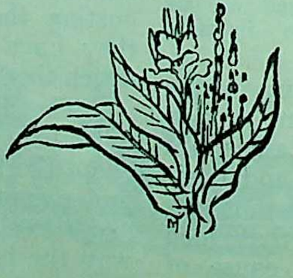
In all the higher spheres of life, Bengal in this age took the lead in India; and this aroused widespread jealousy, which can only be removed by patience, humility and toleration on the part of the Bengalees themselves. It must be clearly recognised that ill-feeling cannot be cured by retaliation, but only by large-heartedness and love, and the responsibility lies on all Bengalees, individually as well as collectively, at home and abroad. Some are raising the objection that if the Bengalees show large-heartedness, other people will take it as a sign of weakness and trample upon them more and more. We confess that we cannot see the force of such reasoning. If Bengal keeps her doors open for all, and proceeds to hold her own at home or abroad in open and fair competition, how can that be a sign of weakness? If we cannot compete with the non-Bengalees on equal terms in our own province, that will indeed show our incapacity and weakness, and unless we can get rid of that, no amount of bad feeling against the non-Bengalees will be able to save us from being eventually wiped out from the face of the earth. And it is not a fact that non-Bengalees are ousting the Bengalees in their own province; they have appeared only in those fields from which the Bengalees have voluntarily withdrawn.

The Bengalees are an intelligent and intellectual people by nature; they could easily adopt the English language and English manners and secure the higher posts in the Government and also shine in the higher professions. In this way the higher and leading class in Bengal became a community of service-holders. They did not care to cultivate the qualities of hard work and perseverance necessary for success in business. They wanted an easy-going life, and they fairly succeeded in getting it. But times have now changed; there is hard competition everywhere. The Bengalees have realised that they can no longer confine themselves to the services and the higher professions. They are now taking to business in increasing numbers, and the progress they have made within a short time is not at all discouraging. In the field of trade and commerce, there is still the supremacy of the Marwari community; but they are no longer inhabitants of Rajputana. They are mostly domiciled here, and have completely identified themselves with the life of Bengal. They spend a large part of their income here, and are foremost in relieving all kinds of distress in Bengal. There is no meaning in starting a campaign against them as being non-Bengalees. Many people point out how the work of coolies and constables in Bengal has been monopolised by the Biharis and Oriyas; this is, to a certain extent, true, but the real cause of this is that the ease with which crops can be raised in Bengal is not possible in many places of Bihar and Orissa. The people of those provinces are much poorer than the Bengalees of the same class; it is for this reason that such work has not attracted the labouring class of Bengal and has been readily taken up by the poorer people from the neighbouring provinces. And what is there objectionable in it? Unless such interchange takes place between the different provinces, how is India to grow into a single nation? Richly-watered, richly-fruited Bengal can freely give food to many people of India from her surplus production. Attempts should be made to produce plenty of food in Bengal and if for that purpose we get the co-operation of people from the other provinces we do not stand to lose at all.

If non-Bengalees are making money in Bengal, Bengalees also are doing the same in other provinces. It is only a question of m or less.* Why then this campaign against n Bengalees in Bengal, thus making the posit of our compatriots in other provinces too h If the Bengalees today declare sincerely a openly that all non-Bengalees will be treat as honoured guests in Bengal, and that people who have made Bengal their home, wh ever be the place from where they have co will be treated as Bengalees in every resp and will be given equal facilities in all spher of life, then Bengal will not lose much econ mically, but the moral gain will be very gre Only a little commonsense, a little idealis a little human feeling are needed to solve t many conflicts which are troubling India tod and we earnestly hope that the idealism Bengal will not fail her at this critical hour.

If the Bengalees remain true to their culture, to their traditional qualities of head an heart, they will play the same part as wa played by the Prussians in Germany, thus forming a great and mighty Indian nation out o the diverse peoples inhabiting this vast peninsula. What I have said elsewhere abou communal conflicts in India is equally applicable to provincial and class conflicts also:

> "Even the present communal troubles are due t a formative pressing down of the Indian *Shakti*, a pressure that is bringing the difficulties of her task to the surface so that she may compose differences, manifes and ref^und on new lines in the diverse peoples wh have made this land their home the essential spiritual and cultural unity of India, blend them into a harmonious outward whole and offer to the world an ideal of huma unity diverse in oneness."—*Mother India.*



---

*That Biharis do not lose by this process of mutual exploitation will appear from the following passage:—

"In the last Census Report Mr. Lacey computed that money orders of the value of Rs. 8 crores were se every year to Bihar and Orissa from Bengal. 'In 193 our Bihari brethren, bred up in the congenial soil o Bengal, have sent by M. O., to the district of Sara only, one crore of rupees. The income of all th Bengali lawyears, doctors, &c., in Saran hardly exceed two lakhs and the whole of it is spent in th province.' "—*The Bihar Herald*, February 23, 1938.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH EDUCATION

By Principal P. SESHADRI

I DEEM it a great privilege to be called upon here, this evening, to speak on one of the primary aims of the World Federation of Educational Associations, the promotion of international understanding through education. My first duty, however, is to convey to this large and distinguished gathering the cordial greetings of the country from which I come—a country containing, perhaps, the largest population of any land in the world today, representing as it does more than three hundred and fifty millions of people, or one-fifth of the entire race of mankind on earth. In my double capacity as representative of the Government of India and President of All-India Federation of Educational Associations, I wish to convey to this conference our good-will and best wishes for its success, before doing anything else.

It is a great pleasure for me and Indians generally, to come to this country of Japan. I may venture to add that it is not exactly a foreign country but almost a second home to us, connected as it is with us by numerous ties of culture and civilization, starting with the memorable time when the message of Buddha travelled all the way from my country through China to the shores of this land. During the last few days we the members of the Indian delegation have been in this country, with its great traditions of hospitality, we have enjoyed very much going up and down this beautiful land and meeting her interesting people. One reason why we feel proud of being in Japan, is the fact that Japan has done a great deal during the last few decades to raise the prestige of Asiatic nations and it is the only Asiatic power today, held in respect by the other great political powers of the world. It also delights us to be in a country which has done so much for the advancement of the education of her people.

Speaking on the subject of the promotion of international understanding through education, I may, perhaps, emphasize the fact at the very outset, that if only the educators of the world started the campaign of international understanding in all seriousness, it may be accomplished, if not today, at least in a few decades. Teachers of the world assembled in conference, may I invite your attention to the famous words of Ignatius Loyola, the illustrious founder of the Society of Jesus, who was fond of saying,

> "Give me the children of the country; I will not bother about what happens to the rest."

So long as we are able to propagate the principles of international understanding in the schools and colleges with which we are connected, we need not despair of a good future for mankind.

I am always fond of telling a story from one of the classical dramatists, Terence, a name which will be recognised by at least some teachers present in this audience. In one of his plays, with the rather difficult title of *Heuton Timorumenous* or Self-tormentor, there is an interesting character, an old man who went about worrying himself very much about things that did not concern him. He was very sorry that somebody's wife was dead in another street, another man's calf had been killed somewhere else, or somebody's baby was ill somewhere or other. He was asked, "Why are you worried about things which do not concern you at all!" Then came his reply, a very famous sentence in the history of the world's literature, because the old man turned round and said, "Nothing that concerns man can be a matter of unconcern to me," or in other words, "Everything that concerns man, concerns me." If only we, the teachers of the world realise that everything that concerns man, concerns us and make our pupils recognise the unity of the human race, we shall have gone forward a long way in the direction of promoting international understanding.

A very well-known English poet, Rudyard Kipling is often misquoted wrongly, as a prophet of separatism. Many of you know those famous words of his :

> "East is East, and West is West,
> and never the twain shall meet."

But these lines occur, as is not generally known, in a poem in which he intended to emphasize the oneness of humanity, because the lines which follow tell us :

> But there is neither East nor West, Border,
> nor Breed, nor Birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face, tho'
> they come from the ends of the earth.

Kipling, unfortunately, died the other day creating a gap, at least in English literature. But if he was present at this large gathering of the people of East and West, perhaps, he would have exclaimed, there is neither East nor West, when the teachers of the world meet face to face at the International Conference in Tokyo! If any proof were needed, one has only to notice, there are thousands of teachers here who have come from the ends of the earth, meeting on terms of absolute friendship. Members of our profession who see the teachers from other parts of the world, realize that, after all there is not so much difference between one country and another as we are sometimes apt to imagine.

During the course of one's travels round the world, one is interested very much in the wonderful unity of the human race. For instance, there is no such thing as Persian charity, or Indian truth, or German kindness, or English mercy. All these fundamental qualities of humanity are common and so also our frailties. It might be a white, pale face devoid of colour; it might be a yellow face with high cheekbones; it might be a brown face with almond eyes or a black face in some other part of the world. But let me assure you that the same spirit underlies all humanity. Unwise is the man who tries to emphasize the differences among the races of mankind, and great is the man indeed who can lay the proper stress on the oneness of humanity.

There are unfortunately some people who pride themselves on the alleged purity and superiority of their race, but anybody who has studied the history of nations, knows there is no such thing as racial purity left in this world, because there has been a continual mixture of races among men and superiority is mostly due only to the presence of opportunities in one case and their absence in another. There is no reason why the most depressed people among mankind might not rise to the highest levels of intellect and character, provided they are given adequate opportunities for such development. Similarly, it appears futile that people should claim superiority of blood to other classes living in their own country. The story is told of Lord Byron in his younger days, when he was a boy at school, that he was conceited and snobbish. He was a Lord and therefore he always told his classmates that there was blue blood in his veins. One day a classmate happened to quarrel with him; he gave him a strong blow on his nose and blood trickled down, when boys exclaimed, "We find your blood is red, it is not blue!" The blood of people is red; the blood of no people is bl It is, therefore, very unwise to speak of t superiority of one race over another, or t superiority of one class over another.

There is special appropriateness in m appearing on the programme of this eveni I come of a race which has always emphasiz the ideals of international peace and brothe hood as one of the fundamental doctrines o our religion. No religious prayer in India i complete without the concluding words "O Shanti, Shanti, Shanti" which means "pea peace, peace." No benediction in my countr is complete without a formal ending of wor to the effect, "May all the people of the wor be happy and prosperous!" At a wedding, fo instance, it is not the couple alone who a blessed—there are invariably the words, "Ma all humanity be happy and prosperous." Th is done on every occasion when there is a auspicious ceremony in the family. Comin from such a country, it is a great pleasure fo me to add my cordial support to the great nee for the promotion of international understandin through education.

Some of you, engaged in the work o teaching—I expect most of you are—may, perhaps, ask, 'How shall we promote international understanding through education?' For several years, I used to serve on a committe of the League of Nations in Geneva, called b the somewhat embarrassing name of th Educational Experts' Committee. One of ou duties was to advise the League of Nation about the methods for propagating the principles of the League among the younger generation of mankind in all the regions of the world We sat for several days every year under th distinguished chairmanship of the well-know English scholar, Prof. Gilbert Murray to consider, how we shall promote international understanding through education. I may, perhaps take up a few minutes speaking on some aspec of this question.

Our chairman, Dr. Paul Monroe told u only a few minutes back very wisely, that o of the reasons why the people of the world d not appreciate each other is ignorance. In fac philology will give us striking evidence of th fact. Most of us know the word 'barbarou which comes down from the Greek times, b only a few of us know the derivation of th word, which means unknown or strange. Th Greeks thought that all unknown people we barbarous. It often happens that when we d not know people, we have all kinds of pr judices against them. There is also an English word which confirms the same truth. The word 'uncouth' comes from an old word meaning unknown. But it has unfortunately come to mean rough, uncivilized, or rude. When you call a man uncouth, you really mean by derivation, you do not know that man—it is therefore unfair that you should consider him crude only because you do not know him. Many of us, no doubt, before we came to this country had various prejudices of our own regarding the people of this land. But, perhaps our fortunate stay here has been enough to remove some of our prejudices and we all go back from this land, I am sure, with the satisfaction of having known some of the good aspects of Japanese life and civilization, not from books but from actual contacts with the people.

In almost every subject taught in schools and colleges, it is possible to keep this principles in mind, and train young people to appreciate the good qualities and achievements of other races of mankind. A special responsibility lies in the department of Geography which furnishes admirable opportunities for training people in appreciation of all that is great in other countries. Pupils must be made to realize that theirs is not the only great country in the world. An English writer tells us of a country-squire who had not travelled widely, but had only gone to London a few times. He thought that England had the longest rivers and the tallest mountains in the world! Geography must be a good corrective to this attitude of mind. Luckily, the teaching of Geography has advanced so much in recent years that it is no longer a mere string of names to be memorized by the unfortunate pupil. Taught well, it is largely humanistic, and must lead to an appreciation, not only of beautiful aspects of nature in other countries, but also of the daily lives and civilization of the people.

The subject of Art, again, taught as a means of realizing all the great achievements of the world in masterpieces of beauty, must also lead to the promotion of international understanding. The great art of the world is due to not one particular country but to the contributions of all.

Literature should furnish similar opportunities in a large measure. Beauty, as expressed in the best literary masterpieces of the world is the result of a large co-operative effort on the part of the great men of all humanity, and is not the manifestation of the abilities of a single people. They are composed of the work of diverse nations, for we have the clearness and vitality of Homer, the stateliness of Virgil, the religious depth of Dante, the wonderful understanding of human nature by Shakespeare and the philosophic profundity of Goethe. The total of these achievements could not have been reached anywhere near, but that God in His generosity had scattered genius all over the world with prodigal hand, without confining it to any so-called chosen people. Thorough understanding of great literature must, of course, always include a knowledge of the great masterpieces of the world, even other than those of one's own country, at least, in translations if not in the originals themselves. It may be too early to practise this in the case of children in schools, but opportunities will certainly arise in the case of the advanced students at the universities to insist on such a wide outlook.

It is, however, in the teaching of history that there is the greatest scope for the teaching of international understanding. In the Educational Experts' Committee at Geneva, to which I have already made reference, we formulated a number of recommendations which have a profound bearing on this subject. One of our proposals was that all the history textbooks of the world should be revised, so as to eliminate traces of racial bitterness. It is not that textbooks for children should be colourless and devoid of patriotic enthusiasm, but that children should be taught to appreciate the heroes of not only their own country but also of others, and sentiments likely to engender ill-feeling should be carefully avoided.

This reminds me of a story told of a Scotch lady in the days of Britain's wars with Napoleon. Somebody happened to mention to her that the French people were praying for the victory of Napoleon. She turned round and asked, "What? How could they pray? Does God understand French?" The good lady honestly thought that God understood only English and not French, and He was apparently for the Britisher only and not for any other people on earth. It is also desirable to present history to young children, not as a mere pageant of bitter fights among the people of the world, but as a record of man's achievements in peace and civilization.

One of the greatest problems with which we are confronted in my own country, is the multiplicity of religions, often leading to ill-will among the people. It is not a matter on which we congratulate ourselves, but the mere fact that there is a multiplicity of religions in the world, need never be a bar to the promotion of international understanding. After all, it is good to realize that religious revelation cannot be the monopoly of one people, and teach the principle that there may be many approaches to God. One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one, though He may be called by many different names. Our scriptures have proclaimed, repeatedly, that just as many roads lead to a great city, many faiths lead to the same God. As the same sun is reflected in many waters, the same God can be discovered in many religions. Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace, the same God is in all the religions of the world. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class-room.

Travelling in America the other day, I happened to be in a Parlour Car, talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning. He had just said his prayers, and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate. I was apparently so nice to him, that he asked me if I was a Christian. I told him that I was not a Christian, but a Hindu, but the boy said with a happy smile, "But you look like a Christian!" I should be, similarly, able to say when I look at a good Christian, 'You look like a Hindu,' for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there, it matters very little what religions they profess.

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism. Rightly understood, however, it is not so, as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood. Rudyard Kipling has said, God gave al all earth to love, though "He ordain each, one spot should prove beloved over It may be that you and I are very fo the places and the sights of the places to we belong, but that does not necessarily that we should be incapable of apprec beauty in other parts of the world. If I proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can be fond of the Parthenon at Athens. admire the Himalayas of my own land, I not be lacking in appreciation of the gra of the Rockies on the American continent I appreciate the grace and charm of the w of my own country, I can also be an ad of beauty even elsewhere in the world.

I should like to commend to you conclusion, that it is necessary in the interests of mankind to instil this sense international understanding in the young pe all over the world. It is a mistake not love one another, because we happen to different in colour or feature, or happen to on either side of a boundary which is someti not even a river or a mountain, but an enti imaginary line. I have no doubt that teach have an important part to play in this wo and let us hope that when the time comes a consummation of this ideal, these periodic world-gatherings will be found to have pla no mean part in the achievement.

Address delivered at the recent World Confe of Education in Tokyo.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM OF INDIA AND THE SOUTH AND A SOLUTION

By G. THIAGARAJAN,
Ipoh, Federated Malay States

[Owing to the length of the article we publish only e latter half of it.—Editor, *M. R.*]

INTRODUCTION

HE RECENT essay by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru n "The language question of India," is an nlargement of the two clauses found in " Nehru's onstitution," *viz.*,

1. "The language of the commonwealth hall be Hindustani which may be written either n Nagri or in Urdu character. The use of the nglish language shall be permitted.

2. "In provinces, the principal language of e province shall be the official language of at province. The use of Hindustani and nglish shall be permitted."

The above-quoted clauses are found in the nstitution drafted in 1927 by the Working mmittee of the All-India Congress Committee th the co-operation of the leaders of the other olitical parties of India under the presidenthip of Pandit Motilal Nehru, the father of e essayist, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The essayist has said : "I have written his essay with a view to invite consideration f this problem from a wider angle." My olution will be based on the consideration of his problem from a wider angle.

CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THIS DUAL LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT

Hindi with its attachment to Sanskrit and ith Nagri or a new script, will be more Sanskritized, while Urdu, patronizing Persian, with ts script allied to Persian and Arabic, will be more and more Persianized. Thus these two anguages and two scripts will widen the gulf etween the Hindus and the Muslims. If indu-Muslim unity is to be secured at any ost, this pandering to the religious sentiment f these two religionists should be condemned. A third medium should be sought to bring bout the indispensable unity for the progress nd uplift of India. Even Esperanto will be more welcome than this Hindi-Urdu split, if Esperanto would bring about Hindu-Muslim unity.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE CONCLUDING PARAGRAPHS OF THE ESSAYIST (P. J. N.).

1. EDUCATION

(a) *General.* In each linguistic area, education from the primary to the university stage will be given in the language of the province.

(b) *Primary.* Primary education will be in the mother tongue of the student. Even in areas wherein the language of the area is not the mother tongue of the student, education will be in the mother tongue if there be sufficient number of students.

(c) *Secondary Education.* 1. In the non-Hindi speaking areas basic Hindustani should be taught in the secondary stage, the script being left to the choice of the persons concerned.

2. Provision for teaching foreign languages as well as our classical languages should be made in our secondary schools.

3. A foreign language and a classical language will be compulsory for those taking special courses and for those preparing for the university stage.

Thus the students not desiring special courses or university education will have a knowledge of their mother tongue and basic Hindustani only.

(d) *University Education.* 1. The medium of instruction for university education will be the language of the linguistic area.

2. Hindustani (either script) and a foreign language should be compulsory subjects.

3. Those taking higher technical courses need not study Hindustani and a foreign language, though desirable. Thus a student with higher technical qualifications will know his mother tongue but only basic Hindustani and a modicum of foreign language (say, basic English).

2. ADMINISTRATION

(a) Our public work should be carried on in the language of each linguistic area.

(b) In the non-Hindustani speaking areas, both Hindi and Urdu, with their scripts, should be officially recognized. Public notifications should be issued in both scripts. Either script might be used by a person in addressing a court or public office.

(c) Hindustani (both scripts) will be recognized as the all-India language.

(d) As such it will be open to any person throughout India to address a court of public office in Hindustani (either script).

CHAPTER VI

I shall apply these suggestions to the Madras Presidency and enumerate some of the problems and difficulties to be encountered.

1. EDUCATION

(a) *Primary.* The language of education being in the mother tongue of the student and there being four languages in the Madras Presidency, the students in the primary schools will be taught in these four languages in their respective areas. That is, there will not be any intra-provincial unity of the masses. They will be isolated (linguistically) as they are at present. In other words, the All-India language for want of education in the primary stage will not bring about the unity of the masses, so very desirable in a nation.

(b) *Secondary.* The medium of instruction during this stage will be in the four languages of the Presidency. Basic Hindustani (with either script) will be compulsory. One classical language and a foreign language will be compulsory for those preparing for special courses and for the University stage.

That is, all those satisfied with secondary education will learn two languages, one of which will be in Hindi or Urdu script. The parents will have to decide as to the course of further studies of the boys when they are about 11 years old. The two scripts for Hindustani will induce the Muhammedan boys to learn Urdu script and the Hindu boys Hindi script.

In a province where the Hindu-Muslim antagonism is negligible, this difference in script and literature will intensify the split between these religionists.

The boys preparing for special courses and University will have to learn four languages, the study of which will occupy a greater part of their school hours. Other subjects s mathematics, history, geography, hygien will be cramped into a small portion o school hours.

Even after such a sacrifice, how ma such boys will speak Hindi, English or Sa outside their classes ? They will contin speak in their mother tongues, as at the stage of the secondary education, they wil have enough command of any of these lang to venture into one of these in their home playing fields. By the time they reach later stage of the secondary education habit of talking in one's mother tongue have been permanently acquired.

The local Chinese boys are a good ex to illustrate my point. All the boys in local English schools are taught in English the very beginning and yet in their h playing fields and business centres they in Chinese or in Chinese interspersed English. It is therefore evident that a Ma boy with his mother tongue as the medium instruction will have a lesser tendency to in Hindi or other languages learnt during secondary education. Therefore, the m desired linguistic unity among the Madras b with secondary education will not be mu evidence.

(c) *University.* The medium of instr tion in the Universities being the languag the area, there will be four Universities in four linguistic areas of the Madras Preside And the Madras University will cater students educated through the medium of four languages. The impossibility of achievement is obvious.

The Universities in Great Britain Ireland teach about 189 subjects, from A nautics to Zoology. If the Madras Univers aim at teaching even 50% of these sub the stupendous task of translating the num books into the four languages of the Presid is unthinkable.

Such students having studied their sub in their vernaculars will meet at a prov conference of University students and l each in his own mother tongue for the ed tion of others. What a medley of tongues

2. (a) INTRA-PROVINCIAL UNITY

Later in life, when some of them attained the standard of professorship, they write books each in his particular subject a his particular mother tongue for the enlig ment of the future generation in the provi

At the four corners of the province

provincial politicians will harangue the masses in the four languages, to be translated into Hindi—not known to the majority—or in the language of the area by the press for the enlightenment of the rest of the province.

This is the kind of intra-provincial tongue that will be established if the suggestions of the essayist (P.J.N.) are adopted.

(b) *Inter-provincial unity.* The provincial representatives at an All-India Science Conference will have the pleasure of hearing speeches and lectures in all the provincial languages of India but not derive benefit therefrom. Because the scientists from these provinces would have learnt their subjects in their mother tongues and therefore cannot but use the language with which they are accustomed. One can say that Hindi being compulsory in the secondary stage, the language of the conference can or should be in Hindustani. One must try this experiment of learning a science in one language and expressing it in a different language. Even though Dr. Tagore is a master of two languages, he, I am informed, translated only *Gitanjali* into English, but not with equal effect and beauty as in the original.

(c) *International.* The Indian representatives at an international conference will be talking in their various mother tongues though calling themselves the representatives of a nation.

Our future Radhakrishnan will give a discourse on philosophy in Tamil to the English students at the Oxford University. Similarly, a Malaviya will tour in England and America to enlighten the people on the political aspirations of the Indians and lecture in Hindi.

Thus, Hindi as an All-India language will be of no benefit for intra-provincial, inter-provincial and international affairs.

3. TRANSLATIONS

Apart from the translations previously mentioned, the masters of the provincial languages will have to translate into various tongues the literatures of the world and the literatures pertaining to India and the Indians written by Indians and foreigners in English and other foreign languages during the past centuries.

The translation of the Life of Mahatma Gandhi into Tamil may be simple, but let some one undertake the translation of the *Glimpses of the World History* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and then the stupendity of the task will be realized. Why, let a Bengali undertake the translation of the *Story of Civilization* by Prof. Will Durant and then the hopelessness of the task will be realized. What then of the sciences!

As an example of the impossibility of the task let me cite the translation of Dorland's Medical Dictionary containing nearly 100,000 words into any of the Indian languages if not in all the provincial languages. If one science has nearly 100,000 words, what of all the rest?

Herein the line of least resistance will have to be followed, *i.e.,* adopt the whole lot of them. If one is in command of these thousands of words in a foreign language, how many thousands more will be required to deliver a lecture on a medical topic? A few hundred words of the English language will suffice. Then why not learn these few hundred words. Yes! The suggestion provides for the study of a foreign language. Why then, having studied this foreign language and thousands of technical terms, burden a student with Hindi?

4. A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

A national language without the inherent dignity of being the medium of instruction in the school and through the Press, and being the language of administration is a shibboleth.

It is admitted that Hindi will not be the medium of instruction in the South. The Press, if it endeavours to educate the populace in Hindi will pander to a very small population. Hindi is not to be the language of administration in the South as in many other parts of India. But, one will have the pleasure of seeing Government notices and Congress pamphlets in seven languages, *viz.,* Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese, Hindi, Urdu and say, English.

CHAPTER VII

INDIA'S PROBLEM

The real problem of India is "how best to assimilate modern civilization in such a manner as to make it congenial and congruous and continuous with the civilization of its own making."

With this end in view the essayist (P.J.N.) advocates the retention of the provincial languages and the nationalization of Hindi.

In this effort let us bring in the knowledge and experience of the past centuries to make a selection. I opine that expediency, practicability and utility should be the criterion in the selection and that sentiment should not be permitted to over-rule reason.

THE SOLUTION

The claims of English as an All-India language have been brushed aside probably because it is a foreign language, and because it is the language of the conqueror, which is more hateful. But, let me delineate its claims.

Firstly, why not consider English as a relative of Sanskrit, however remote it may be. While the border dialects of Kashmir can be considered as off-shoots of Sanskrit, why not English which is admittedly a branch of the Indo-Aryan family of languages? Thus, much of the distaste on account of its foreignness will be removed.

Secondly, let us acknowledge with truth and gratitude that English has been the medium of enlightenment, the source of inspiration and the vehicle of achievement for over hundred years.

It was the insatiable curiosity and the indomitable industry of the Westerners that demolished the barriers and prohibitions of centuries-old concretions around religion, social custom, language, travel, etc., and brought the lights of the external world to us, lights that showed us the buried treasures of our own land and also of the world outside India to which the ancient Indians were the torch-bearers of civilization and culture. To what else can we attribute the present political consciousness and the aspirations of the Indians but for the knowledge of the English language and the attendant expansion in outlook.

Thirdly, the English language notwithstanding its erratic spelling, empirical pronunciation, mixed origin, indiscriminate borrowings and inconsiderate incorporation of slangs and vulgar corruptions, has a vocabulary probably unsurpassed by any other language in the world.

If to this vast vocabulary, India adds its metaphysical and philosophical terms, in which Sanskrit excels, the resultant product will be unbeatable.

Fourthly, English is spoken in a larger area than any other language in the whole world. English holds an unassailable position in the international assemblies of the world, though French is the medium in the League of Nations.

SCRIPTS

Roman script is far simpler than all the Indian scripts. The insufficiency of the Roman script to suit Indian need can be mended.

The ease with which one can write the script without taking the pen off the paper is undeniable. The facile pen is possible through this script, because, all the letters the alphabet excepting 'O' and 'S' b with an upward stroke from the left bottom end with an upward stroke on the right so the letters are linked naturally. 'O' ends the top and 'S' with a stroke to the left. is the only letter that necessitates the pen b removed for the formation of the two strokes its composition. The dots and crosses can filled in on the completion of a word or e words.

EDUCATION

Primary. If English is not taught in primary standards, the position will be just it is at present or in the future with Hindi the All-India language.

Secondary. As per report of 1931 Cens India had 13,581 secondary schools (w 2,284,411 pupils) equipped to teach English.

The increase in the number of institutio and pupils over 1921 figures was 54% and 8 respectively.

If it be granted that Hindi will perme to the masses through the secondary studen then it must be granted that English h permeated to the masses during the l century, which, however, is not the ca Therefore, the optimistic expectation of Hind spreading to the masses is unwarranted.

University. In 1931, there were 16 U versities in India, with 244 Arts colleges a 73 professional colleges. If English contin to be the medium of instruction in these insti tions the necessity to translate thousands books in 14 languages to suit the fut students will not arise.

There will not be a gap of at least generation between those to be educated in t vernaculars and those who had been educat in English. A period that should be used intense study and unified advancement will frittered away in educating the future univers students through the various vernaculars. T present-day men and women educated English will not lose touch with the fut students, as will happen if the vernaculars the medium of instruction in the universiti

Literacy in English. That is the abi to write a letter and read a reply to it.

[Here the writer has tried to show that total number of literates in Hindi in the Uni Provinces, the Panjab, Bihar, Orissa, Cen Provinces and Berar is not very much lar than the total number of literates in Eng in the whole of India. But as we have been able to verify his figures, we have omitted a paragraph here.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*]

However that may be, the incontrovertible evidences of the wide knowledge of the English language acquired by Indians and of its importance within and without India are the publications of books such as the *Experiments with Truth* by M. K. Gandhi, *The Glimpses of World History* by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Cultural Heritage of India* by the Sri Ramakrishna Mission, the *Indian Philosophy* by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and journals such as *The Hindu* of Madras, *The Modern Review* of Calcutta and the *Harijan,* the pet of Mahatma Gandhi, in English to give wider publicity within and without India. The mastery of English language by Indians as is manifest in *The Cultural Heritage of India,* will be the envy of all Englishmen.

ADMINISTRATION

Most of the difficulties set forth previously will disappear if English continues to be the language of administration.

The intra-provincial contact and unity among the educated which had been established will continue to widen and strengthen in the future if English is retained. Such will also be the effort throughout India.

The possible disruption and antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims will be avoided with English as the All-India language. The cry against the Indian National Congress that it endeavours to establish the Hindu or Brahmanic supremacy through Hindi will have no foundation.

INTERNATIONAL

Indians will be in touch with a greater part of the world through this medium and the scientists and politicians who at present represent India at the International Conferences, political or otherwise, will exercise more influence through this tongue than through Hindi or any other provincial language.

SUMMARY OF THE CLAIMS OF ENGLISH TO BE THE ALL-INDIA LANGUAGE

1. Basic English is easy to learn.
2. Literacy in English among Indians is widespread.
3. It is widely spoken all over the world.
4. It possesses an immense wealth of literature.
5. It is fully competent to meet our need in all spheres.
6. The script is far simpler than all the Indian scripts.
7. The mountainous labour of translating will not be needed.
8. It will establish firmly intra-provincial, inter-provincial and international contact and unity.
9. It will unify the Hindus and Muslims and not create a rupture.

CHAPTER VIII

LESSONS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

1. *United States of America.* The polyglot nation of all races is today the most progressive country in the world with English as the medium of instruction and administration.

2. *Canada.* Canada is a much bigger country than India, with 53 nationalities and 178 spoken languages as per 1921 Census figures. Yet, this dominion has advanced far more than India with English as the medium of education and administration, though the French Canadians were assured of the safety of their language.

3. *Japan.* Japan has passed the stage of experiment prior to the introduction of Western sciences and methods. It had one language, though the nation is a composite of Mongolian, the Polinesian and Ainu races. This was the fundamental factor in the educational advancement of Japan, as the sciences and literatures of the world had to be translated into only one language.

4. *China.* This country, with the biggest area and population in the world, has one script though pronounced differently in its various provinces. These scripts convey the same idea and meaning to all the literates in all the provinces. Thus, China has possessed a greater unity than India for millenniums.

Yet there had been many attempts during the past seventy years to simplify the script but yet without phenomenal success.

Incidentally, the Chinese script is far more easier to write than the Hindi script as the latter requires a greater number of strokes than the former to write a word.

5. *Malaya.* Malaya is another polyglot country with representatives, perhaps, of all the languages and races in the world.

This country has advanced greatly within the last fifty years with English as the medium of instruction, with English as the language of administration but Malaya as lingua franca.

The Chinese predominate in this country so much so that it can even be styled as

'Small China.' All the English schools teach English from the primary standard and this language is the medium of instruction throughout the school career of a boy or a girl.

6. *Ireland.* Ireland, on emerging successfully from its centuries-old struggle for independence, naturally desired to establish its national language, the Gaelic, as the medium of instruction and administration. In the early days of controversy over this language question, Mr. DeValera is reported to have declared that he would prefer the language without freedom to freedom without the language. "But many who were willing to work for a Gaelic-speaking Ireland are beginning to fear that the speeding up policy which holds the field may result in condemning no small portion of the generation to the semi-illiteracy that was the fate of the Irish-speaking children, who in other days were instructed in schools in a language they did not speak at home."

7. *Continental Experiences.*

(a) *Europe* had an immense advantage even though there were many languages as the languages in the Western Europe fell into groups, German and Dutch—English and Danish—French, Spanish and Italian—which considerably lessened the difficulties of mastering them. The use of one script (Roman script) had been of immense service to the Western nations of Europe; whereas Eastern Europe, *i.e.*, Russia and Czech lagged behind because it had different scripts.

(b) *Asia.* The languages of Asia abound in scripts, Arabian, Persian and Urdu scripts are cognate if not identical. Similarly, Chinese and Japanese.

In India the Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and Gujarati scripts are cognate; whereas, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam are not very much akin. Canarese is more akin to Telugu.

Asiatic nations were sufficient to themselves in the sphere of literature and became isolated for want of a unifying script among other causes.

"It was not until Asiatics began to write in Western tongues that they began to speak effectively, either to the world or to one an The remarkable progress in all directions w we see in India, in Japan, in China a Annam is due in part at least to the ma by the educated of the English tongue."

The ideals of Gandhi, the poetry philosophy of Tagore, the scientific discov of Bose and Raman and the politics of N could not have been known within or wit India, but for the mastery of English the educated Indians.

The moral support which India rece today in her national aspirations from Amer France, England, etc., would not have b possible, but for the interchange of i through this Western tongue.

China would still be under the sway the Manchus but for the enlightenment Dr. San Yat-sen through English.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

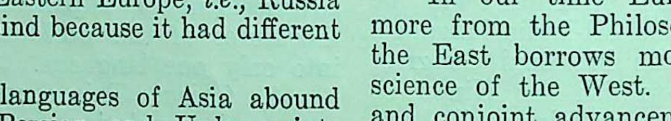
Modern India. Mere juxtaposition not help advancement in the provinces. Id are communicated through books, through t written as much as, and even more than t the spoken word. Therefore, let us maint access to the literatures of the world throu the English language.

In our time Europe borrows more a more from the Philosophy of the East, wh the East borrows more and more from t science of the West. Let this mutual ben and conjoint advancement go on for ever a more through the medium of English.

REFERENCES

Extracts and quotations from the following b been used in the article :—

1. *Cultural Heritage of India*—the centenary cele tion issue of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.
2. *Short History of Indian Literature,* by E Horrwitz.
3. *Story of Civilization,* by Will Durant.
4. Issues of the *The Modern Review* from 193 date.
5. A few other books and literary cuttings f my files.



STUDENTS' STRIKES

By G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

Some Preventive Measures

There seems to be quite an epidemic of students' strikes in several parts of the country. As a leading daily put it recently, "Hardly a day passes without reports of students' strikes or threats of strikes for some triveal reason or other." In view of this situation it may be worthwhile to discover the conditions which favour their occurrence and to prescribe ways and means by which such conditions might be avoided. Within the brief space of an article, an attempt is made here to describe situations, mostly psychological, in which groups and individuals are most susceptible, and then to suggest how such mental states might be prevented; in other words, to treat the phenomena of students' strikes as a doctor does Typhoid or Indigestion. No claim is made here for exhaustiveness, nor is it assumed that all that is said here will apply in all details to any particular strike, past or present.

Utilizing Superfluous Steam

Important among the predisposing factors is the failure of schools and colleges to use up the animal spirits of youth. This pent-up energy naturally demands an outlet. But an educational procedure which everlastingly preaches "Keep quiet" and idealizes its "good" boys is not likely to make provision for the proper expenditure of super-abundant steam. Therefore from the humdrum routine of academic life which normal boy would not seek occasional escape? It would indicate an abnormality if young folks with the natural exuberance of the 'teens' did not desire to take a day off, to let go or to do something out of the way. Educational psychologists are emphasizing the need for a larger amount of play in life and in education, and yet few stop to consider what is to happen when the authorities violate every law of God and Nature in their insistence on an unnatural conformity to impossible requirements.

To avoid such a disposition to utilize the first chance for some forbidden excitement, it is necessary to have many activities centring in and around the school or college. Since the traditional curriculum leaves so little room for activity and consumes so little of the tremendous reserves of energy and enthusiasm, it is desirable to introduce some extra-curricular activities such as excursions, parties, games, scouting, athletics, newspapers and magazines, dramatic clubs, literary societies, music clubs and orchestras, student councils. Besides one of the surest ways to the heart of the student is to have the institution associated with some of the happiest moments of his life. The need for creative activity must be obvious in this connection and so far as the school is concerned it may be pointed out that even the curriculum can be vitalized and made more absorbing by the use of the Project Method, the Winnetka Plan and the Dalton Plan.

Sympathetic Understanding

Another predisposing cause is the lack of sympathy between students and the staff and the administration. Leaving aside the apathy which often exists between the teachers and the management, sometimes there is not that understanding of the student mind and nature that would make for a feeling of *esprit de corps* between the students and the rest. Human beings crave sympathy, and students naturally seek sympathy from those above them. When they begin to feel that that cannot be secured and that nobody cares, the atmosphere is charged with the possibility of a strike. From this point of view a strike may be a protest against administrative indifference and callousness. When sympathy is not forthcoming and repressive measures are threatened, a further stage is reached and youthful pugnacity comes into play. It takes up the challenge, and feels called upon to show that it is no factor to be trifled with. The urge of mastery is strong and the only course open seems to be a walk-out. At least when repression is likely to lead to revolt, discretion on the part of the administration may be the better part of valour!

DEVOTION TO SCHOOL OR COLLEGE

The third factor that must be considered is the general lack of a sense of loyalty to the institution to which one belongs. This devotion seems conspicuous by its absence in a large number of Indian schools and colleges. The result is that the students fall an easy prey to the divisive and disruptive forces which are more or less always present. A pride in one's institution is necessary before devotion is conceivable and this pride cannot be cultivated unless there are some things of which the pupils or students may rightly be proud. There is often nothing to deter them from doing things which would bring disgrace to their institution. If they could be made to feel a sense of responsibility to hold scared the fair name of their institution and to pass it down fairer and nobler to the next generation, it is conceivable that they would refrain from much that is often indulged in light-heartedly.

To promote this feeling of corporateness and to develop the school or college spirit, a number of things might be done. Weekly or less frequent assembling of the students and the staff will go a long way. If at the beginning and end of each term such a formal gathering were arranged, it would, to say the least, introduce the students and the instructors to each other (especially in the case of the larger institutions) and make them feel that they belong to one academic community. A students' handbook and diary would ensure a common stock of knowledge regarding the history and traditions of the institutions. Flags, colours, badges, mottos, college songs etc., serve as important unifying agencies. Little is done to enlist an alumnus interest in the school or college and perhaps less to deserve it. An alumnus register will serve to keep the institution in touch with its past students and their welfare and whereabouts. Then the Old Boys and the present students should be brought together periodically to ensure mutual interest and to strengthen the bonds of common devotion to the institution.

The interest of the students in the institution can be greatly increased by giving them a small part in the management of its activities. While students may not be able to rule themselves entirely, they are usually able to manage some of the small affairs about the school or college. The student who gives of his time and energy to his institution cares for it the more because of his contribution. If these opportunities could be multiplied so that more students could participate in running the i tution the larger will be the number of friends of the institution. With such increased interest and responsibility, the p lem of rowdyism is inconceivable. The control is that which comes from within, comes because the group itself takes prid holding up its own rules and stand Without this popular support, rules are challenge and threats only increase troubl all those concerned. To guarantee this back a sense of responsibility is necessary and t is greatly assisted by an elected Stu Representative Council. The students not begin to share in the running of the institu but have a legitimate channel of expression their problem and grievances. And the Pr cipal knows who the student leaders are can negotiate with them before a crisis ari If the students can be made to feel that building up of desirable traditions and maintaining of the reputation of the instituti is a joint responsibility, much will have be done to minimize sensoriousness and carp criticism. Our schools and colleges have attempted as a rule to take their youn members into administrative confidence. feeling of partnership naturally predisposes against revolt and rashness.

SENSITISING STUDENTS

Another matter that is of too great importance to be ignored here is the need f sensitising students for propaganda. This w prevent them from falling a ready victim every wind of doctrine that might come th way. One of the greatest defects of educational system is that it does little foster independent thinking and the scienti attitude. Students are rarely given an opp tunity to sift evidence or encouraged to dif from opinions, printed or professorial. Un students can stand on their own feet intell tually, they are bound to believe most thi that they hear or read. And then they oft act on the bases of these supposed facts.

Ever since the evils of the present ty of education were recognized, educationists ha been urging the need for developing the criti attitude. But no great change is possible un reasoned differences are invited and exami tions called for more than a verbatim rep duction of somebody else's ideas and opini In view of increasing democratization wider enfranchisement such critical-minded is all the more indispensable. Calm deliber and the weighing of evidence can be should be cultivated through the school and the college. This will render young people somewhat impervious to prejudice and propaganda, and prevent hasty action so characteristic of impetuous youth. Until the exercise of rational faculties is exalted as social righteousness, we invite the fate that awaits vital ignorance.

DISINFECTION

It must be admitted, however, that even in bygone days some of these predisposing causes were operative and yet strikes among students were rare, if not entirely unknown. Something has happened. Power that lies in collective action, one of the discoveries of the industrial West, has been frequently exhibited in the form of strikes with so much success that perhaps Indian students have been duly or unduly impressed. Here in India too it has often been observed to produce the desired result. And so, when their wishes are thwarted and they want to assert their might, they fall back upon this weapon. In such circumstances, it is obvious that the student mind is concentrated on the goal. Their interest in the means is only as means to that end. (Their demands to the extent to which they are legitimate are to be granted, but when they are not reasonable or desirable, what then ?) Perhaps then it would be best to bring the means to the foreground and to get them, as sensible people, to evaluate their contemplated procedure. They might be shown that a strike is a notable example of an instinctive rather than a rational attempt to correct evils, and that as a social method it corresponds to the tactics of a rat seeking its escape violently from a trap the nature of which it does not perceive. If students realized how disastrous a strike can be to character, how subversive of morale and discipline, and how wasteful of time, talent and energy, they would think many times before resorting to it. Students should therefore have an opportunity of discussing this new technique with the co-operation of their educational advisers. This would ensure the presentation of more sides of the question and, if discussed *before* any particular issue is up, would guarantee more balanced conclusions. Being fully aware of the consequences, they are not likely thereafter to fall in with the first suggestion of a strike. It may also be that the fact that they had already covered the ground mentally and 'vicariously,' might rob the quest of a 'new experience' of most of its thrill and motivating power. They have become immuned, as it were, to serious infection.

ATMOSPHERE OF DISCIPLINE

The above-mentioned predisposing factors might be comparatively ineffective but for another and more devastating feature of many modern institutions—the lack of a firm conviction regarding the value and importance of discipline. When all that can be done has been done, when sweetness and light have been given free play, when mutual understanding and far-sighted planning have been tried,—in other words, when the management is in the right and has spared no pains to convince the students of it, a strike still seems possible these days. And this is because of the prevalence of wrong ideals and unfortunate attitudes. It is nothing short of tragic that students should grow up in the belief that the indiscriminate satisfaction of native impulses and passing fancies is laudable at a time when self-discipline, sublimation and civility should be their guiding stars. "To him that overcometh is it given to eat of the tree of life." Flabby moral muscles have never been known to make for strong character. Hence the rigours attached to the life of *Brahmacharya* in the ancient universities of India. Plato realized this long, long ago when he said, "Those are good who are able to govern themselves; those are bad who are not." In the maintenance of the authority which has been delegated to schools and colleges the management should be able to count on the unqualified support of all—except of course the sentimental fathers and hysterical mothers who don't mind seeing their brood become namby-pamby, unprincipled, impetuous young people. Without this confidence that the parents see eye to eye with them, the heads of schools and colleges will find it difficult to give the citizens and rulers of tomorrow the training which will add beauty and breadth and balance to life—instead of allowing it to become a prey to wild and self-destructive passions. No effort should be spared to help students and their guardians to appreciate the value and virtue of courtesy and self-control. In such an atmosphere strikes cannot thrive. It is imperative for academic bodies and the public not to mistake pusillanimity for progressiveness.

SUMMARY

Summarizing it might be said that only when schools and colleges realize the need for greater physical and social activity inside and outside the curriculum, when they recognize that students respond better to sympathy and understanding than to the mere enforcement of external rules, when they understand that love and loyalty for an institution are forces which should be cultivated and capitalized through the development of a partnership, when they actively immune students to the ravages of half-truths and no-truths, when they enable students to understand that i tion in the matter of strikes is not commen but fraught with disastrous consequences when disciplined character and obedienc legitimate authority are extolled by the a rities and the patrons as worthy goals fo young people,—only then will a scie approach be made to rendering students' st less likely, if not impossible.

THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE HINDUS IN BENGAL AND THE EFFECT OF THE COMMUNAL DECISION

By SURJYA NARAYAN CHATTERJEE, M.A., B.L.

If we survey mankind as a whole, we find that from certain angles light is thrown upon the historic mission of some particular communities. The assertion that the mere fact of existence implies mission may sound strange to our ears, but is profoundly true. It means that no individual and no group of individuals can contain all the possibilities of the human type. Some peculiar type is found in a higher degree in one or the other and the complete man would mean the synthesis of all men with the inevitable reactions of quality to quality. Even this definition is not exhaustive, for there may be possible types as yet non-existent. It follows that the complete man does not exist nor will he ever exist though the type continues to evolve unceasingly.

The human type in evolution arises out of the aggregation of individuals, the synthesis of innumerable peculiarities. The millions of individuals are so colourless that their contribution to the shaping of the human type is negligible. To bring development about, it is necessary that out of the masses superior individuals should emerge in whom the latent possibilities of their peculiar mass become a recognizable dynamic force.

From the human point of view the most important of agglomerations is the nation, for within its sphere every human ability and activity manifest themselves. It is through a national unity that the mass of individuals evolve into mankind, that is to say, a spiritual, a moral and perhaps a legally constituted unit. The English can not contribute to the common treasure of mankind what the Indians, or the Persians or the Russians can. The destruc or decline of one means the impoverishment all.

The soul of a community in a natio often seized with the desire to rule over oth They become intoxicated with the g forced upon them by their leaders. T judgment of History must condemn uncon tionally the internecine communal conflicts a nation. Such conflict diverts the forces each community from the internal developm by which it might improve the treasures mankind without any compensating advant In Bengal the Hindus and the Muslims h not been welded into a perfectly homogene unit. From the point of view of hi development such a situation should be met an organization of groups in which the lea ship would devolve upon the culturally sup groups. This seems self-evident. The r ruling groups should, however, enjoy comp freedom and adequate encouragement in development of their own cultural individuali Supporting my view I suggest that the inte tually superior group is certainly more cap of contributing to the moral stock of hum when aided by advantages which poli supremacy always offers, while at the s time such a group feels no impulse to mai its supremacy by obstructing the develop of the rest. Its superiority is not arti rests not at all on force; whereas the cultured group when it attains political s macy, can not but feel the incongruity o position and is impelled to try a r equalization, which can be achieved only the suppression of higher culture, the more valuable elements.

Thus the present communnaly-minded Muslim supremacy in Bengal political life will result in a catastrophic decline of the standard of government, and, owing to the natural desire of the politically superior community for speedy equalization, in suppression, if not destruction of the higher culture.

But such a policy would obstruct the Muslim cultural development likewise, because it diverts the energies of the Muslims into mistaken channels and wastes upon suppression what should be utilized for progress. Muslim aggrandisement to the detriment of the Hindus is to the detriment of the great interests of human progress, not only because it weakened forces more mature but because it obstructs rather than assists the Hindus in the fulfilment of their own historic mission. The Hindus of Bengal have a lofty world mission determined by the achievements and tendencies of the past, the fulfilment of which has been obstructed and weakened by the catastrophe of the Communal Decision. The mutilation of greater Bengal by giving away its districts to Bihar and Assam and thus reducing the number of Hindus within the present boundaries of Bengal under the thorough political dominance of the Mussalmans is a loss to the great intellectual and moral interests of mankind, a loss without compensation. It is difficult to discover any humanitarian mission in this Decision, though its authors claim it.

FAMILY DISSOLUTION IN MALABAR

By K. M. AYYATH, M.A.

MALABAR is pre-eminently a land of matriarchy and joint family. Whereas in the case of the matriarchal communities the joint family is an indispensable necessity for the maintenance of the social structure, in the case of the non-matriarchal communities, in the absence of such a necessity, they have made a deliberate adaptation of the social structure for the maintenance of the joint family. Thus not only the Nairs, but also the Nambudiris, the temporal and spiritual overlords respectively of Malabar, have built up their social structure on a joint family basis.

It is well known, however, that unthinking acceptance of Western ideas and blind imitation of Western institutions have done considerable havoc to Hindu ideas and institutions everywhere in India. In Malabar the individualistic ideas of Europe have in particular profoundly modified the attitude of the Nairs towards the institution of the matriarchal joint family. The extraordinary conservatism of the Nambudiris resisted Western influences successfully for a long time. But they too have begun to succumb to foreign ideas and influences.

The joint family is in consequence now regarded in Malabar as elsewhere in India as an anachronistic institution quite out of place in the modern world and constituting a veritable impediment to any progress. The idea of conservation by reform or reconstitution is altogether brushed aside and dissolution is urged with all revolutionary fervour.

It is however interesting to note in this connexion that in Europe itself individualistic ideas are becoming out of fashion and communistic ideas taking their place in shaping the destinies of men. It is amusing, then, to note that the zeal with which the dismantling of the Hindu joint families is being urged everywhere in India is as yet thoroughly unaffected by the new developments in the West.

We are here concerned only with the matriarchal joint family of the Nairs and other communities in Malabar. Legal changes introduced in Malabar in relation to the matriarchal system of family structure among the Nairs, however, afford a striking illustration of the dangers arising from allowing purely imitative sentimentalism altogether divorced from reason to determine sociological changes of far-reaching importance in India.

We shall now proceed to a detailed and specific consideration of our subject proper. But at the outset we have to note that matriarchy is a rarity in the present-day world and as such also a novelty and a mystery to many outside Malabar. A brief description of its main features will not therefore be altogether out of place.

Matriarchy in its latest phase of development in Malabar exhibits the following characteristics :

(1) Descent is traced through females and succession and inheritance are regulated accordingly.

(2) The centre of the matriarchal system is the matriarchal family. The matriarchal family is composed of all the male and female descendants in the female line of a common female ancestor. Hence, necessarily it is a joint family. Partition is allowed and is based on the principle of universal consent. In other words, partition is allowed provided all members constituting the family agree to it.

(3) The family properties are owned in common by all the members and distribution is regulated by the communistic principle : "From every one according to ability to every one according to need." Separate ownership of properties is also recognised in the case of self acquisitions.

(4) Males and females enjoy equal rights and their functions are determined by sex distinctions and limitations. The seniormost male member is generally the head and manager of the family. But in the absence of suitable males of mature age headship and management pass to the females according to seniority as in the case of males.

(5) All matrimonial relations are characterised by perfect equality on both sides, and since matrimony does not imply the discontinuance of the wife's original connexion and rights in relation to the family of birth, dependence of the wife or children for maintenance or material welfare on the husband or father is also absent.

The matriarchal system in Malabar has evoked unstinted admiration from many outsiders including numerous eminent British officials of the administrative and judicial departments of Madras, who had opportunities of studying it closely. It lays stress on the natural importance of the female in society and perpetuates the natural and early family relationship between brother and sister without a break or discontinuance at the matrimonial stage. It recognizes complete equality between man and woman and as such is perfectly free from all the ills of inequality between man and woman characteristic of patriarchy, the prevailing type of social structure in the world, and against which women are fighting all the world over in modern times. In striking contrast to the patriarchal system with its undue emphasis of the importance of man and his rights in society it has thoroughly eliminated all the factors leading to the subjection of woman to man or undue exaltation of man over woman. The joint family with its unlimited economic resources and working on communistic principles is besides, a powerful institution incomparable in the richness of opportunities which it provides for the material and cultural advancement of the members.

The rapid spread of Western educa among the Nairs in Malabar for which the j family afforded abundance of facilities and influence of Western ideas, customs and man have, however, led to the growth among them a sentimental and unreasoning prejudice aga the matriarchal system. Indiscriminate critic of everything matriarchal and exaltation imitation of everything non-matriarchal, fore or Indian, have also become the fashion of day.

Matriarchy is attacked as unnatural, human and antiquated. The joint family regarded as unworkable, unwieldy and diffi of selfless or proper management. Even unique equality and freedom which character marital relations under matriarchy are assail and sought to be curtailed on the ground of th abuse.

We have here to examine these criticisms some detail with a view to exposing their hollo ness and fundamental baselessness.

As regards the criticism that matriarch is unnatural, it may be observed that in matte of descent and inheritance the matriarch emphasis of the female is as natural as th patriarchal emphasis of the male. In comparis to the patriarchal system the matriarchal syste has also the merit in this respect of resting itself on direct evidence rather than on indirect inference. Again the matriarchal emphasis of th fraternal relationship is also as natural as th patriarchal emphasis of the marital relationsh Here also in comparison to patriarchy, matr archy has the merit of emphasising an indi soluble relationship based on birth and ear association rather than a dissoluble relationsh based on accident and later association.

Matriarchy may be uncommon. But it ca not be regarded on that account as unnatur Nothing unnatural can exist for a long time a the long history of glorious achievements to whi matriarchy in Malabar can lay an undoubt claim is itself an adequate refutation of th charge that it is unnatural. To regard it as u natural is simply to confuse the one with th other.

It is also common to regard matriarchy inhuman on the ground that it denies prope rights to wife and children. But this critici is purely the result of superficial observati based on the analogy of patriarchy. Matriarch as we have already seen dispenses with t necessity for such rights on the part of wife a children by providing for all their mate requirements through a few more permanent powerful agency in the form of the matriarc joint family. This criticism rests on a thorough ignorance of this fact and as such is devoid of any real substance. More than that, compared to patriarchy, matriarchy has also the advantage of freeing the parents from the worries regarding the material position and welfare of their children and thereby enabling them to conserve and release so much of their energies for cultural advancement.

Far from being an antiquated system matriarchy has also proved itself in some respects more advanced and more modern than patriarchy. The matriarchal ideas in many respects and particularly those relating to the position of women in society are being accepted everywhere in the modern world as more sound. This fact alone is at once an emphatic refutation of the criticism that it is antiquated and an unequivocal assertion that it is more advanced than patriarchy.

The criticisms which are levelled against the joint family may also be examined in some detail. The critics regard the communistic ideal of the joint family as impossible of realization in actual practice. Their size and management are also attacked, the former on the ground that bigness is incompatible with happiness and the latter on the ground that the manager is more likely to be actuated by motives of selfishness and the desire to enrich his wife and children than by any genuine desire to advance the interests of the matriarchal family.

None of these criticisms however rests on any substantial foundation. In modern times when communism is being advocated as suitable and practicable for larger groups of people on a state and even on a world basis and also demonstrated to be feasible and successful, to regard the communistic principle as unsuitable and impracticable for a family group is only to cling to a position which is no longer tenable and which is fast becoming out of date.

Again to connect the bigness of the joint families and unhappiness in family life is only to connect two unconnected things as cause and effect through losing sight of the real cause. It may also be observed that if bigness has any connexion with happiness in relation to family life it is only for enhancing it by placing at the disposal of the family larger human and material resources than otherwise possible and not for destroying it.

The real factor that determines happiness or unhappiness in family life is management and not size. Instances of well-managed big families enjoying unparalleled happiness and ill-managed small families undergoing untold miseries are too common to need specific mention.

The criticisms levelled against the management of the families are also devoid of any weight. They rest on too narrow a view of human nature and betray a thorough ignorance of the past.

The prosperity of almost all the existing joint families which are now admittedly in affluent circumstances can easily be shown to be due to the selfless endeavours of the managers in the past. As such the criticism that the managers are naturally and generally selfish is to be regarded as having no real foundation. The criticism that under matriarchy the manager of the joint family is liable to be actuated by the desire for promoting the material interests of his wife and children at the expense of the matriarchal family is also devoid of any substantial weight. We have already seen that under matriarchy wife and children do not depend for their maintenance or material welfare upon the husband or father. We have also noted that the managers of the matriarchal families are really entitled to a proud place in the history of matriarchy. In these circumstances no substantial weight can be given to such criticisms. They can only be regarded as the outcome of ignorance of one of the basic conceptions of matriarchy and its splendid practical working under varied conditions during the period of its long history. All the defects in managements are also easily removable as will be shown afterwards by the introduction of necessary changes to make it more broad based.

A few words may also be said with reference to the criticisms directed against the marvellous principles of equality and freedom which regulate all marital relations under matriarchy. The fact that principles are abused in practice cannot be advanced as an argument against the principles themselves. The remedy for abuse lies also not in abrogating those principles in any form. It lies rather in the creation of a strong public opinion against their abuse by salutary methods.

We are now in a position to proceed to a discussion of some of the main features of the legislation introduced in relation at present to the Nair families but doubtless intended also to be extended in due course of time to the families of the other matriarchal communities in Malabar.

The following aspects of the legislation deserve particular attention in this connexion :

(1) Regulation of family partition. (2) Regulation of rights to the self acquisitions of

the members of the family. (3) Regulation of family management. (4) Regulation of matrimonial relations. We shall discuss each of these separately.

Under the new regulation the principle of universal consent as the basis of family partition is either partly as in the case of Cochin and British Malabar or totally as in the case of Travancore, dispensed with by the introduction of branch or individual partitions. Universal consent for partition is however one of the fundamental principles of matriarchy. When partition is allowed except on this basis the matriarchal character of the family can no longer exist. Matriarchy implies as the term "Maru makkathayam" used in Malabar to denote matriarchy shows, three elements in the family group—brother, sister and sister's children. Branch or individual partition by effecting separation of the male and female descendants of a female, makes such grouping impossible. Partition introduced by law thus strikes at the root of the whole structure of the matriarchal family.

By emphasising equality in distribution, legal partition has also undermined the communistic character of the family. The possibility of partition of properties in equal shares at any time, as legally provided, creates among the members an irressitible desire for a similar equal distribution of income at all times. This makes the operation of the principle of distribution according to need difficult or impossible of attainment. In the place of the old principle, a new principle, the principle of distribution according to equal proportion comes into practical operation. All chances of harmonious family life, it is needless to observe, also disappears with this.

Legal partition has thus introduced altogether a new type of family thoroughly different from the old in all respects. It has introduced in the place of the old family of unlimited size, resources and limited ills—a new family of limited size, resources and unlimited ills. All the ills of the old family are not only reproduced in the new family but they are also reproduced in multiplied and aggravated forms and with none of its advantages. The old principle of partition which operated automatically whenever the family became unduly cumbrous or harmonious working difficult, has thus amply demonstrated its wisdom not only by its practical success in the past but also by the contrast afforded by the disastrous results, attending its deviation.

Again, under matriarchy the family is entitled to inherit the self acquisitions left bequeathed by the members of the family. this right of the matriarchal family is depri partly or wholly by making wife, children husband heirs to part as in the case of Co and British Malabar, or whole as in the of Travancore, of such properties. That thi incompatible with the matriarchal system inheritance is obvious. Besides, it has also be noted that members of the matriarchal fa lies owe not only their birth, but also th making and position to these families. As s deprivation of the right of these families inherit the self acquisitions of the members stitutes also a glaring injustice to them. new principle introduced by legislation is th both irrational and unjust in the extreme.

We come next to the regulation of fam management. Here we shall consider first maximum fixed by law as remuneration for head of the family. It is well known that m of the matriarchal joint families in Malabar considerably rich and enjoying large ann incomes. The heads of such families often a enjoy greater social prestige than even the gre est state officials. To fix the maximum of muneration for the heads of such families Rs. 75 a month as the law has done is in circumstances nothing but ridiculous.

Further, the prosperity of any institu depends upon the efficiency and honesty of management. Particular care has therefore be taken to see that the man at the head the affairs is paid properly to secure such ciency and honesty. But curiously enough the law does exactly the opposite thing. Furt comment upon this is needless.

A deplorable want of constructive acum in the shaping of the legislation affecting management is revealed also by the failure deal with it satisfactorily in other respects. study of the factors that have largely led the decay of the joint families reveals that causes contribute mainly to their ruin. Th are :

(1) Want of planned forethought in m agement resulting in reckless expenditure leading to ultimate collapse and (2) bickeri among members particularly between manager and others affecting injuriously management and welfare of the family.

It is obvious that the obligation le placed on the manager of the family for ma periodical presentation of accounts to the members is in itself totally insufficient removing these ills.

They are removable however by the app

tion of the principles of budgetary management in the case of these families. By making it obligatory on the part of the manager to present a periodical family budget to all the adult members and making their participation in all possible ways a feature of the management the elements of forethought, collectivity and publicity are secured in sufficient measure to make the management thoroughly honest and efficient. The family also becomes free from the curse of bickerings when publicity removes misunderstandings from among the members which generally constitute the real and main cause for all bickerings in joint families.

In this connexion it has also to be emphasised that the conservation of the matriarchal joint families is eminently practicable by a well regulated system of management which takes adequate account of the principles of large scale management. The legislation introduced at present in relation to the Nair families is however fundamentally defective in that it rests on a realization rather of the destructive than of the constructive importance of management. But the attempt to demolish these families for reasons of mismanagement real or imaginary on the part of the heads and by way of getting rid of these heads altogether is as foolish as seeking to get rid of the mouse in the house by setting fire to the house itself.

Coming lastly to the regulation of matrimonial relations we have to note that insistence on the registration of marriages and the imposition of special pecuniary obligations on the males in respect to dissolutions deserve particular attention.

We shall deal with insistence on registration in a few words. It cannot be denied that the Nairs are culturally a highly advanced community with a corresponding sense of all social responsibilities. In the case of such a community an obligation for the registration of marriages for prevention of evasion of responsibilities is obviously not only superfluous and annoying but also highly insulting.

Unhampered freedom on both sides in the matter of dissolution of marriages accorded under matriarchy will also be admitted to be by far the most salutary principle in respect to the same. The only deviation from the old practice which has to be made and which can also be made consistent with the matriarchal system is a recognition of the rights of the wife and children to maintenance, in the case of the former until her remarriage and in the case of the latter until they attain mature age. Anything more than this is unwanted under matriarchy and likely also to be mischievous.

The cumulative effects of the various legal changes have also to be considered. The danger of substituting sentiment for reason in determining sociological changes and breaking up social systems each of which has its own completeness and rational foundation becomes at once manifest. In the attempt to create a patriarchal family out of the matriarchal family, law has destroyed the old system and has produced something new out of the old which is neither patriarchy nor matriarchy but something in the middle of the two. In composition the new family resulting from the operation of law is akin to the patriarchal family and consists of the husband, wife and children. But the rights and responsibilities of the members of this new family are different from those of the patriarchal family. They are rather akin to those of the husband, wife and wife's children under matriarchy.

This also suggests a name for the new system. In Malabar matriarchy is denoted by the term "Maru makkathayam," *i.e.*, system based on matrilineal descent and patriarchy by the term "Makkathayam," *i.e.*, system based on patrilineal descent. To give the new system the name "Sambadhathayam," *i.e.*, system based on "sambadham" or simple matrimonial connexion as is denoted by the word under matriarchy in Malabar, seems in the circumstances most appropriate.

Sambadhathayam is now generally defended only as a transitional arrangement by way of preparation of the maru makkathayam communities for the reception of full-fledged makkathayam. But in the first flush of enthusiasm in the early days of its introduction it used to be almost universally regarded as a happy compromise between maru makkathayam and makkathayam systems and capable of combining the advantages of both without their disadvantages. The family in Cochin which is more typical of the Sambadhathayam system than the family in Travancore used even to be regarded as superior to the latter though in fact the family in Travancore has at least the merit of greater approximation to the makkathayam system in comparison to the family in Cochin.

Sambadhathayam however has none of such advantages imagined or claimed for it and it can be regarded only as an unmitigated mischief. Both maru makkathayam and makkathayam have each a completeness of its own and there is rationally no place for anything mutilated by way of a compromise between the two. To attempt to create any such compromise is only to court disaster. It is no wonder then that the sambadhathayam family which is the result of such an attempt and as such is neither communistic nor individualistic has all the disadvantages of both the maru makkathayam and makkathayam families without any of their advantages.

Economically the sambadhathayam family is weaker and more unstable than the maru makkathayam family. Socially it provides all the occasion for friction among members which both a maru makkathayam and a makkathayam family provide in combination.

Under these circumstances the break up of the maru makkathayam system and its replacement by the sambadhathayam system can only be regarded as mischievous in the extreme. The tragic experiences of a large number of families everywhere in Malabar illustrate also practically the mischiefs emanating from the replacement of the old by the new system.

Even as a transitional arrangement sambadhathayam lacks adequate justification. The stupendous and immediate economic waste involved in prolonged and protracted partition and other litigations and in the disuse or underselling of big dwelling houses consequent upon the reduction in the size of the new families is not in any way compensated by any promising economic future near or distant.

The Nairs, brought up in communistic and aristocratic traditions and with a unique perfection of character amply denoted by the Malabar term, "Tharawadithuam," derived from "Tharwad," or joint family can only be infants if not altogether misfits in the individualistic and competitive world and the idea of their success in business enterprises by utilizing shares obtained by partition of family properties as capital, entertained by some to justify the destruction of the old order, is as foolish as the idea of a child's success, with his patrimony employed as capital, in business enterprises amidst a group of clever and veteran businessmen. It needs hardly to be told that the child is more likely to lose all his wealth and with all hopes of future recovery also destroyed find himself nowhere in the world in no time. Practical cases of such failures among the Nairs are also pathetically numerous. Here it can also be observed with enough of justification as will be shown afterwards that the Nairs have better chances of success in the competitive world under the protection of the powerful matriarchal joint family than without such protection.

The transition offers socially also no b prospects either immediate or distant. S badhathayam has made the males more i ponsible and the females more helpless than e before. Family partition has violently sh the sense of responsibility for the welfare sister and children and the new sense of res sibility for the welfare of wife and children still to be freed from old traditions and a quately developed. It is not surprising, t that with this the females are also reduced a condition of greater helplessness than e before. Instances of women of highly ar cratic families getting themselves separ from their joint families owing to the mach tions of their husbands, the husbands sub quently squandering away all the wealth ultimately all, husband, wife and children duced to a condition of destitution, degrada and dependence are also frequent everywhere Malabar in these days.

Coming events cast their shadows befo The Nairs originally the rulers of Malabar, on their way to become the hewers of wood drawers of water there. Legislation by swee ing away the joint families has also destroy their citadels of greatness and the ulti catastrophe is now only a question of time.

As regards the comparative advantages an disadvantages of the maru makkathayam a makkathayam systems, it can be observed w abundance of justification that in respect to economic and cultural opportunities that e is capable of providing for the enrichment life, the former is incomparably superior to latter. The difference between the two is like the difference between an elephant and ant. All attempts at dismantling the m makkathayam system without seeking to ad it to the changing needs of the times, parti larly where it has already established it firmly, have therefore to be deeply deplore

We shall also briefly examine the ad ability of the maru makkathayam system such changing requirements and indicate m fications wherever possible and necessary order to make it conform to such requirem without violently or detrimentally affecting fundamentals of the system.

No system can survive long if it is r and incapable of adaptation. The very that the maru makkathayam system has wo with splendid success from time immemorial almost the present day is itself an eloquent te mony to its` supreme adaptability.

The main requirements of the present are : (1) Invigoration of the maru makkathay system by improving the management of the maru makkathayam family and (2) acceptance of makkathayam ideas in respect to (*a*) wife and children and (*b*) individualism.

We have already alluded to the topic of management in sufficient detail in foregoing sections. In this connexion it is enough to observe that the eradication of all the ills of the maru makkathayam families and their restoration to a healthy and vigorous working condition can easily be achieved by the introduction in relation to their management of the principles of budgetary system with suitable modifications in their application to family managements.

As regards acceptance of makkathayam ideas, it can be shown that maru makkathayam is capable without impairing its own completeness of evolving a dual system combining the merits of both without their defects. Normal and gradual evolution is itself sufficient to bring about such a consummation. At the time of legislative interference the progress of such an evolution had in fact even reached almost perfection point. Legislation however has not only disturbed the process of such evolution but has also destroyed all chances of any further development in that direction.

The two main features of makkathayam are (1) living together with wife and children and (2) rights to maintenance and properties on the part of wife and children.

As regards living together with wife and children it can be observed that maru makkathayam has not prevented members of these communities from living with their wives and children exactly as members of the makkathayam communities do. The consciousness of the system of rights and obligations peculiar to their social organisation is sufficiently developed among them to enable them to make enlightened and harmonious adjustments with the marital requirements in life for the realization of the highest standards of civilized life.

Again, members of the maru makkathayam communities are at prefect liberty to dispose of their self acquisitions by assignments or wills. Cases of disposal of self acquired properties partly or wholly in favour of wife and children are also frequent among them. Maru makkathayam cannot under such circumstances be regarded as involving any absolute denial of property rights, to wife and children even though such rights have no necessity under it.

The only feature of makkathayam which is perhaps absent in maru makkathayam is a distinct right on the part of wife and children to maintenance. This right has to be conceded but conceded also without impairing the completeness of the maru makkathayam system.

The Hindu law however concedes this right to wife and children and since all the marumakkathayam communities are Hindus it is doubtful whether even in this respect any special legislative interference is required to bring about the innovation.

Finally, the scope for individualism under maru makkathayam is also not in any way inferior to that under makkathayam. In fact it is even superior in some respects. The recognition of the self acquisitions of the members of the family as private properties leaves the allegation, often made, that maru makkathayam is devoid of scope for individualism, without real foundation. It is also a well-known fact that individualism unsupported by powerful agencies is generally ineffective or feeble. As such the direct and indirect support derived by the members in manifold ways from the maru makkathayam joint family with its multifarious resources has to be regarded as capable of promoting individualism much better under maru makkathayam than is possible under makkathayam.

The individualism developed in close contact with the joint family is also bound to differ from the ordinary and cut-throat type of individualism by a distinct flavour of that communistic and aristocratic excellence of character already referred to as "Tharawadithuam," and as peculiarly characteristic of the members of the joint families.

It can also be observed without exaggeration that for the preservation of this peculiar excellence of character alone the maru makkathayam families have an impregnable case for their conservation. Any demand for their demolition can emanate only from a thorough ignorance or imperfect realization of the full significance and overwhelming importance of excellence of character in civilized existence.

It will thus be seen that maru makkathayam also contains within itself the main elements of makkathayam to enable it through the normal and gradual process of evolution to develop itself into a dual system of maru makkathayam and makkathyam without in any way seriously affecting its own completeness or considerably curtailing the utility of the other and as such capable of combining the main advantages of both without their disadvantages. What is needed is therefore its overhauling for conservation and adaptation rather than its dissolution for replacement by blind imitation.

The maru makkathayam communities in general and the maru makkathayam women in particular and the Malabar ruling families have also a special responsibility for maintaining this unique system of social structure with all its greatness and usefulness.

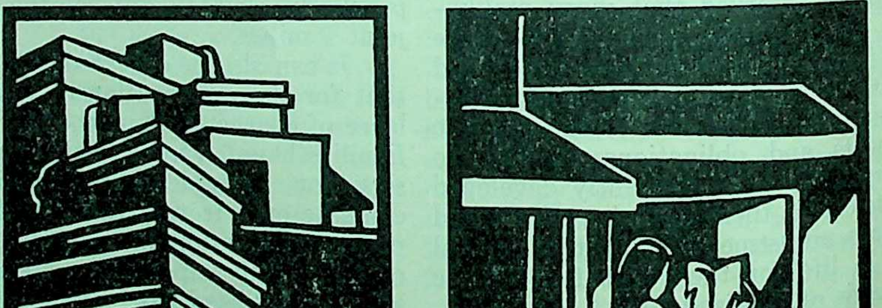
To the members of the maru makkathayam communities maintenance of maru makkathayam means maintenance of an institution with which their greatness not only of the past but also of the present and future are indissolubly connected. All attempts, therefore, to meddle with this system on the part of the few posing themselves as representatives and leaders but representing no opinions excepting their own and possessing more of imitative and destructive than of imaginative and constructive abilities have to be discouraged and all matters connected with it compelled to be settled on the basis of popular demand and popular assent directly and definitely ascertained.

To the maru makkathayam women maintenance of maru makkathayam has a special significance. It signifies their adherence to a system unique in its recognition of all their legitimate rights in society with even a partiality for them and which had throughout its existence upheld all these rights with wonderful consistency even though everywhere else such rights were not only unrecognised but also for a long time strenuously resented. As such blind acquiescence and inert indifference on their have to be replaced by grateful and gr vigilance and enthusiasm for protecting unique social system from the danger destruction.

To the ruling families of Malabar m tenance of the maru makkathayam system a tremendous significance. The state Malabar is essentially a matriarchal state. original people and ruling families are matriarchal. As such to the ruling fam maintenance of the system signifies not short of the maintenance of the origin as as the foundation of their own position.

It is to be hoped therefore that when questions relating to the maru makkathay system have to be decided they will also equal to the occasion and without yielding the clamour of the irrational sentiment and blind imitators, prevent catastrophic sequences resulting from the hasty handling a hoary institution.

Though some mischief is already done i as yet not too late to get it also undone. E if it is a little late the attempt to undo i still worth making because the maintenance dissolution of the matriarchal family is pl a matter of life or death to the matriar communities in Malabar—life at once fr and glorious and death at once unnatural premature.



Linocuts By Satyendranath Bisi

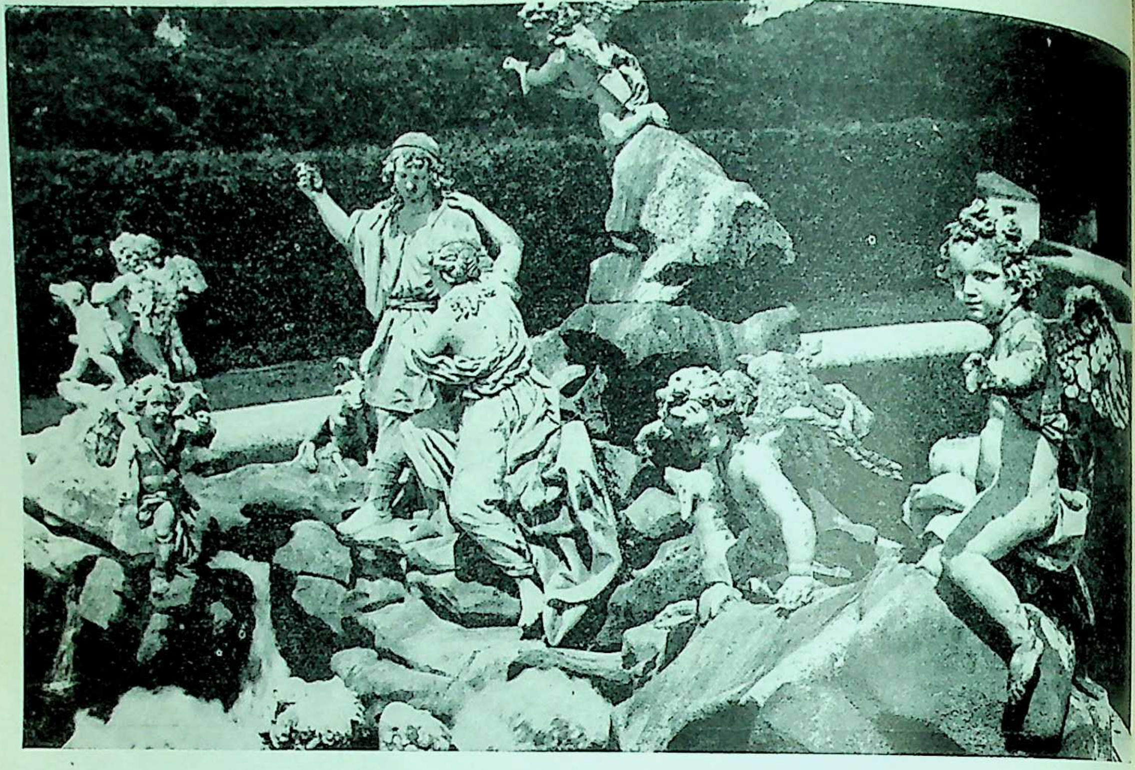
e on their
ul and gr
protecting
he danger

Malabar m
am system
The state
hal state.
ilies are
ruling fam
gnifies not
origin as
position.
that when
makkathay
will also
out yielding
sentimental
tastrophic
sty handling

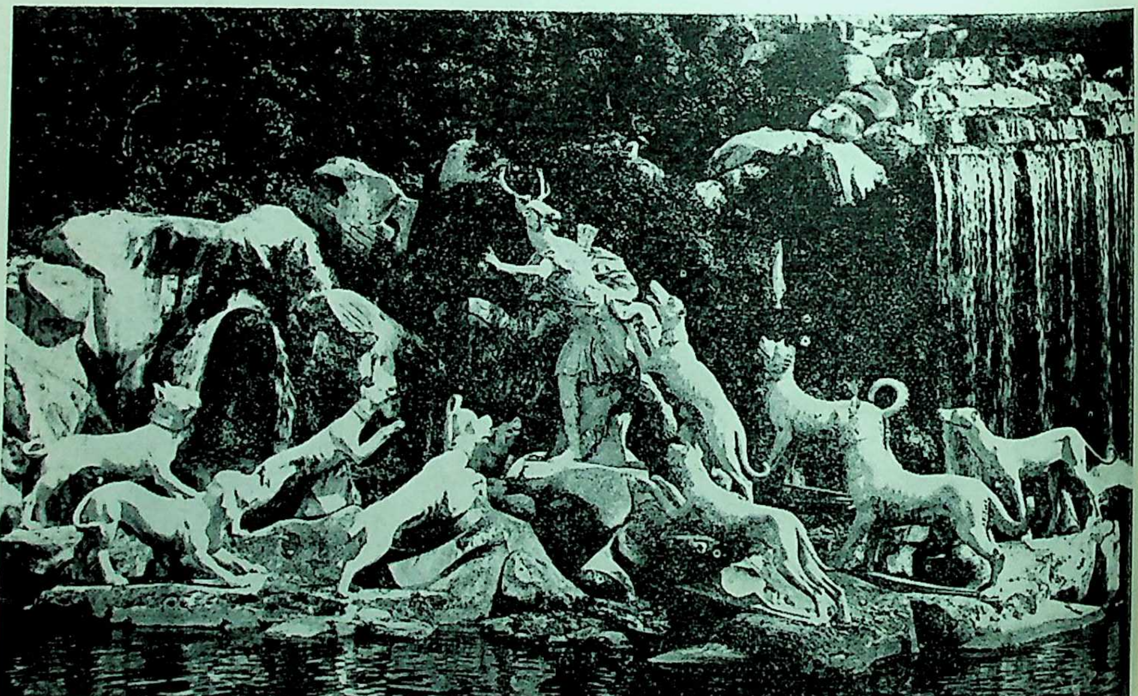
eady done i
undone. E
t to undo i
maintenance
mily is plai
he matriarch
t once frui
unnatural s

War Memorial, Como

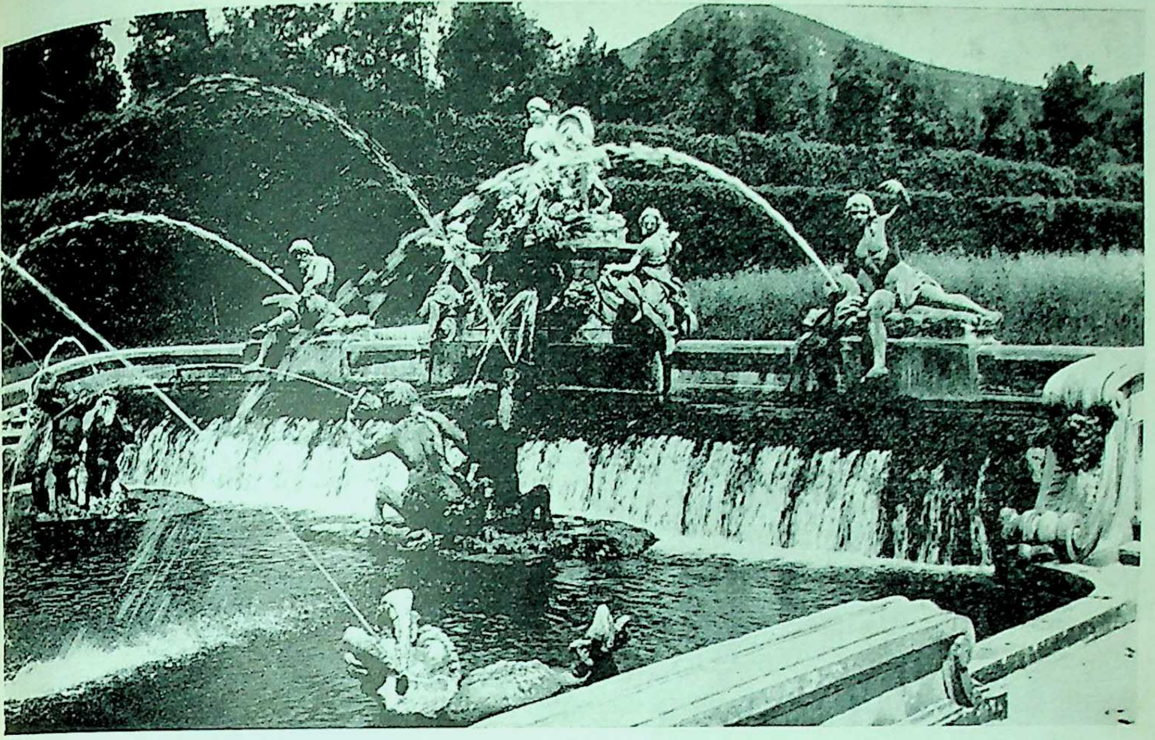
The Petrarch Monument, Arezzo



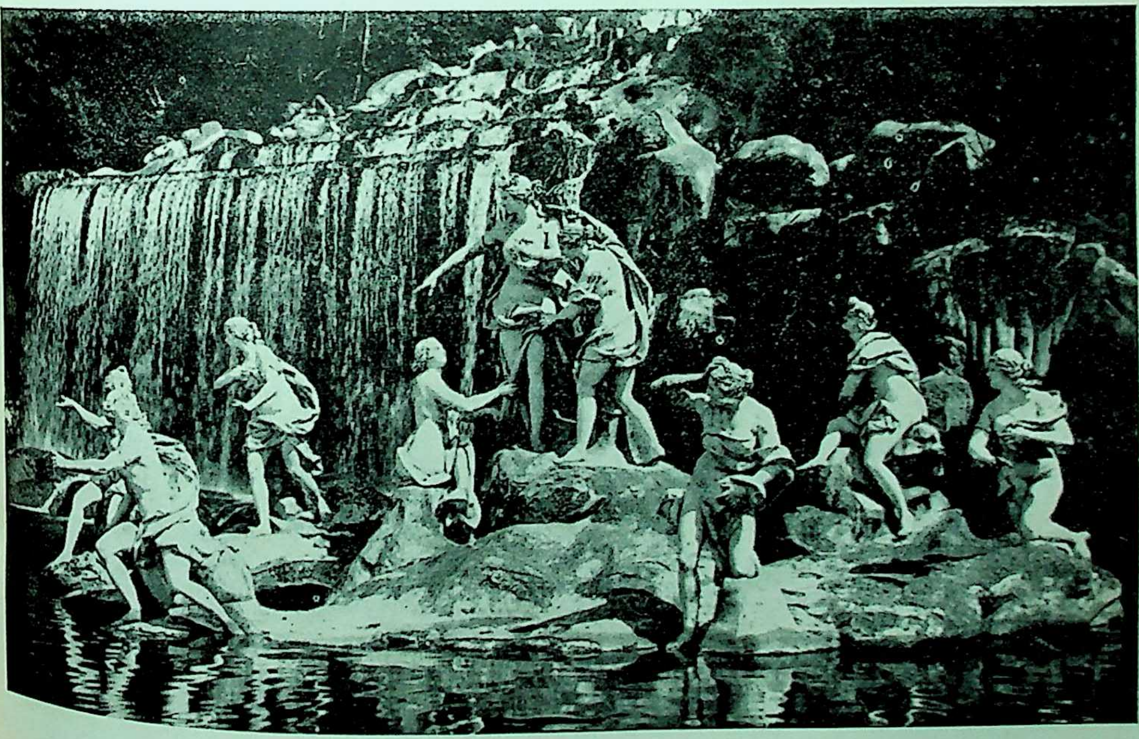
Details of a Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens, Caserta



A Fountain in the Palace Gardens, Caserta



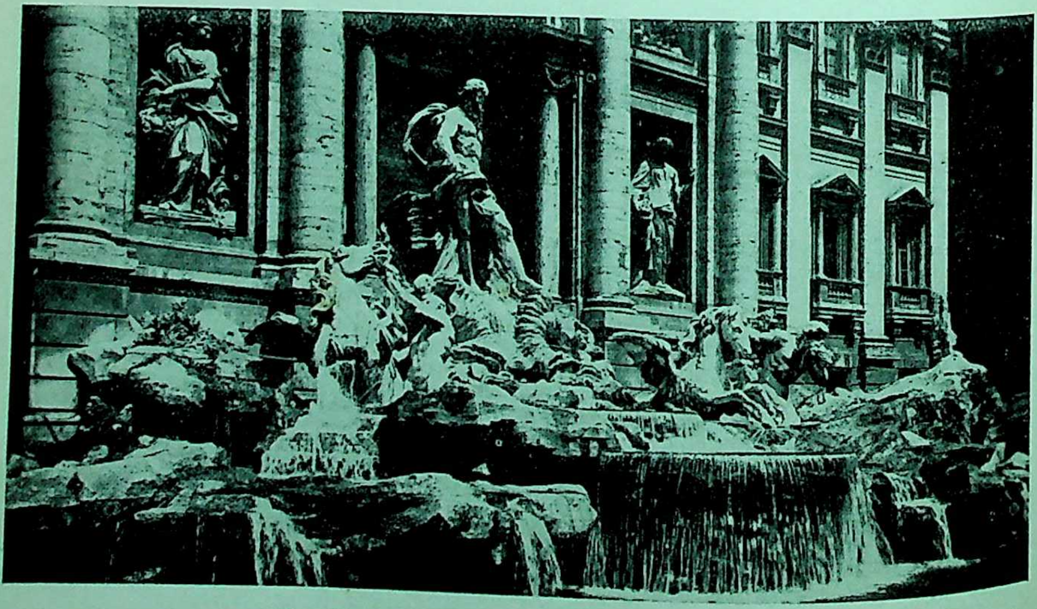
A Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens, Caserta



Another Fountain in the Royal Palace Gardens, Caserta (near Naples)

Sunset on the Tiber, Rome: A distant view of St. Peter's

Monument to St. Francis of Assisi in Rome



The Fountain of Trevi in Rome: By Bernini

UNSUNG SHRINES OF ITALY

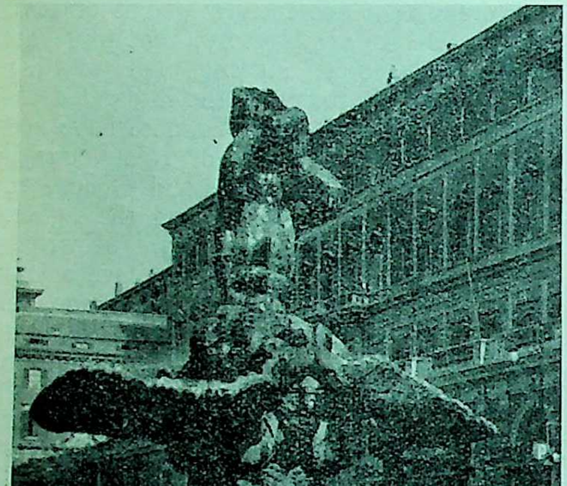
By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC. POL. (Rome)

The fountains of Rome, both ancient and modern, some of them broken and covered with soft velvety green moss, some recalling the most glorious period of Italian art, dropping water from their almost invisible jets with the quiet rhythm of contemplative life, and the others discharging voluminous sprouts of water—the newest ones resembling small water-falls—dancing in the extravagance of light and colour offered by the sun during day time and by electricity at night, have inspired many poets. The fountains of Rome are something that no visitor who has once seen them can ever forget. An infinite number of legends are connected with the *Fontana di Trevi* (Fountain of Trevi by Bernini), where if you drop a copper it brings you back to Rome, the *Fountain of Four Rivers* at Piazza Navona where one river is identified with the Ganges, and with that most luxurious *Fountain of the Naiads* in its pagan voluptuousness situated in one of the most spacious squares of Rome, which one of the Popes had prohibited against public exhibition for a long time.

To the Renaissance fountains of Rome the contribution of Bernini is the richest and prettiest. One who has not seen that little *Fountain of the Tortoises* in moonlight, in its rather modest environments, can never fully appreciate the versatile genius of Bernini whose *Apollo and Daphne, David*, and *Rape of Proserpine*, now adorning the halls of the Villa Borghese Museum in Rome display the higher conceptions and bigger themes of his sculpture. We too partly share the great emotional experience and aesthetic satisfaction which the poet and art-lover would derive from these spectacles. Then comes the great array of imposing and spectacular churches which are looked upon as the appointed places of pilgrimage in the entire Christendom, some of them claiming the same age as Constantine, in which the burning tapers inspire a sense of awe and reverence becoming the House of God, where the faithful receive benediction and tormented souls find peace and consolation. The St. Peter's, St. John's, St. Paul's, St. Mary's stand out in their solemn grandeur in the azure sky of Rome, holding in them the history of ages and art treasures of the greatest and mightiest of Italian masters. Who is not impressed by the art galleries attached to the Vatican Museum, to the Basilica of St. John and other historical churches of Rome? What holds true of Rome also applies to other cities of Italy—Florence, Milan, Venice and Naples.

It is well known that during the middle ages Italian political life was dominated more or less by small city republics which flourished in different parts of the country and which gave a particular expression to the integral genius of Italy. Each city has its own history, own pride and own peculiar genius, although all of them proudly contribute today to the integrated history of Italy which is one. Volumes have been written on the Papal State of Rome, on the merchant princes of Venice and Genoa, the poets and artists of Florence and the fighters of Milan. More are being and will be written on the Renaissance, the Risorgimento and Fascism. They are the common heritage, not only of Italy and Europe, but also of all mankind. The distant past seems so near at hand when one gazes at the Roman ruins on the Palatine hills, the imperial forums of the Cæsars, now reconstructed by Mussolini, that the *Third Rome,* as Carducci defines the Rome of the Italians united and independent, seems to merge in the same way as the Rome of the Popes into that Eternal City which is represented through time and history by the unqualified epithet "Rome," neither first, nor second, nor third, but Rome Eternal.

The middle ages still seem to linger in the chimes of church bells at Florence and in the evening shades over the Arno carrying on its bosom the secret of Dante's dream, Michelangelo's vision, Galileo's conquest and Machiavelli's cleverness. Venice still maintains the tradition as the queen of the Adriatic, the dull monotony of whose winter evenings burst out, as if in vengeance, into the riot of colours on the canvas of Titian, and the grandeur of whose summer sky found expression in the powerful brushes of Tintoretto and Canaletto. No traveller ever forgets to stop for a while on the Rialto Bridge which is connected with Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice,* or under the Bridge of Sighs, an obsolete and tragic remnant of a vanished age. There are thousands who pay their homage of a visit to the tomb of Dante at Ravenna or to the statue of Columbus at Genoa. These are but the most common items enlisted in an Italian itinerary. But there are many places lying about in the little corners of this country which are not recorded by guide books and which cannot perhaps be taken delight in except by the most confirmed vagabond with a pagan sensibility for the glories of Nature. The praise of these places is not generally sung by foreign poets, nor recorded in the travel diaries of foreign tourists. They are the unsung shrines of Italy, and are so intimately Italian that they escape the attention of the common traveller. A glimpse of a few of these places I shall offer in the following lines.



The Fountain of Triton, Rome
By Bernini

No other place outside Asia has evoked in me so strongly the memories of Sarnath and Hastinapur as a small Umbrian town in Central Italy where little seems to have changed since the day when the greatest of Christian mystics said his last prayer in the solemn stillness of its composed air. I refer to Assisi. Its ancient shrines, its lanes and hill-paths, its basilicas immortalized by the brush of Giotto, its c parative insignificance as a modern town, t composed of a cluster of old houses on the s of an Umbrian hill, all bring back to me picture of the Saint who, through his pant tic intuition, could visualize, like the seers ancient India, the unity of life and the one of the Universe. Like Lord Buddha, St. Fra was a rich man's son; and as a youth he gay, careless, open-handed, in love with chiv and ambitious of a soldier's career. A sud illness brought about his conversion and reve his original religious genius, as much loving chivalrous as it was swift and instinctive in response to suffering. I enquired in vain from local people about the situation of that pl where one day meeting a leper he dismoun from his horse and kissed him. But many co point out to me the place where he used feed the pigeons everyday. With his own han he repaired and rebuilt many churches a chapels in the neighbourhood. He broke wi his family, became a hermit and lived on al Barefoot he went out into the world to pre repentance. He lived to become the greate mystic of the Christian world, exercised tremendous influence upon the culture of t middle ages, and established an Order of re gious brotherhood whose ideals corresponded i a large measure, with those of the Buddhis monks. St. Francis was naturally not liked b the Pope, but his movement which might hav done enormous injury to the ecclesiastical ord of the day, since the Italians found in S Francis's message the opportunity of an op revolt against the Church, was reconciled Pope's authority.

> "The poor brothers of St. Francis (*Frates Mi* or Grey Friars) wandered through Italy, preaching Italian as simple folk to simple folk, and going e where, as well into remote hamlets as into the p quarters of large towns, with their call to poverty a repentance. The movement was all the more effe because the early disciples were neither churchmen n schoolmen. The illiterate multitude could understan message, pure of all subtlety or artifice, and deliv in vulgar tongue by men and women, who practised doctrines of poverty and contentment, love and hum which they preached to others. By such manifest thusiasm those who were merely orthodox before tempted to become religious now, and those who heretical discarded their heresies."

One can almost feel the grandeur the Christian humility in which St. Francis li his life and preached his message, when one fi himself face to face with his tomb in the grou floor of the Lower Church of St. Francis Assisi. In that dim light accentuating, as were, the solitude of the grave, his mortal mains lie buried beyond a screen of steel bars covered with flowers. No monument, no mausoleum has been allowed to be erected over his tomb. He was buried where he had lived and died, prayed and agonised for the conquest of human suffering through love and peace. Neither the imposing St. Peter's and the luxury of the Vatican City, nor the architectural marvels of Gothic Churches in Germany, in Nuremberg and Cologne, have brought me those emotional experiences which I derived from a short sojourn in Assisi. Assisi is the Dakshineswar of Europe where, centuries ago, Ramakrishna Paramahansa was anticipated in the mystic figure of St. Francis. The memory of a sunset beyond the hills which I watched from the heights of Assisi in the full splendour of the Umbrian spring will never fade away.

Italy is renowned for its beautiful islands round about the coast line of Naples. Innumerable poets have sung of the beauties of Capri and Ischia, of Amalfi and Sorrento, the picturesque little towns on the Neapolitan coast at the foot of the Vesuvius. Byron characterized Capri as a couple of waves rising with inspired swiftness into the sky from the depths of the Gulf of Naples. What motley crowds could you not see on the pebbly beach of this wonder island, and the archaic little square on the top of the bazar-hill which is more cosmopolitan than London and more friendly than the most intimate corner of a Viennese cafè ! Its rose and grapes, its lanes and temptations, its intoxicating evening air saturated with perfumes are indeed things that bring nostalgia. Every citizen of northern Europe where Nature is less friendly looks forward eagerly to a visit to this island paradise. The *faraglioni* emerge out of water and stand in supreme indifference to the march of time and parade of fashion, and when the daylight fades into darkness, the lights of Naples begin to shine weaving a garland of twinkling stars around the belt of the gulf. The tourists in Italy never forget Capri or Ischia, Amalfi and Sorrento. But there is another island to the north-east of Sardinia, a few hours' journey from Genoa, not less picturesque and interesting because of the lack of tourist traffic in it, of which not only the foreigners but also Italians themselves take little notice. Those who are acquainted with the story of Garibaldi's retired life would of course remember Caprera. Garibaldi, the military hero of Italian independence, retired from active life when he had reached the apex of his renown but when Papal Rome had still to fall before the armies of the Risorgimento.

> "He had won and surrendered the south, he had held and resigned a dictatorship. He had been offered and refused titles, wealth, decorations. Civilized respectabilities meant nothing to this child of the Pampas. He knew that wild fowl languish in the cage. With a sublime simplicity, taking with him some seed-corn, some vegetables, some salt cod, and a little borrowed money, he turned his back upon the plaudits and vanities of Naples and sailed away to a life of hard work and poverty in the island of Caprera. There among the shepherds and goat-herds he meditated how best to complete the redemption of Italy."

Garibaldi is one of those rare military figures of Europe whose last days were characterized by a spiritual energism typical of the Oriental genius which recognises the utility of struggle but at the same time puts a premium on the bigger heroism involved in the realization of one's own self in relation to the universe. Critics will say that Garibaldi, however, successful as a General, was a failure as an orator and as a financier. But that does not nearly explain his retirement. There was an inner urge in him which was as much spiritual in its content as it was removed from the luxury of sentimental abandon. The liberty-loving spirit of Garibaldi which conducted him through many a victory on the battle-field in his youth, yearned for a bigger emancipation from the vanities of political life in his later years. The Republican Garibaldi heard in the shepherd's flute and fisherman's song at Caprera the call of a distant shore—the eternal call with which the spirit of Nature tempts the love of Man on to the path of spiritual experiences.

Monument to Garibaldi on Gianicolo in Rome

The admirers of Venice with its captivating canals, seducing gondolas, inviting delicacies and beautiful women, hardly care to enquire if there is anything beyond the limpid lagoon that might arouse their curiosity and interest. The splendour of St. Mark's and the Ducal Palace claims nearly all their admiration, and those who are a little bit more fastidious exhaust their fund of energy going round the wonderful art galleries where some of the masterpieces of the Venetian school can still be seen. But during the long summer days, while navigating in small motor launches around the cluster of small villages in the lagoon of Venice, I have often wondered if there is anything half so fascinating as those exquisitely characteristic fishing villages in the city itself. For example, Burano. It has to be admitted, however, that an American tourist would feel uncomfortable there. There is neither the thrill of a monumental past nor the cleanliness of a metropolitan city in those sweet little island villages inhabited by a sturdy and simple folk, born to fight against storm and rough weather, who gave to medieval Venice the tradition of its great world-wide commerce. They are the descendants of that race of sailors which for centuries dominated the commerce of the Adriatic, Mediterranean and the Levant, and who made Venice the namesake of commercial prosperity as it was then. These villagers are modest in their conduct as well as in their ambitions. The women-folk assist the men in repairing their nets stretched along the sandy beach while the latter enjoy a smoke in the shade of cypresses that defy the claims of weather in their ever-green verdure. When darkness falls upon these villages, the lights of Venice far out in the distance dance in vain on the still waters of the lagoon to draw them away from their simple pastimes of games and drinks in their modest huts. Here as well little seems to have changed. Modern civilization has stopped short at its doors and has not been able to contaminate these honest and tough people with its gospel of comfort. They still retain their faith in the inevitability of fate and treat life not as an art but as a gift of God lived for and dedicated to the service of mankind. The same heroic conception of life pervades the entire peasantry of Italy. A member of the French diplomatic service who had been for many years Ambassador in Rome wrote a book on Italy after his retirement, and opined that the Italian peasant is the most frugal, industrious, heroic and witty of all the peasant communities of Europe. His attachment to the soil is almost religious; his hospitality is proverbial in Europe; h genuity and native humour are remarkable. is a good soldier, a good husband and a father. His strength is the strength of I

Evenings are rather dull in Rome. body who is accustomed to cosmopolitan is annoyed with Rome for this reason. T is practically no night life. There is no *Toni* in Rome—that familiar figure of Viennese girls with a scarlet scarf round neck who goes round to sell roses in the eve in all public places of amusement. At night there is hardly any traffic even in most central thoroughfares of the city. It say that it is according to the wish of the that too much of recklessness is not all here. Foreigners, however, try to explain away by the comparative poverty of the Ita capital and by its little commercial importa At any rate, for those who are used to caba and dancing places in the evening Rome of but few attractions. And yet there are sig round and about Rome to be seen in the eve ings which are unique and which are offered few other places. For example, the old *Appia* or the Appian Way, within two miles the city, offer a spectacle on moonlit or lim nights, which, so far as my experience goes cannot be seen in any other place in Europ The Appian Way contains the ruins of t ancient Roman road which connected the Imperial City with Ostia, the then port of Ro It was formerly about ten miles long and w really the Imperial Way over which marc the armies and merchandise caravans that h found their way to Rome from across the s in the days of its greatest glory. Later the Appian way was used as the common bur place by the Romans, and on both sides this magnificent road may still be found a h of odd-looking pagan tombstones nearly all ruins. Rows of cypress trees line both sides the road, interspersed here and there with tall umbrella pines which look like brood giants in the faint glimmer of spring twili The ancient Roman pavement made of bl stone slabs, although repaired and metalled many places in modern times, running thro the elevated tracks of the enchant *Campagna Romana*, bring back the m ories of an age when Rome was leader and dominator of Europe, when Christian morals had not yet come i conflict with the pagan exuberance of Ro life. The Appian Way is not illuminated night with modern Rome's lavish electricity. ancient sanctity is still preserved in its con with the infinite horizons, by the praying cypresses guarding its religious silence and by the broken bricks of diversely shaped pagan tombstones. From any one of the promontories of the Via Appia, you can see a sight which, if the night is clear, you can never forget. On the left the glow of modern Rome resembles that of a great city in fire rising high up into the evening sky; on your right the distant villages of the *Castelli Romani* on the slopes of those well-known hills which produce the exquisite wine celebrated throughout the world by the name of *chianti*, look like twinkling islands with their cluster of lights; and in front of you are the undulating fields of the *Campagna* the charms of which have been immortalized in the poetry of Robert Browning. The spectacle, which resembles very much the first vision of Christminister by Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, does not lead you either to shout in joy nor to say an indifferent "superb," "splendid" or "lovely." It makes you silent, even meditative, and time seems to fall asleep. It embodies in a palpable form the longing for what is far away and the yearning of *wanderlust*. Sometimes when the wind rushes through the leaves of the pines, you can almost hear the whisper of invisible souls hovering around you, and a faint echo of the steps of marching soldiers of old seems to reverberate in the air.

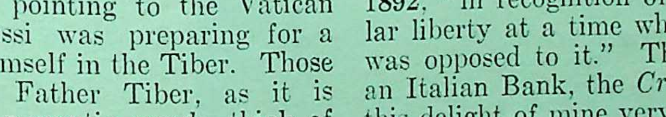
Remarkably enchanting sights are also offered by the Tiber sometimes in its evening moods. Its strong, restless, palpitating current, playing with the thousand reflections of its shining strand, often produces spectacles that are hard to forget. A characteristic view of the St. Peter's from the Tiber seen through the arch of one of the bridges always reminded me of the hallucination of David Rossi in Hall Caine's *Eternal City* where he sees his mother's apparition across the river pointing to the Vatican city while David Rossi was preparing for a suicide by drowning himself in the Tiber. Those who have never seen Father Tiber, as it is called in Italy, in its romantic moods, think of it only as a dirty drain and a carrier of germs.

There is another shrine in Rome of which the travellers are hardly aware. It is the Protestant cemetery where lie buried two of the immortal citizens of the world, the greatest poets of English romanticism—Shelley and Keats. The graves are very modest. On the grave of Shelley there is only a white marble slab on which are inscribed the following famous lines from Shakespeare's *Tempest* :

> "Nothing in him that doth change,
> But doth suffer only a sea-change.
> Into something rich and strange."

Admirers of Shelley know what this transformation stands for in the philosophy of Shelley. In one corner of the cemetery, under the canopy of a big tree, lies buried Keats. On the marble slab erected on his grave is depicted a broken lyre, and the touching inscription records the tragic circumstances which has embittered the last days of this young English poet. On the adjoining wall covered with ivy is a portrait of Keats engraved on white marble erected by his English and American admirers. Once in a while the Poetry Society of England makes a pilgrimage to Rome to pay their customary homage to these two great sons of that country who died on the foreign soil. But for that, they are hardly taken notice of by others. The Italy that Shelley loved and Keats worshipped has been fast disappearing.

The greatest delight of my stay in Rome today consists in this that I have taken my abode at a spot which might well have been a place of pilgrimage had it been located in England. The first thing that I see on opening my window in the morning, and sometimes the last thing at night, is a shining inscription on white marble on the facade of a house which records that P. B. Shelley lived there and it was in this house that he wrote his *Prometheus Unbound* and the *Cenci*. The tablet was erected by the people of Rome on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of his birth in 1892, "in recognition of his championing popular liberty at a time when the whole of Europe was opposed to it." This building now houses an Italian Bank, the *Credito Italiano*. I guard this delight of mine very jealously against other neighbours, and I often wonder how many of my house-mates are conscious of this great privilege of living face to face with a Shelleyan shrine.



AN AFTERNOON WITH MADAME SOPHIA WADIA

By MOTILAL DAS

It was a beautiful July afternoon. The water rippled and sang as I took my seat on the deck-chair on s.s. *Conteverde*. The sun shone and in the silence of the lone deck I went on thinking of the beloved ones I had left behind.

The clock struck four and Madame Sophia Wadia came just as promised.

Madame Wadia is known all over India as the founder of the Indian P. E. N.—a brotherhood of intellectuals, but very few except those who have come into contact with her, know what a benign personality she is.

Madame Sophia Wadia

She nodded graciously as I took my by her side. She spoke charmingly. I her the essays that I was taking to Eu She glanced through them and was delight see them.

I told her that my European tour primarily a cultural one. She laughed. gladly consented to answer my questions, w I had already handed over to her.

I paused and looked up to and said, "I may wait if you to think over them." "Oh no," smiled and said, "I can an them now."

It struck me very much that must have dived deep into the m teries of Indian philosophy. Ot wise she would not have ventu to say her say on abstruse ma in so free and off-hand a way. learnt later on that she had de erudition and that the Gita w her daily companion.

The first question was: "I you believe in religion? C civilization survive witho it?"

Her words came free and sw "I believe in rligion as an i way of life—not in religion a exists today, the form without soul, the shadow without the l Civilization cannot survive w out true religion. False or c religion will kill civilization."

She did not stop and passe once to the next question, "W do you think about the futur religion?"

"There is no future of reli unless it returns to universal l principles, and becomes a m of living. Sectarian, dogm and orthodox religions m perish."

She looked at the next qu and said, "This is beyond province—but still I would say what I b on the point."

"What is your attitude towards the w

economic system. Do you believe that there can ever be peace and plenty for all?"

The sea moaned but her words floated in a mellow moving voice, "There cannot be peace outside unless there be peace within ourselves. War in the outer world is only the reflection of the turmoil which is raging within man's own being."

"There is plenty for all already, but because of the system of profit and competition, good nourishment is being destroyed in many places to keep up the market-prices. I do not believe that all men can even have the same amount, but an economic system, based on unselfishness instead of greed could provide for all." She looked at me in her kind friendly way and added that the questions were broad.

"But I want only short answers," interrupted I, "answers that tell much."

"What is your idea of progress? Is perfection ever attainable on earth?"

She paused and replied, "I do not call mere material advancement progress. True progress is to be measured in terms of mental perception and moral expression. Yes, perfection is attainable on earth—that is perfection which is possible after a long series of lives spent in self-discipline in the service of others."

The questions turned to the problems of the day. "What is your view about the modern theory of marriage? What do you think would be the future of it—".

She spoke—with that indignation which only an Indian in soul and heart must feel in the matter, "I do not believe at all in the present theory of companionate marriage. I believe that it will die, when its evil consequences will become visible to all. Already in Russia, the State is making propaganda in favour of marriage, the building of homes and the bringing up of children."

"What is your idea on divorce? Do you approve of it? What is your idea about the future of woman?"

She could not forget her link with European society and answered, "Under certain circumstances, and in the present state of our civilization divorce can be justified—but not divorce as it is spreading today—making men and women free to give way to their lower impulses." She warmed up as she spoke about the future of woman. There was a fleeting splendour in her face—a radiance of hope. Her words were no pleading for the cause of woman, "To me the differentiation between man and woman is only in the body. Real self is sexless. As souls, therefore, women have as great a future as men."

The calmness of the afternoon spread all around. The next question took us to the world of calm meditation. "Do you believe in creation or creative evolution? What is your idea of the future of men? Do you believe in after-life? Have you no wish for immortality?"

"I believe in the doctrine of emanation—involution preceding evolution. I believe in reincarnation—each life on earth being succeeded by a period of rest and the latter in its turn succeeded by rebirth on this earth."

"Death is certain to all things that are born and rebirth to all mortals," she quotes from the Gita.

"I have no wish for the immortality of my personality. The latter is but the necessary vehicle for my work in this life. I have every wish for the realization of that immortality which already is—namely, the immortality of the Spirit."

"What is evil? Do you rebel against this universal order? Is it necessary?"

"True Evil exists in the human kingdom. I call evil deliberate wrong doing and only man can choose to do wrong self-consciously. Such evil necessarily brings about painful reactions. It is not Nature who is cruel but man himself, and the law gives to each one the legitimate effects of his own doings. Suffering has therefore its beneficent aspects. It is the great teacher. I do not rebel against this universal order. I appreciate it and I am grateful that it exists."

"Man is a slow learner, and therefore nature is compelled to repeat lessons again and again—the moment man wakens to the realization that the purpose of life is to learn, he becomes a diligent pupil and much suffering is then spared."

I thought that it would be tiresome to her. No, it was not. She spoke quickly and joyfully. Her luminous words showed that she was deeply stirred.

I changed the question. "Do you believe in love? What is your idea on Freud's theory?" She was amused, but continued, checking her smile, "I believe in true love—as a spiritual affinity rather than the infatuation of the senses, which passes today for love. Freud's theory grossly exaggerates one aspect of our complex nature and makes it the basis of all our reactions. This is neither true nor desirable. This theory has done great harm to our civilization."

I told her of the Neo-Bengali School of

fiction, and she cursed that Indians should ever turn to such soul-killing things.

"Are you an optimist? If so, why so, if not, why not?" She tried to evade answering such questions, saying that she was neither an optimist nor a pessimist. But as I was obdurate, her intelligent reply came, "I am an optimist but not a foolish one. I have trust and confidence in the innate good which is in human nature. Furthermore, believing in the justice of *karma*, I also have trust and confidence that men will learn to change their animal nature into human nature and then to raise the latter into divine nature."

I gave her no time to rest. "What is the ultimate object of life? What is the ideal standard? What is your message to life? What is your philosophy of life?"

"To live, to benefit mankind, is the object of life. This cannot be fulfilled, unless we fit ourselves to be the better able to help and to teach others. Renunciation of one's self for the sake of others is the highest ideal I can conceive of."

"What is the essence of your gospel of life?" Her answer was ready, "Sincerity, truth and to do one's duty by every duty."

Her words were illuminating. She spoke like one of old, who had mastered the Brahma-vidya and had the courage to face the most intrepid logician. I could almost feel that I was in the presence of a Gargi, a Maitreyi and I felt no desire to stop that open fountain of nectar.

"Do you believe in life—in God? What is your idea on free will?"

"Yes I do, one aspect of man is God and when man expresses that divine aspect, he lives in God." She quoted the Gita, "He who through the similitude between himself and all things sees but one essence sees Me."

This did not satisfy me I pleaded, "Why one aspect—we believe that everything of us is in and within, by and through God."

She smiled a bright smile, all her own and said, "Yes—man is God, and when he lives as a God, he expresses the divine in every thought, word and deed—as the Gita says, 'until wisdom manifests within nine-gated city of his abode."

"Free will is the chief characteristi man's consciousness. Man is essentiall chooser and this power to choose makes morally and "Karmically" responsible."

She added with a laugh, "Karmicall my coinage." I found that she was a st believerer in the law of *Karma*.

"Do you think that sience will di the God-idea?" She spoke slowly with her accents, "Science today is but a strong rea against blind belief—for that reason it fallen into the pitfall of denial and materialism. This is necessarily but a tr tion period. If science remains honest—i search for truth, it will come to the recogn that matter is but one aspect of nature and behind, beyond and within matter there is spiritual."

It was getting late, but there was not least trace of annoyance in her. I put my question :—"What does life mean to What is the goal of humanity. Do you th that the utopia of our dreams will ever about?"

Her bright sparkling eyes brightened she went on—slowly but sweetly. "Life me service to me. The goal of humanity is graduate from the school of earth not the att ment of perfection. The soul can choose tween liberation and renunciation—in the fir it separates itself from suffering humanity, enjoy the bliss and peace of Nirvana, in second—it gives up Nirvana and become teacher of humanity."

"This is the Buddhist ideal," interru I. "Yes the noblest ideal. Our dream become reality if we try steadfastly to ex them, day by day in our lives. As we th so we become. Let us think highly and dr nobly and this will contribute to the ameli tion of the world."

The Arabian Sea lay before us. There a deep grandeur in the sublime ocean stretched before us—there was a deeper gran in what I heard. I remained mute in contemplation. The waves rolled on and pristine sun-rays danced on them. Natu great no doubt but I enquired within m man is not greater.

* * *

PANDIT KRISHNAVARMA HONOURED IN PARIS

BY MADAME L. MORIN

SOME years ago, during a trip to Switzerland, as I entered a bank to change some money, a friend who was with me murmured in a hushed whisper: "Here is Mr. Krishnavarma!" And, following his gaze, I saw a very old gentleman, sitting in a corner, looking over some papers, as if lost in a dream. The face, ivory pale, appeared almost translucent in the morning light, and the thin silvery hair that surrounded it like an evanescent halo seemed to create around the silent figure an additional atmosphere of unreality.

This feeling vision returned to my memory as I was attending the reception given some days ago by the Paris University and the Institute of Indian Civilization to the Indian colony in Paris, Mr. Rana being the guest of honour.

The purpose of this meeting was to celebrate Mr. and Mrs. Krishnavarma's memory and the generous donation made by them in view of creating scholarships reserved to Indian students. Presided over by the Rector of the University, the gathering included most of the Indains residing in Paris, as well as the professors and students of the Indian Institute. A number of prominent personalities had also been invited.

Several interesting speeches were delivered, but the most brilliant, as well as the most substantial, was no doubt Professor Foucher's, which included an account of Pandit Krishnavarma's versatile and picturesque career.

Shyamaji Krishnavarma was born in 1857 in Mandvi, a small port in the gulf of Cutch. Even as a boy, he distinguished himself in Sanskrit and English studies.

At the age of twenty, he became one of the first adherents of the Arya Samaj, and conducted a brilliant campaign of lectures in Sanskrit throughout India. Soon after, he met professor Monier-Williams. Highly impressed by the young man's eloquence and ability, Monier-Williams urged him to come to Oxford as his assistant. The pay was meagre, yet Krishnavarma decided to go.

Admitted to the Balliol College, he mastered both Greek and Latin with amazing rapidity and ease. At the same time, he became a barrister-at-law in London.

On his return to India, he settled in Ajmer as a lawyer. He also became a member of the municipality there. And, besides his legal and municipal duties, he managed to find time to establish in Ajmer three ginning factories, which must have been among the first,—if not *the* first—, of the kind.

Mr. Rana delivering his speech

Pandit Krishnavarma also endeavoured to translate his ideals for reform into practice by acting as Dewan in Native States. After three successive experiences, thoroughly disgusted with court intrigues, he returned to England, in 1897.

This Sanskrit scholar became such a fervent admirer of Herbert Spencer that, after the latter's death, he made a donation to the Oxford University so that an annual lecture should perpetuate Spencer's memory.

About the same time, Krishnavarma founded, and edited for several years, a newspaper called *The Indian Sociologist*.

He also opened a residential centre for Indian students in England and created a "Home-rule for India Society". One can hardly believe that the idea of Indian autonomy, which has become so widespread in our days, was still viewed as seditious in those times! Krishnavarma left London in 1907 to settle in Paris, where he could breathe an air of freedom, and move among people less hostile to his ideas.

He always had a special liking for France and its democratic institutions. Once even, in some enthusiastic mood, he translated the "Marseillaise" into Sanskrit!

Yet, early in 1914, he decided to leave Paris for Geneva, and he was to live there in peaceful retirement until his death in 1930.

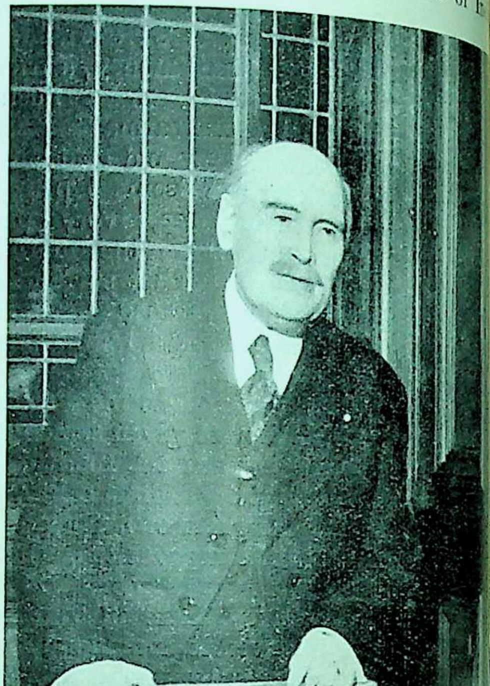
But no account of Pandit Krishnavarma's life would be complete that did not allude to Mrs. Bhanumati Krishnavarma, his devoted collaborator during these long years full of varied activities. It is interesting to note that theirs was a marriage by choice,—a very rare occurrence indeed in those olden days.

At the age of eighteen, Krishnavarma had obtained a scholarship to study in the Bombay Elphinstone High School, where he soon became the best pupil, and made many friends. One of his comrades invited him to his home and he became a favourite there. The parents had liberal views, and when Krishnavarma decided to ask his friend's sister in marriage, the young girl was consulted as well as the parents. In fact, his happy marriage with a companion of his own choice was perhaps one of the reasons of Krishnavarma's militant enthusiasm in favour of social reform.

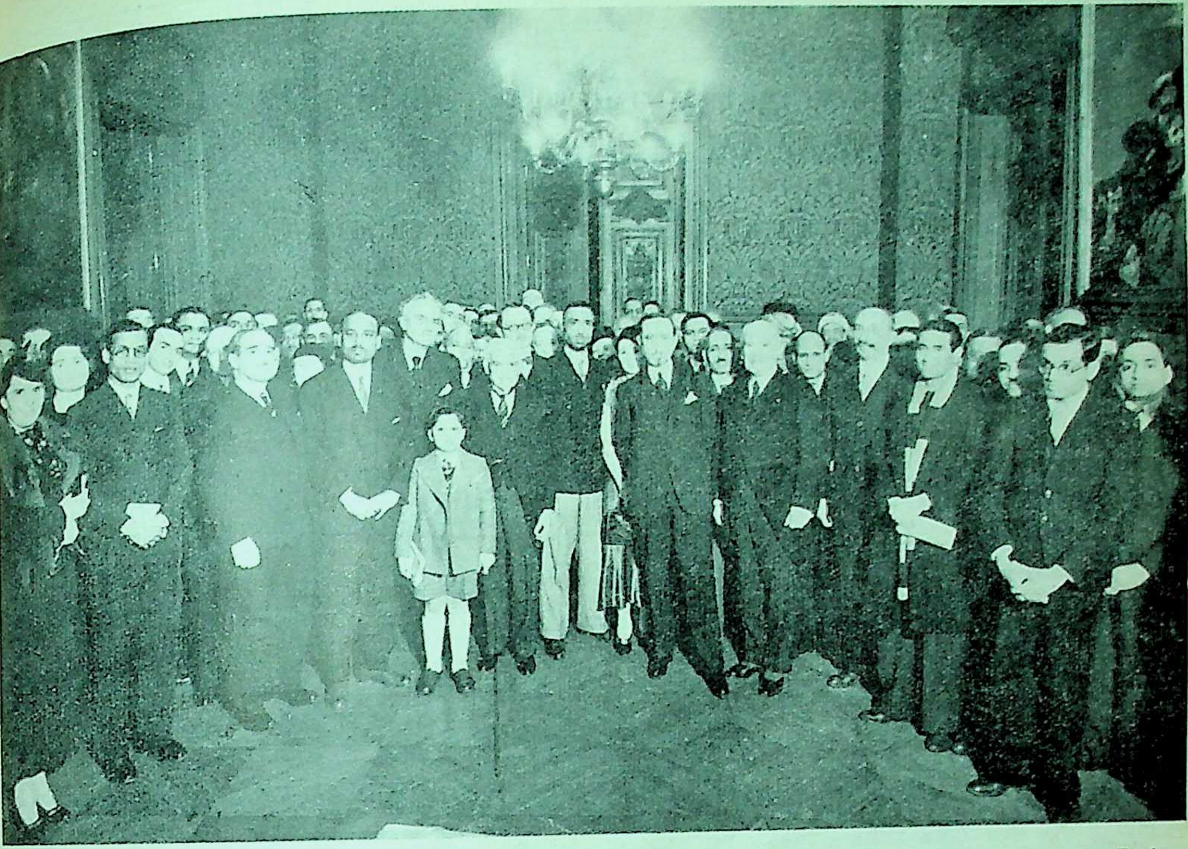
Mrs. Krishnavarma survived her husband by three years only; and during this short span of time her dominant preoccupation was to perpetuate her husband's memory by devoting thier fortune to the furtherance of ideals that had been dear to them both.

She did not forget the hospitable welcome they had received in Geneva, and generous donations were given to the Hospital and U sity of that town. But Paris also had a share in her liberalities.

Mrs. Krishnavarma liked the informal friendly atmosphere of the Institute of I Civilization, where Mr. and Mrs. Sylvain L had welcomed her with that simple and ge cordiality which those who have known t remember so well. Soon after her husb death, Mrs. Krishnavarma gave to the Insti Library his collection of Sanskrit books.



Prof. Foucher addressing the meeting



A group photograph of the gathering which met to celebrate Mr. and Mrs. Krishnavarma's memory in Paris

contributed financially to the publication of the Sanskrit-French dictionary prepared by three scholars of that Institution. She also helped the Association of Indian students in France, and secured two rooms for Indians in the Cité Universitaire (the international residential center for students in Paris).

One of her cherished plans was to create scholarships in favour of Indian students from the Bombay Presidency, especially for girl students engaged in scientific or technical researches. However, when she decided to leave the greatest part of her fortune by will in view of that purpose, she did not specify which University would inherit the legacy. She left the decision in the hands of the executors of the will. Mr. Rana, who had been a close friend of her husband's and her constant adviser since the latter's death shared this responsibility with Mr. Maurice Hesse, Mrs. Krishnavarma's banker in Geneva.

Mr. Rana is an old and staunch friend of Indian students in France. He was also greatly attached to Professor Sylvain Levi and to the cause of Indian studies here. His active sympathy played, no doubt, an important part in the verdict by which two million francs were entrusted to the Paris University for the creation of scholarships for Indians. The students are to be selected by a committee in Bombay.

It may be interesting to recall here that Mr. Rana's initiative was also an important factor when the Slyvain Levi Foundation was created,—its aim being to send young French scholars for study and research in India. Nothing could be more in harmony with the spirit of the great Indologist who was for so many years at the head of Indian studies here, and always insisted on accurate and first-hand knowledge.

Indian scholars coming to France, French scholars going to India: this double current of give and take can do much to enliven cultural and human relationships between the two countries.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIA: *By G. N. Joshi. Macmillan and Company, 1937. Pp. XVIII, 464. Price 7s. 6d.*

India may not be politically the world's hottest spot at this moment, but judging by the reports which manage to leak out in America it is apparent that India is burning in blue flame of discontent. Manifestly, the new Constitution was cooked up to win over the insurgent India. What are the aims and principles of this Constitution? How does it work? Mr. Joshi looks it over and finds it good. G. N. Joshi, M.A., LL. B., is a professor of constitutional law in the Government Law College of Bombay, and is also a practising lawyer on the side. He is supposed to know his onions, at least from the angle of the right-wing "Moderates".

In his *The New Constitution of India*, he provides us with a narrative of the machinery of Indian government under the new dispensation. His approach, is, however, legalistic. He discusses how the various provinces of British India and the feudally ruled Princes' States are to be welded into one federated structure. He goes into details and tells how the federal executive, the federal legislative, the provincial legislatures and other gadgets are created, and what their political and financial powers are. He also offers, throughout the volume, short historical comments on most of the subjects discussed as a clarifying background.

Undoubtedly the most striking features of the Constitution is the creation of the All-India Federation. Joshi justifies federation on the alleged necessity of stabilizing elements in the central government. It is a sham justification. There is already too much centralization of power. No one can say for sure that a system under which the "democratically elected" (?) representatives of Indian Provinces, checkmated by the autocratic Princes, will function satisfactorily. Professor Joshi is constrained to admit that the London-made Constitution is "not a natural Constitution." In his own words: "Indians look upon the New Constitution as an imposed Constitution which is incapable of growth from within. It is encompassed in a strait-jacket." Yet in the very next breath, he comes right out with the prophecy that "it will *inevitably* result in securing for India full responsible government". That's your soothsayer! It will be hard for any political scientist who knows the history of English rule in India to make such a streamlined prophecy. But if Joshi could do this successfully, he should leave the field of constitutional law and go in for crystal gazing. To me, political necromancy doesn't make sense.

Scattered through the tome there is much evi of wishful thinking on the part of the author. He seems to think that the League of Nations, which is now like a dead cat in a gutter, will "help" India acquire "full legal status" in the eyes of internati law.

In studying the new Constitution one can see half an eye that the big Stuffed-Shirts of Eng imperialism in India are trying to go two ways at to retain the system of domination and exploitation, to hold out liberal promises and slogans to fool people. Joshi is one of the writing brigade w squirts numbo jumbo legalism into his eyes and sees millennium coming.

Under the new Constitution, self-government in In is a friction, and a poor one at that. India has ab as much self-government as has Manchukuo. Oh, yes the Constitution is good for years of gaiety yet.

India is the victim of imperialism. And imperialis to put it bluntly, is a prison. Its inmates can scarc be blamed if they are not over-enthusiastic about the prison regulations of their dear old wardens.

G. N. Joshi is neither original nor profound. H has hewed close to the line of British imperialism, letti the principles fall where they would. He has acc plished one thing: he has given the world a friendl picture of the philanthropic John Bull. Such a b should find a considerable number of readers am those who believe that the British empire is an "altrui internationalism" and that John Bull in India is prophet. Can I say more? No!

"When do we eat?"

Sudhindra Bose

ORIGIN OF THE CHALUKYAS: *By Ranjit S Satyasray. Published by Prof. S. C. Ghose, Calcutta, 1937.*

This is the first volume of the series "Studies Rajput History" in which the author proposes discuss the historical evidence regarding the ori growth, culture and creed of the Rajputs." In the f part of the volume the author has sought to disp the hypothesis about tne foreign barbarian origin of Chalukyas. He has successfully demonstrated the we ness of the various theories held on the subject, and agree with him that the foreign origin of the Chaluk still remains to be proved. He has next tried to estab the theory that the Chalukyas were descended from Brahmanical sage. In spite of the learning and indu with which this theory has been laboriously built every unbiassed critic will admit that it is as indefens as the one he has tried to demolish. The hypothesis is evidently based on the fact that a Gotra-pravartaka Risi of the name Chuluka is mentioned in the Ganapatha. The author concludes from this that "the Chalukyas were a Brahmana family in the beginning and they were the descendants of an ancient sage Chuluka." He altogether ignores the all-important consideration that the Chalukyas themselves never knew about this illustrious ancestry, and although they and their court-poets and contemporaries give all possible and impossible stories of their origin none of them has ever even hinted at such a connection. The author has given evidence of wide study in his dissertation about the *gotras* of the Chalukyas, but we feel that it was wasted on a fruitless task. We draw his attention to the very pertinent remarks of Dr. N. K. Dutt in the foreword of his own book. "Gotra and pravara names of the kingly families" says Dr. Dutt "are not by themselves very reliable anchor sheets for fixing origin and descent. If Ravana, the Rakshasa king could be acknowledged as a descendant of a well-known Brahmin sage Pulastya and some of the Kirata barbarians were called Atreyas and Bharadvajas .... how could the reciting of gotra and pravara names prevent the Hinduised foreigners from claiming descent from Vedic Rishis and Kings?" Unfortunately, this foreword (presumably) reached the author after his book was finished. Otherwise he would not perhaps have wasted his money and time in a fruitless search after the origin of the Chalukyas, on the strength of Gotra and pravara names. Incidentally it may be noted, that the author has entirely forgotten that even non-Brahmans have Gotra names connected with the Vedic Rishis.

In the first part of his work the author has very rightly discarded various stories about the origin of the Chalukyas which were evidently invented in later times. But this critical spirit has entirely forsaken him when in his attempt to establish the novel theory of the origin of the Chalukyas, he has accepted, as historical, statements in an eleventh century record that the Chalukyas were descended from Manavya, Harita and Panchasikha. Curiously enough he has altogether brushed aside the further statement in the very same record that the family name Chalukya, was derived from an eponymous hero Chalukya, son of Panchasikha. We entirely argee with the writer of the Foreword that "to prove the origin of the Chalukyas from barbarians is as difficult as to trace their unbroken descent from Pauranic sages and kings." Indeed, the Foreword of this book may be regarded as its best comment and criticism, and the author would do well in trying to comprehend the sound principles enunciated in it.

The third part of the work seeks to establish a relationship between the different Chalukya dynasties ruling at different times in different places. This part is as inconclusive as the second. The author possesses undoubted talents and wide knowledge but they should be devoted to more fruitful and profitable subjects of study.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN CERTAIN RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS:

By countries of Origin and consumption, 1936. Series of League of Nations Publications—1937. II. A. 21. Pp. 164 Price: 5/-; $1.25.

This volume, the second of its kind to be published by the Economic Intelligence Service, contains provisional statistics for 1936 and complete statistics for 1935. Like the previous volume, the statistics contained in the volume are confined to 35 commodities, principally raw materials and foodstuffs of importance in international trade. These include wheat, sugar, rubber, wood in various forms, hides, wool, cotton, silk, iron and steel, copper, motor spirit. A detailed descriptive list of the commodities is included in the volume. The publication represents an important improvement over the previous one in that the number of importing countries covered by the various tables has been increased from 42 to 122, thus making the statistics practically world-wide. These 122 countries represent 98% of total world trade in 1935, as compared with the 84% represented by the 42 countries covered by the previous volume.

The volume is the outcome of the extremely important conclusion arrived at by the Committee of Statistical Experts four years ago that the incomparability of international trade statistics (*i.e.*, the discrepancies between import statistics given by an importing country and the export figures relating to the same transactions returned by the exporting country) could only be eliminated by furnishing of all countries of their import data by country of origin. Governments were, therefore, asked to furnish import data on this basis and the Secretariat authorised by the Council of the League to collect, aggregate and publish such data.

The volume contains an introduction which draws the attention of the reader to the various causes of discrepancies and possible errors involved in trying to secure comparability of exports with the corresponding import data. Whilst the volume is only a first attempt to solve the problem of the comparability of trade statistics by the adoption of uniform principles, it is believed that the figures given afford a valuable indication, if not a precise record, of the flow of goods from the producing to the consuming countries.

Though British India was not one of the thirty countries which had sent replies to the League's questionnaire on the subject, some figures for this country are to be found in the book.

CITY OF BIRMINGHAM HANDBOOK, 1938.

Published by the City of Birmingham Information Bureau. Pp. 344. With numerous Illustrations. Very finely got-up.

This year's edition of Birmingham's annual civic review—"The City of Birmingham Handbook"—deals appropriately with the progress of civic government in that City through the century, and illustrates the evolution of the vast municipal machine of today from its vague and distant origins. For, in July next it is to celebrate the centenary of the grant of its Charter of Incorporation. Beginning with an account of Birmingham's historic associations—the City has a well defined history reaching back to pre-Conquest days—the handbook describes the town of a hundred years ago and the conditions then existing. Subsequent pages in this 344-page book relate chapter by chapter the duties and responsibilities of each of the twenty-six main administrative departments of the Corporation, concluding with a description of the great Airport scheme, the newest form of local government activity, which is due for completion this year.

It is, perhaps, appropriate that in the year of Birmingham's Centenary Mr. Neville Chamberlain, who, following the example of his distinguished father, gained experience in municipal government in Birmingham before entering upon a Parliamentary career, and was indeed Lord Mayor of Birmingham from 1915 to 1917, should hold the highest office in the Government at the time his native city is celebrating its municipal beginnings and the civic progress to which the Chamberlain tradition, and the conception of public service which it embodied, has contributed so much.

The bigger municipalities in India will note that some of the amenities and services provided by the civic administration of Birmingham are: many museums and art galleries, public libraries, City of Birmingham Orchestra, parks and recreation grounds, town hall, mental hospitals and other hospitals, institutions for elementary and secondary education, evening institutes and colleges, institutions for education in arts and crafts and commerce, University of Birmingham, public baths, gas, electricity, water, tramways and omnibuses, markets, municipal bank, and Birmingham airport.

THE EPIC OF TRAVANCORE: *By Mahadev Desai. Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Price not mentioned.*

This book is a history of the struggle for obtaining the right of the so-called untouchable Hindus to enter Hindu temples in Travancore, and fittingly opens with the Travancore Maharaja's proclamation conceding to all Hindus the right of entering or worshipping at temples controlled by him and his government. His Highness the Maharaja has shown both courage and statesmanship in issuing the proclamation. Gandhiji's speeches are very instructive—particularly his exposition of the first verse of Ishopanishad.

We have read the book twice to find out whether anywhere in Mahatma Gandhi's speeches reported in it he has clearly stated that image-worship in temples is not the highest teaching of the Hindu scriptures. We have found no such passage. A reader of the book who does not know the highest that Hinduism stands for will naturally conclude that in Gandhi's opinion Hindu worship is synonymous with image-worship. But that is not true. And Gandhiji himself said years ago that he did not himself worship images and that the idols in temples did not awaken any feeling of reverence in his mind.

It is to be regretted that in the speeches of Mahatma Gandhi contained in this book there is no information relating to the highest form of worship enjoined in the Hindu scriptures.

XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE P. E. N. CLUBS, *September 5 to 15, 1936, under the auspices of the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires. Speeches and Discussions. Buenos Aires, 1937. Crown 8vo. Pp. 294.*

The frontispiece gives a picture of the opening session of the 14th International Congress of the P. E. N. Clubs. The list of delegates and guests shows that forty-one countries were represented in this Congress. From Asia delegates went from India, Irak, Japan, and Palestine. India was represented by Madame Sophia Wadia of Bombay centre and Dr. Kalidas Nag of Calcutta centre. Madame Wadia's speech on "The Place of Philosophy in the Life of the Masses" is given in English, as translated by the organizing Committee from her speech in Spanish, and also in her own original English version.

The speech by the president of the P. E. N. Club of Buenos Aires, Dr. Carlos Ibarguren, on "The World Spiritual Movement in Literature," was very thoughtful and inspiring. The other speeches, and the discussions, make instructive and interesting reading.

INDIAN TEMPLES. 136 PHOTOGRAPHS CHOSEN AND ANNOTATED: *By Odette Bruhl with a preface by Sylvain Levi. Oxford University Press. Rs. 6.*

The photographs chosen are excellent and th productions also are excellent. Professor Sylvain L preface is at once scholarly, eloquent and full of li charm. It has been translated by Roy Hawkin begins :—

"In classical times India was the land of wo Four hundred years before the Christian era, a G physician, Ctesias of Cnidus, chronicled the extraor tales of India which were current at the Persian c When Alexander the Great's Macedonian troops cr its boundaries and entered the Punjab, they were am at the appearance of the streets at Taxila: these sol who had traversed so many countries suddenly felt th selves in another world. And after more than millenniums, while the face of the earth has been tr formed by so many successive revolutions, the trav landing at Bombay still feels the same shock surprise:......"

The illustrations relate to the Hindu, Jaina, Bud and Islamic faiths.

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS: *By Su Kumar Lahiri, Editor, "The Bengal Co-operative Journ and Benoyendranath Banerjea, Professor of Econo and Politics, Vidyasagar College, and Lecturer, P graduate Department, University of Calcutta. Iss under the auspices of The Politics Club, Post Box 1 Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a clearly written and adequately documen work, treating of the study of politics, evolution of t State, the modern State, functions of the State, forms government, democracy, political constitutions, unita and federal constitutions, separation of powers, struct of government, local self-government, nationalism, citize ship, law and liberty, liberty and equality, public opini political parties, elections, education for citizenship, world order—the League of Nations, and the civic idea In the Appendix the authors have given extracts fr Giovanni Gentile's "The Philosophic Basis of Fascis Mussolini's "Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions," Sidn and Beatrice Webb's "Soviet Communism: A new Civili tion?," and S. S. Shipman's article on Russi New Constitution in *Current History* (December, 193 The short bibliography will be found useful.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF INDIIA: *By Sud Kumar Lahiri and Benoyendranath Banerjea. Sec Edition, revised and slightly enlarged. Issued under t auspices of The Politics Club, Post Box. No. 175, Calcu Price Rs. 4-8.*

When noticing the first edition of this book praised the authors for the excellence of their work. this second edition, which has been called for within year and a half of the first, they have brought the hist cal introduction up to date, and duly utilized Niemeyer Report, the Wedgwood Report and rec Orders-in-Council. It includes sections on the N Constitution of Burma.

AIMS AND IDEALS OF ANCIENT INDI CULTURE: *By Professor Brajasundar Ray, M.A., B Calcutta. Rs A. Roy and Co., 2-A, Radhaprasad Lane, Calcutta.*

This book is the outcome of the author's ear study of ancient Indian literature and of European lit ture, history and philosophy, pursued for years. He come to the conclusion—a correct one we believe, th there was a system of thought developed in India the days of the Rig Veda up to the days of the de of Buddhism, from which our education has cut us making it almost unintelligible to us. "Any one seri going through the writings of our Rishis will discover that they had a different outlook on the problems of life and this difference was due to the different objects pursued by them." The author has presented to the reader the aims and ideals of the life of our ancestors and the method they followed in the pursuit of those aims and ideals. Those whose education has given them a foreign, a European mind, as it were, will find a corrective in this book. Those also who have not been Westernized will find it instructive and interesting reading. Those of our College and University students who have to acquire knowledge of ancient Indian culture will find it of considerable help to them.

CONGRESS—ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STUDIES: No. 8, PUBLIC REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE IN INDIA: *By Z. A. Ahmad B.SC., Ph.D. (London). Re. 1.* No. 9, INDIA ON CHINA: *By Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, with foreword by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. As. 8.* No. 10, THE INDIAN FEDERATION: *By Z. A. Ahmad, As. 8.* No 11, INDIANS IN FOREIGN LANDS: *By Dr. Rammanohar Lohia, with foreword by J. B. Kripalani. As. 4. Congress Office, Allahabad.*

These are careful and serious studies. Publicists will find them very useful.

Pamphlet No. 8 has been divided by the authors into two parts. In the first part the Central and Provincial revenues and expenditure are considered together, in order to give a picture of the financial arrangements of the country as a whole. In the second part the revenue and expenditure of each province are shown separately, and the period covered is the period of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, extending from 1921-22 to 1936-37. At the end the important changes introduced by provincial budgets of 1937-38 have been briefly noted.

SOCIAL REFORM ANNUAL, 1938. *Editor Mr. P. S. Bakhle, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay, Associate Editors: Mrs. Krishnabai Wagh; Mr. V. R. Gadkari, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay; Mr. G. S. Gupte, M.A., LL.B. Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, Servant of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road, Bombay. Re. 1-4.*

In years gone by there used to be sessions of the Indian Social Conference along with the sessions of the Indian National Congress. That they ceased to be held years ago cannot but be regretted. The publication of the Annual under notice will serve a useful purpose if it reminds the public that our political and economic problems are not the only or the main problems that have to be tackled.

It contains messages of good wishes from H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda and others, foreword by Mr. S. S. Patkar, ex-judge, Bombay High Court, and the following papers: Slow pace of Social Reform and its causes, by Sir Govind Madgaonkar, *Kt.*, I.C.S. (retired); Position of Women, by Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda; Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill, by Mr. S. S. Patkar; Social Reform, its hard corners and its crucial test, by Prof. V. N. Naik, M.A., Position of Women under Hindu Law, Past and Present, by B. N. Gokhale, M.A., LL.B.; Social Reform in India, real methods of approach, by M. N. C. N. Acharya; opinions forwarded to Government by the Social Reform Association; Social Reform in Indian States; The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act Amendment Bill; Social Reform organizations.

There are also some editorial notes.

HANDBOOK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS: (*Associations, Bureaux, Committees, etc.*) *Series of League of Nations Publications—1937. XII. B. 4. Pp. 491 Price: 12/6d; $3.00.*

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has just published a new English edition of the Handbook of International Organisations, which is a companion copy to the last year's French edition. The volume gives, on nearly 500 pages, the names, addresses, names of officers, notes on finances, objects and activity, and other details of nearly 760 international organisations. Included are international bureaux placed under the direction of the League, official central bureaux and private associations and federations in so far as they have international objects and are not run for profit.

In order to facilitate the use of the Handbook, the organizations have been classified according to their objects or activities in the following groups: Politics and International Relations (Pacifism); Religion (Humanitarianism and Morals); Arts and Sciences; Education; Students' and University Organizations; Medicine and Hygiene; Law and Administration; Press; Feminis: Labour and professions; Agriculture; Economics and Finance; Trade and Industry; Communications and Transit; Sports and Tourism; Miscellaneous. In addition, three indexes have been provided for further convenience of the user: a subject index, an alphabetical index, and a geographical index. From the last, it appears that nearly half the total number of international organizations have their seats in France and Switzerland. There are 183 in France (172 in Paris alone), and 140 in Switzerland (80 in Geneva); Great Britain follows next with 78 organizations, and Belgium close behind with 77.

The Handbook will prove invaluable to all those who are engaged in international life. As India does not yet possess a fully developed national life with corresponding independent political status, no wonder there is no international organization in India. We could find none in any of the three indexes.

X.

MALWA IN TRANSITION OR A CENTURY OF ANARCHY (1698-1763): *By Maharaj-Kumar Raghubir Sinh. M.A., D.Litt. Bombay, 1936. Pp. 391. Price Rs. 5.*

The book under review, *Malwa in Transition*, is the first historical study ever made by a Rajput prince. Rajputs had been makers of our medieval history but not compilers of it. Maharana Khumbha and Maharajah Jaswant Singh Rathor were writers of considerable fame, but their interest was in fields other than history. During the great Indian Renaissance in the reign of Akbar, the contagion of learning spread even among the Rajputs, devoted to arms as they had been. We are told how under Akbar's orders, Rajah Ramdas Kachchawaha, who had spent his whole life in active and strenuous military service, wrote a Sanskrit commentary on *Setubandhanatakam* in *Apabhramsa* dialect by Kalidas. The warrior-commentator makes an appeal to readers not to bear any prejudice against his work only because he is a soldier and not a literary man by profession. Kunwar Raghubir Sinhji need not feel the same diffidence about his literary effort as that Rajah Ramdas did; because his work has successfully stood a most severe test, and won for him the highest distinction that any University has in her gift.

During the last decade of the seventeenth century nowhere the popular commotion caused by Aurangzib's policy of temple destruction and reimposition of *jaziya* had been so great as in the province of Malwa. Hindus took to insulting the jaziya-collectors, generally bigoted *ulemas*, and sometimes putting them to death with much indignity. One such unfortunate incident happened at Ratlam, a fief held by the descendants of Rajah Ratan Singh Rathor who died fighting valiantly for Dara on the field of Dharmat. Though at this time sons and grandsons of Rajah Ratan had been in Aurangzib's service in the Deccan, and as such could have no hand in the murder of the jaziya-collector at Ratham, they were deprived of their ancestral fief but allowed to continue in service. However, the Emperor impressed by the loyalty of Kesodas, a grandson of Rajah Ratan granted to him some territories which formed the nucleus of the present State of Sitamau (31st October, 1701). It is not known when and how Chhtrasal, a son of Rajah Ratan regained Ratlam where his descendants rule down to this day.

This book consists of seven chapters of which four deal with the Mughal-Maratha struggle in Malwa. It is well-known to every student of Medieval India how ably this very period covered by the book under review has been studied by four great historians, Malcolm, William Irvine, Sir Jadunath and Rao Sahib Sardesai. Really speaking we could hardly suspect before the publication of this work that there was yet room for a fifth historian to make his mark in this field. Dr. Raghubir Sinhji has the advantage of an intimate local knowledge and of access to the Archives of his own State and other original sources. Besides these, he has studied this period not from the view-point of the central history either of Delhi or of Poona as his illustrious predecessors did; hence "the result is," as Sir Jadunath says in the Foreword, "a study at once intensive, accurate and exhaustive . . . This book is as readable as it is packed with learning . . . it will stand forth as a model and exemplar for other provincial histories of India in future."

In all fairness to our young author we must admit that he has scored two notable points against Sir Jadunath and Sardesai by proving the fabrication of Mandaloi Papers, and the inaccuracy of the view that Daya Bahadur and Girdhar Bahadur died at different places and on different dates. Besides these, the last chapter of Raghubir Sinhji's book, dealing with the social and economic conditions of Malwa during this period of transition is also a very distinct contribution. We read here how with the loss of political importance the indigenous Rajput population of Malwa has lost caste as it were in the estimation of new colonists from Rajputana in the seventeenth century. In Rajputana too we notice the same social phenomenon of demoralization and degradation of first race of Rajput conquerors when successive waves of more vigorous people of the same stock overwhelmed them and reduced them from the position of a Thakur to that of a Bhumia or lower still that of a Gola perhaps.

This book offers no vulnerable point of attack to the reviewer so far as dates and historical facts, thrice-tested as they are,—are concerned. We have, however, only a few observations to make on some passages of this book. The author holds that the Hindu chiefs of Malwa for *economic reasons* only became favourably inclined towards the Marathas (p. 195). As *jaziya* had been abolished in 1728 and Malwa had staunch Hindu governors at this time, and one full generation had grown up since the death of Aurangzib, the Hindus of Malwa could not have any religious grievances against the Mughal Empire at this time. These very facts prove rather the existence of widespread religious discontent in the province of Malwa and the futility of belated concessions of Mughal government to Hindu sentiments. The author ought to have noted that general masses of our country had not been economically minded in the eighteenth century which was a century of religious passions, sincere among masses, and simulated among leaders. That the m of the Maratha invaders was not mere economic des tion of Malwa but something higher, namely, a bid the co-operation of the people of Malwa against th common enemy is indicated by their acts immedia after the occupation of Malwa. The author not, in our opinion, done justice to Sawai Singh and his Pan-Hindu idealism in politics. policy of Jai Singh to favour the Maratha cause app to have been dictated by motives other than mere s personal ambition and political greed as Dr. Ragh Sinhji would have us believe.

These are, however, matters of opinion. In clusion we most sincerely congratulate the enlighte Hair-Apparent of Sitamau on the unqualified succe his first literary enterprise.

K. R. Qanunco

RAILWAY RATES IN RELATION TO TRA AND INDUSTRY IN INDIA: *By R. D. Tiwari, M. LL.B. Publishers: Longmans, Green & Co., L Price Rs. 6.*

The present volume attempts to study the intrica of Indian Railway rates as they affect the movement goods in this country. After giving a short outline the "Theoretical Basis of Rates and Fares" the aut examines in detail the course of Indian railway ra in regard to some selected commodities *e.g.*, cotton, w cement, coal, sugar, wheat and wheat-flour, paper, a draws the conclusion that Indian railways have follow so far an individualistic policy to 'the utter neglect trade and industry in this country.' He theref demands that 'a National Policy to control and c ordinate railway rates consistent with the econom interests of the country should be established witho further delay.'

The work was submitted as a thesis for the M. degree of the University of Bombay in 1933, for wh it was approved, and it undoubtedly provides a valu addition to the meagre literature on the economics Indian railways.

Nalinaksha Sanyal

SANSKRIT

THE VAIRAGYA-SATAKA OF BHARTRIHA *printed in Bengali characters with a running Ben verse-translation: By Purna Chandra De, Kavyar Udbhata-sagara. Calcutta: Gurudas Chatterji & S B. E. 1326. Price As. 12.*

Any reprint of this deservedly popular and oft-pri work of a poet who, after writing a century of passio verses, also wrote two other centuries of poems on signation and wise conduct, is welcome. If we are put any faith in the testimony of Yi-tsing, Bhartri vacillated no less than seven times between the c parative charms of the world and the monastery; as such, his poems, which give expression to a g deal of genuine emotion, possess a peculiar inter even though the personality of the author is shro in a mass of legends. Although the editor has ta great pains to consult twelve printed editions and manuscripts, he does not note the variants, nor does critically consider the textual differences and problems relevant thereto. But his object obviously to produce a popular reprint, easily accessible to Ben readers; and it will, no doubt, serve the purpose which it is intended.

STAVA SAMUDRA, First Pravaha, compiled and *translated into Bengali verse: By Purna Chandra De Udbhata-sagara. Calcutta: Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, B. E. 1325. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a very useful compilation which gives the Sanskrit texts (printed both in Bengali and Devanagari characters) of forty Stotras of varying lengths, along with a running Bengali verse-translation, the Stotras referring to various Hindu deities, such as Ganesa, Siva, Visnu, Chandi, Durga, Ganga and so forth. It does not pretend to be a comprehensive collection like the Brihat-Stotra-ratnakara, published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, but it rescues from oblivion a large number of floating hymns, and will appeal to devotionally minded readers.

S. K. De

BENGALI

VIDYASAGAR-GRANTHAVALI: SAHITYA, OR THE WORKS OF PANDIT ISWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR, *Volume I, Literature. Editorial Board: Suniti Kumar Chattopadhayay, Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhayay and Sajanikanta Das. Published by the Ranjan Publishing House, 25-2, .Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta, for the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee. Price Rs. 5. Crown 4to 475+10+12. There is a fine characteristic portrait of the Pandit on the cloth cover.*

This sumptuous volume is the first of the four volumes of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's works to be published by the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee of Midnapore under the presidentship of Mr. B. R. Sen, Magistrate of that district and with the munificent help of Kumar Narasinha Malla Dev, B.A., Raja of Jhargram.

It contains a learned and thoughtful introduction by Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a bibliography by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji, four plates containing portraits etc., and the following works of the author: *Betal-panchabinsati* ("Twenty-five stories told by a Spirit"), *Sakuntala, Mahabharat* (Introductory portion), *Sitar Banabas* ("Exile of Sita"), *Prabhabati-Sambhashan* ("Lament addressed to Prabhabati"), *Ramer Rajyabhisek* ("Coronation of Rama"), *Bhrantibilas* ("Comedy of Errors"), *Vidyasagar-Charit* (by himself) (An Autobiographic Fragment).

Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was one of the fathers and moulders of modern Bengali prose as we know it. In his hands it acquired a chasteness, a classical dignity and a music all its own. He was the first and one of the foremost of literary artists in Bengali prose. No one's knowledge and enjoyment of Bengali literature can be complete without a study of Vidyasagar's works.

Of the man Vidyasagar this is not the place to speak. Nor can his character and achievements be briefly described. A Bandyopadhaya by birth, he signed his name as Iswar Chandra Sarma. By his vast and varied learning he won the title "Vidyasagar" ("Ocean of Learning"). To this his countrymen added the title "Dayar Sagar," ("Ocean of Kindness"). He was, besides, an educational pioneer and reformer, a social reformer, a pioneer in life insurance and in various other fields and an active philanthropist. Above all was his literarally unique and towering personality. Stern as the thunderbolt, true as the pole-star, tender as a flower, unbending as the Himalayas, he was like himself alone. Bengal never had another son like him, nor perhaps will again have another.

Four of the works named above are based on Sanskrit originals, one on a Hindi original and one relates the story of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors.* But none of them are mere translations or compilations. The author's creative genius, aesthetic taste and artistic talent are in evidence in them all.

The Committee and the Editorial Board are to be congratulated on the expedition and care with which the first volume of this memorial edition has been brought out. The Raja of Jhargram has earned the thanks of the public for the munificence with which he has financed the project. Those who revere Vidyasagar will be grateful to Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., for the energy and enthusiasm with which he has been carrying out his self-imposed task.

BANGIYA MAHAKOSH, OR ENCYCLOPAEDIA BENGALENSIS: *Chief Editor, Profesor Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, with a staff of competent assistant editors and co-workers. No. 20.*

This great work has been noticed before several times. It continues to be edited with as much care as before and to be published regularly. The principal articles in the number under notice are, Ajmer-Merwara by Naresh Chandra Mitra, and Ajatasatru by Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, who tries to give an impartial view of the character of that ancient monarch.

KURAL. Translated into Bengali: *By Professor Nalinimohan Sanyal, M.A., Bhashatattvaratna. With forewords by Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Dineschandra Sen, D. Litt., and Mr. A. Sattanathan, M.A. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author has rendered good service to Bengali literature by translating this ancient Tamil classic into Bengali.

Mr. A. Sattanathan says in his foreword: "What the Bible is to the Christian World, the Kural has been and is to the Tamils. It is a unique literary work, inasmuch as the whole realm of knowledge of the ancients is traversed by the 3,330 aphorisims—the greatest masterpiece of literary brevity." "Tirukural is the work of one of the greatest Tamil saints—Tiruvalluvar. This saint, like others, strove for and obtained his spiritual salvation, not by renouncing the world, but through "Grihastha Asram" (or householder's life). Like the great saint of Sabarmati, he was a weaver and a farmer. He preached through three thousand, three hundred and thirty couplets of the Kural the message of clean life. There is no mention of Hindu gods, or of ritualistic worship throughout the pages of Kural."

In their respective forewords both Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Dr. Dineschandra Sen have borne witness to the literary excellence of the Bengali translation of this ancient Tamil classic.

PRAG-AITIHASIK MOHEN-JO-DARO, OR PRE-HISTORIC MOHEN-JO-DARO: *By Kunja Govinda Gosvami, M.A., Calcutta University Research Fellow, and Late Scholar, Archaeological Survey Department. With an introduction by Nani Gopal Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. Calcutta University.*

This neatly printed and well-written handbook contains a map of Sind, a plate showing in parallel columns some similar or identical letters as written in Brahmi script and in Mohen-jo-Daro, Easter Island, ancient Elam, ancient Egypt, Sumer, Crete and China, and ten other plates giving photographic reproductions of sites and ruins excavated and various seals, jewellery and other objects found therein.

Sir John Marshall's standard work on Mohen-jo-Daro and Indus civilization is not easily accessible on account of its high price, and is moreover of no use to those who do not know Bengali. Mr. Gosvami has been a benefactor to Bengali readers by writing this scholarly and documented work on a subject of the pre-historical age which has revolutionized the study of Indian history, civilization and culture. The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first is introductory. The remaining chapters treat of the discovery and excavation of Mohenjo-Daro, the city and urban life, antiquities, the age and its inhabitants, religion, funerals, metals, earthen objects and colouring of earthen ware, seals, language, and the area over which the Indus civilization spreads.

An index has added to the usefulness of the work.

X

HINDI

SATPANCH CHOUPAI FROM RAMCHARIT MANASA: *By Pandit Harigobind Tewari of Agra. Pages 446. Price Re. 1-4.*

This Hindi book is a collection of 57 verses from Goswami Tulsidas's Ramayana. The author has interpreted a verse in that Ramayana "Satpanch Choupai" etc., to mean 57 verses. There are various interpretations of the sentence and Goswamiji has left the meaning to be guessed and has surely never pointed out which verses he meant. An authority like late Ramdas Gour holds the sentence to mean the whole book being a collection of 51.000 Choupais. Be that as it may, we have here 57 verses which the author has selected from the Ramayana which, in his opinion, are perhaps the best.

The author has given elaborate notes of the verses which have not unoften gone wide of the mark. He has in many cases, travelled into speculative region leaving the plain meaning behind.

His notes on "Hari Byapaka Sarba Samana"—"God is omnipresent," is an instance. In explaining these words, he obtains corroboration of the thought from what he thinks to be the evolution of life from non-life in the formation of yeast in dough and in the presence of wood weevil from wood. He supposes that dough and wood created these lives with the help of heat and moisture etc.

The more Tulsi Ramayana is read, the better. But commentation does the cause a harm by imposing far-fetched and often absurd meanings on simple matters as in the above sentence.

Satish Chandra Das-Gupta

MAHATMA BASAVESVAR KE VACHANA: *Translated by A. B. Srinivasamurti and M. C. Sivananda Sarma. Published by M. N. Sivappa and M. N. Manjappa, Bangalore City. Pp. xxxii+58.*

The life and teachings of Basavanna, the great religious teacher of the South in medieval times are presented in a lucid style. He was the founder of the "Virasaiva" sect and the father of the Canarese literature. We are grateful to the authors for this little book, which gives the original in Canarese also. There are a few pictures. The book is dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.

PHULON KI SEJ: *By Mr. Vijay Bahadur Singh, B.A. Published by the Ganga Pustakmala Office, Lucknow. Pp. 339. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a book of advice meant for the newly married couple. What a married man and woman should know are delineated in the form of dialogue. We hope t book will help many a young couple to make their n home-life comfortable and wise.

GEHUN KI KHETI: *By Mr. B. S. Nigam, L. A B.Sc. Published by the Ganga Pustakmala O Lucknow. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1.*

As the name implies, everything about wheat is t subject-matter of this book. The author, a teacher the Agricultural College of Cawnpur, has done a pu service by putting together all kinds of information o would like to know. There are many diagrams, cha and statistics. Wheat culture being an important sou of income to U. P., this book is expected to fulfil a re want in our scientific literature.

Rames Basu

TELUGU

YOUVANA JWALA OR FLAME OF YOUTH: *B Kundurti Narasimha Rao. Pages 87. Price annas twelve. Can be had of the Author, "Sunday Times," Madras.*

Mr. Kundurti is already known in the Telugu literary circle as a facile writer. His present work—seventy three topics in verse—is an achievement towards success. The poems on Jawaharlal and the Lake Pampa are thought-provoking. The work accords a good reading.

PREMA DHARMA OR RELIGION OF DIVINE LOVE: *By Yellapantulu Jagannadhan, B.A. Pages 207-13. Venkataram Power Press, Ellore.*

The work is an exposition co-ordinating the three mighty religions of the world—Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. The main tenets of the three religions are drawn into analogy with regard to the conception of God, Prayer and Preaching.

SWAGATAM: No 5 of Yuva Karyalaya Series: *By K. Kutumbarao. Pages 92. Price annas four. Can be had of Yuva Karyalayam, Patapeta, Tenali.*

Six short stories depicting the probabilities and pitfalls of the society. The characters narrate their own stories. The style throughout is crisp.

R. S. Bharadwaj

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STUDENT: *By Ch. L. Sastri,* B.A. *Pp. 3 1937. Price annas eight.*

A brief study of the aims and ideals of educatio from a psychological point of view.

FOREIGN POLICIES IN SINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT: *By Pankaj Kumar Mukherjee, M.A., B.L. Chackervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd. 15, College Sq Calcutta. Pp. 24. Price annas four.*

The various factors that led to the conflict have been briefly discussed and to a certain extent China has been made responsible.

SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SEPARATED BURMA: *By V. G. Nair. Pp. 40.*

A brief discussion of the problems and duties of the Indians residing in Burma.

THE HINDU MIDDLE CLASS IN BENGAL

By BIRENDRA KISHORE ROY CHOUDHURY, M.L.A.

For nearly one century and a half the middle class in Bengal acquired a reputation for intellectual acuteness, for public spirit, for social service and for political work, which was of an unique character. Its contributions to social and political progress of the country have been, in fact, outstanding. This class, however, is now threatened not only with paralysis but also with extinction. For long and in fact too long we have looked upon the attacks upon this class with supreme unconcern. But it is time that we should cease to be indifferent to this question and study it with as much sympathy and care as possible.

Bengal has been a land of zemindars virtually from time immemorial. In the time of Emperor Akbar and his immediate successors, the zemindary system was abolished in many parts of the Empire. Direct relation was established between the Government and the tillers of the soil. But in Bengal, even in these days when the ryotary system was in vogue in most of the *subas*, the old zemindary system remained enthroned. In the first three quarters of the sixteenth century when the Moghuls were not yet the masters of the province, it was really parcelled out into a number of almost independent fiefs. The Central Government was a misnomer. It was without power and authority over the outlying districts which were administered by the local potentates. Isa Khan of Mymensingh, Kedar Rai of Dacca, Protapaditya of Jessore were practically sovereigns of their own districts. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Bengal passed into the hands of Emperor Akbar and the local barons were gradually deprived of their sovereignty. All the same, however, they or their descendants continued to be the vassals of the Emperor with considerable power and authority over their old fiefs. The concession thus made in this respect became sacrosanct. Throughout the seventeenth century when Moghul authority was firmly planted in this province, the zemindars were a most important factor of the administration. Sometimes from among them the district officers (Fouzdars) were chosen. Even when the Fouzdars were appointed from outside, they had to work in full co-operation with the local zemindars. In the next century the structure of Moghul administration gradually broke down and the zemindars not only maintained the rights and privileges which they had exercised and enjoyed in the previous hundred years but also took advantage of the new situation and further augmented their position. By the middle of the century we find then again firmly rooted in power. They again in fact became semi-sovereign magnates with powers of life and death over their tenants.

The scions of these landholding families descended in many instances to the middle class. In England the younger sons of a noble were never regarded as nobles unless elevated to the peerage for their own merit. They became part and parcel of the middle class. They might be closely related to the nobility and might cherish in most cases the same ideals and traditions as the landed aristocracy, but their place was all the same in the middle class. They were not members of the order of nobility which in England could not on this account grow into a caste as it did in France and other continental countries. In Bengal there was never in vogue the system of primogeniture under which the younger brothers could enjoy no share of the real property of their fathers and forefathers. All the sons in fact inherited their father's property usually in equal proportions. This custom resulted in the partition of estates into small sub-divisions. Necessarily the scions of ancient aristocratic houses gradually became the owners of only small estates from which they could realise only a small income. Inevitably, therefore, they swelled the middle class. The growth of this class should in fact be mainly traced to this origin.

That the Hindu middle class in Bengal consisted until recently of the members of only a few particular castes is due to the fact emphasised in the previous paragraph. The middle class Hindus in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries almost exclusively belonged to those castes only to which were affiliated the great feudal magnates of the sixteenth and earlier centuries. Many of them had become absolutely impoverished when the Britishers took hold of this province. They had nothing to take pride in except their lineage and past traditions. These constituted their only capital on the basis of which they were to begin afresh a career of usefulness in the new regime. Fortunately the establishment of the British Raj opened out to them a two-fold opportunity. Some of them became associated with the officers of the East India Company in the pursuit of trade and commerce. In this capacity they found it possible to replenish their depleted purse and exercise again their old influence in society. Others again of this class picked up as much education as possible in those days and became employed in those minor offices under the British Government, which were then open to the children of the soil. Thrifty and industrious, they made considerable savings out of their slender income and set up families which came to fill important roles in society.

It should be pointed out here that both those who amassed money out of trade and those who made savings out of their income as petty government servants invested virtually all their money in land. This was regarded in those unsettled days as the only sure investment. Small estates were purchased by these thrifty people and the innumerable small zemindary and talukdari houses which we notice in this province were founded in this manner. If any small talukdar in our country-side is asked today about his ancestry and the founder of his family, he would reply that he is descended from some sixteenth century magnate, say Protapaditya, in the twelveth generation and that the small estate of which a share he now owns and enjoys was purchased by his great-grand father who was either the Sheristadar of a District Judge or the Dewan of a Collector.

During the first six or seven decades another class of people has made rapid headway in this province. It also should now be regarded as part and parcel of the Bengali middle class. It is that thrifty and industrious body of small traders and merchants who previously did not enjoy any important status in the social organization of the province. Gradually, however, they not only made their economic and financial influence increasingly felt but they also stormed the citadels of education and culture and broke down the distinctions between themselves and the old middle class. Many of them, willingly or unwillingly, also became talukdars and estate-holders. But still it should be known that this portion of the Bengali middle class today is engaged in banking, industry and trade. If it has to own and manage any landed estates, that it does only as a side business.

So we may summarize the position of the Bengali middle class today as follows. It consists not merely of about three or four millions of high caste Hindus who usually trace their descent from the feudal magnates of the sixteenth or earlier centuries. It consists also of a large body of other people who may not have such long traditions behind them but who during the last few decades have forced their way to the forefront and have now virtually the same occupation and the same standard of living as the members of the old middle class. I am not including the Mahomedans for the time being in this class. For long after the Battle of Plassey when the centre of political gravity shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta, the Mahomedans continued indeed to be prosperous in this province but they became more and more crest-fallen as decades passed. The transfer of political control from the hands of their co-religionists to those of the British, however, so disheartened and discouraged them that gradually they lost their foothold and economically became increasingly depressed. The old Mahomedan families became impoverished and their scions unable to accommodate to the new situation practically descended to the proletariat. They set their face definitely against the new learning and on that account became shut out for a long period from Government service. Nor did they make themselves useful to the European merchants or industrialists. On this score, except in the case of a few land-holding families, the Moslems in Bengal became by stages only a body of mere agriculturists. We shall see at a later stage that during the last half century the situation has been considerably improved and a middle class is slowly emerging among them. But until recently virtually there was no such class among the Moslems of Bengal and by the middle class we meant only the Hindu middle class.

The contributions of the Hindu middle class to the economic, social, cultural and political progress not only of this province but of the whole country are well-known. The members of this class were the first to take to the new learning. It was they who first assimilated the learning of the West and drew inspiration from the great writers, philosophers and poets of Europe. They became familiar with the ideals of the great philosophers and statesmen who ushered in the French Revolution and who were mainly responsible for introducing in Europe the traditions of liberalism and freedom. They became inspired by the gospel which Rousseau had preached and by the doctrines which Bentham and Mill had enunciated. It was because of this inspiration which they received, it became possible for them to break away from the thick crust of traditions which had undermined the old adaptibility of the Hindu society and made life a miserable burden to a considerable section of the people. It was from among them were sprung the great religious leaders and prophets who declared a crusade against these unreasonable traditions and unthinking practices of Hindu orthodoxy. Keshab Chunder Sen, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Swami Vivekenanda were if anything the great leaders of the Indian renaissance. They were sprung from the middle class of this province. Their contributions to the social and cultural progress of this country, I need not pause to estimate and calculate. They are today writ large on the face of our society. Without their services the awakening among the depressed classes and their accession to the seats of power would Hindu middle class of Bengal that its members have been out of the question.

Sometimes a charge is brought against the have always hankered after Government jobs and have shown little initiative in the fields of trade and industry. As Government servants or as employees in other capacities, they might have lived comfortably and exercised some influence in society, but their real contributions to the economic progress of the country were il. This point of view is absolutely erroneous. It may be admitted at once that the members of the middle class in Bengal took a fancy to fixed and secure jobs which brought them only a moderate income and avoided the avenues of adventure and risk. But it should not be forgotten that these people were uniformly very thrifty and the savings which they made from their moderate income were invested not only in the purchase of landed estates and in the building up of houses but also in tea gardens and in large scale industries. Bengal was never well-known for its town and cities. If town life has considerably developed during the last hundred years and more and if a new municipal civilization is developing apace in this Presidency, for that the thrifty middle class is largely responsible. Many of the large scale manufacturing industries whose growth is a new feature in Bengal would also not have been possible but for the alacrity with which the middle class subscribed to the shares of these companies. It is also a new sign of the times that the members of this class can no longer be said to be passive and sleeping shareholders alone of the Joint Stock Companies. They are also gradually taking the initiative and evincing the enterprise in floating companies and establishing industrial firms on their own account. The old charge is in fact absolutely belied by the activities of the middle class. Their contributions to the economic and industrial progress of the province are by no means negligible. They are immense.

This class which has contributed so much to the progress of the country is now threatened with extinction. There are, of course, some factors at work now over which we have no control. There was a time when the members of the educated middle class of Bengal had an opportunity of useful occupation all over India. Their services as civil servants, teachers, legal advisers, and judicial officers were requisitioned in the other provinces as well as in the States. Such employment not only brought money into their pocket but also added to the talent and experience of the middle class in Bengal. This source of employment has, because of local competition in other parts of the country, almost dried up. We must not count any longer upon any demand upon our services from outside.

Within the province also the old Hindu middle class cannot expect to hold its own in certain fields of activity. In the local civil services, on the bench, at the bar, and also in the medical profession it must reckon with considerable competition on the part of the members of other groups of people who even some time ago had no ambition in these spheres.

But although the old Hindu middle class is prepared for facing competition from the newcomers in these fields, it was unprepared for some of the frontal attacks which have been otherwise hurled upon their interests in recent years. As already stated, many of the members of the Hindu middle class are small talukdars, estate-holders and scions of ancient landholding families. The interests of these persons were adversely affected by the Tenancy legislation of 1928. They will be more vitally and drastically undermined by the Amendment Bill which is now before the Upper House. By the reduction in the percentage of the transfer fee in 1928 the middle class has already suffered some loss of income. By the present Amendment Bill their income from this source will be washed out altogether. What is more still is that an atmosphere has been created in the province in which it has become a difficult, if not almost an impossible task to collect even 50% of the legitimate dues from the tenants. The landholding portion of the Hindu middle class is consequently ill-off now. If the present situation continues its position will be desperate.

It should also be known that at present about fifty thousand people are employed by the zemindars and talukdars in the management of estates. Many of these employees hold responsible posts and earn a decent income and thereby they have made themselves useful members of their society. But with the periodical attacks upon the rights and privileges of the zemindars and the consequent loss in their income, the number of employees will also be lowered and another source of decent employment for the middle class will also dry up in this fashion.

That portion of the middle class in Bengal which was engaged in indigenous banking and was so long well off on this score has also been menaced by the different legislative enactments. The passing of the Agricultural Debtors' Act in 1936 has especially handicapped this group of people in the province. It is true that the problem of rural indebtedness has become acute in Bengal as elsewhere in India. Some measures for the conciliation of debt were therefore necessary and even, I should say, urgent. But the form in which the measures for conciliation have been prescribed has subjected moneylenders and bankers to a difficulty and a handicap which are becoming a cause for their ruin. Already an atmosphere had been so created in the province as to make the realization of debt a very arduous job. The establishment of the Debt Conciliation Boards under the Act of 1936 has made hostile and in some places even corrupt people the arbitrators between the creditors and the debtors. A situation has been created in which the legitimate dues of even the most benevolent creditors have become hard to realise. The portion of the middle class which was so long thriving on indigenous banking is in this fashion threatened with ruin and extinction.

While those members of the middle class who are creditors have been brought within the jurisdiction of the Debt Conciliation Act, those who are debtors do not profit by it in the least. The Act of 1936 is intended to give relief only to those who are engaged directly as agricultural farmers or labourers. As the members of the middle class are not usually so engaged, they cannot have their debt conciliated under its provisions. They have to pay their pound of flesh as originally contracted for. So the situation has come to this that while the middle class people cannot realise the money which they have lent, they have to clear debt which they themselves have incurred. T is a condition of things which cannot be to be just and equitable.

The fury against the middle class wh we now notice in the province is to a g extent the result of the communal rivalries Bengal. As already referred to, the Mo middle class had long ago been washed ou a result of the shifting of political power f Murshidabad to Calcutta. During the hundred years while the Hindus in most c were the estate-holders and creditors, Moslems were the tenants and debtors. The re tions between the creditors and the debtors c nowhere be very pleasant and happy. In Ben they became more bitter because of the commu affiliations of the two classes. It is true th a new Moslem middle class is now in the mak in Bengal. The Moslems are profiting more a more by university education and are being i creasingly employed in both higher and lo services under the Government. In the Pr vincial Civil Services they have 45% of th vacancies reserved for them. In the Judic Service they have, by recent order, 40% s reserved. In some of the posts again, it is al the Moslems who are virtually being recruite They are making headway also in the profes sions. They have again the lion's share of th comparatively lucrative membership of the leg lature. The Moslems thus honourably e ployed and occupied are founding families whi must be counted among the middle class.

If this Moslem middle class had develop earlier no communal zeal could have made th attacks upon the interests of the Hindu mid class in this province so persistent and bitt as they have become. The Hindus and th Moslems would have then the same rights a privileges to protect and maintain. Unfor nately before the growth of the new Mos middle class in Bengal, the invasion upon t rights of the Hindus of this order began earnest. So the prospect from the standp of the Hindus appears rather to be gloo While a new Moslem middle class is slow developing, the old Hindu middle class is be washed out. It is high time that people their heads together and devise means to ma tain the class which has not only made Beng what it is today but whose services are necessary for the steady progress of t country.

WORLD AFFAIRS

In a French journal, *Vu et Lu*, a writer points out that of the political figures of the present world Herr Hitler uses the word peace more frequently than any other. Certainly, after his peaceful victory in Austria no one can deny that the Fascist dictators are our best safeguards for peace. It is a paradox no doubt, but the situation itself is paradoxical. It brings into prominence the bewilderment which has overtaken the peoples and politicians of the world. A civil war is raging for about two years in Spain; other nations are pouring in their volunteers in the country while their politicians sit and discuss non-intervention. War has not been declared—there need not be any war officially—but thousands of Chinese soldiers have been mowed down, innocent citizens bombed to death, flourishing cities and valuable properties destroyed for ever while Japan is making of the Chinese a friendly people. The world is being whipped into a mad crusade against Soviet communism by the Fascist powers of East and West while in Moscow itself Stalin, the dictator of the proletariat, is shooting the last of the orthodox for what others suspect to be nothing but their crime of communism. Powers on the one hand are sacrificing all old codes of honour and principle for negotiation and appeasement of the mighty, and, on the other, a race of armament proceeds in feverish haste. The very economic structure of society appears again to creak under the strain in many parts of the world. So, while three divisions of the Reich army were entering the Austrian territories, the British Premier, and Foreign Secretary were expressing their 'grave concern' for the country at a lunch with the German Foreign Minister and regarded the conversation as 'specially valuable.' Austria's fate as an independent country is sealed. There is no fear of a war any more; nations will meet violent death like China and Abyssinia or peaceful death like Austria. These inherent contradictions of the situation in the rapidly moving world leave people bewildered.

The End of Austria

Herr Hitler occupies the world stage now. Less than a month ago he had forced the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Schuschnigg to share his authority with the Austrian Nazis. The triumph began. Dr. Seyss-Inquart, the new Minister, and his followers were not slow to make it plain at Graz and Linz. Never reconciled, Dr. Schuschnigg and his Fatherland Front at first tried weakly to stem the tide—Austria must remain Catholic and independent. The issue was about to be forced, and the Chancellor at last put up a good fight. He even looked to the workers who had been so long suppressed. A plebiscite for "a free German Austria" was to be held on the 13th March last. To Berlin this appeared 'more than dangerous.' Three divisions were sent, two air squadrons landed at Linz and over Vienna flew bombers, carrying Swastika markings. The plebiscite was cancelled as the ultimatum told, and Dr. Schuschnigg resigned, and was replaced by Dr. Seyss-Inquart with a Nazi Cabinet, while the Fuehrer crossed the frontier, marched through Brannan, his Austrian birthplace, and proceeded to Vienna. 'Our goal is reached: one people, one Reich, one Fuehrer' declared the Austrian Nazi leader, Herr Klausner. A country can be conquered, it is evident, without war if the war-lord is ready to use his guns.

The Anschluss—Desired and Resisted

For Austria the fate may not be too unwelcome. Belonging to the same German race Austrians would naturally be in favour of an Anschluss. The old graces and refinements of the great Habsburg days are faded out of the life of the post-war Austria and its entrancing capital Vienna. The Viennese, however, 'a profoundly civilized people, still drank gallons of beer and the best coffee in the world, discussing placidly the really important things of life, like Mozart and whipped cream.' But they had also to adjust their life to 'this shrinkage from imperial greatness' into a poor and declining city which ate up more than its hinterland produced. Imports exceeded the exports, and, Austria mainly lived on international financial borrowings. Nations at the League were zealous of keeping it on its leg anyhow as a buffer State in a key position. Even the Customs Union of 1931 proposed between Austria and pre-Nazi Germany was frowned upon by France, Italy and Britain. Nemesis thus waited for her hour. The step of the Allies provoked the well-known crisis—the collapse of the Credit Anstalt and the crash in banking, credit and exchange that complicated the slump,—and that in a great measure paved the way for the Nazis to power in Germany in February, 1933.

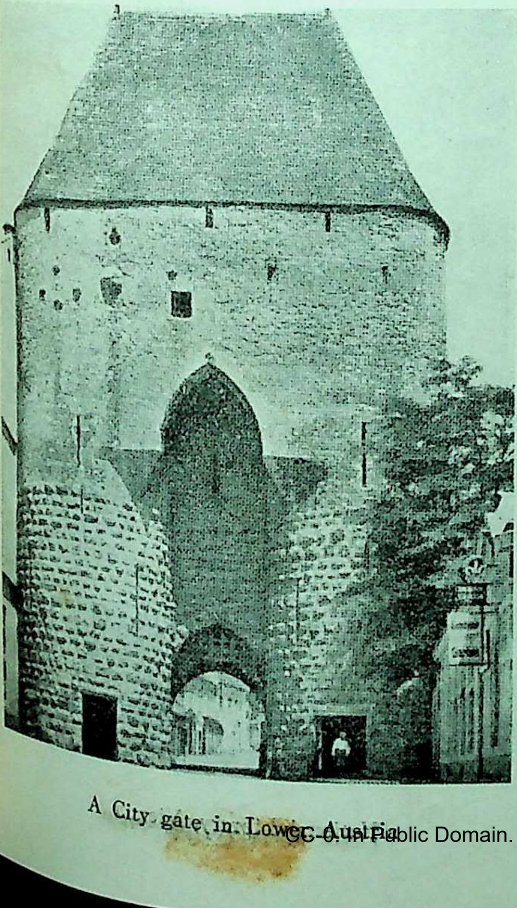
Until the rise of Hitler an Anschluss was what the two German-speaking people desired, and what the friends of the Stressa front disapproved. Up till then 'the dominating *motif* of Austrian politics,' to quote the author of *Inside Germany,* was 'the disequilibrium between Marxist Vienna and the clerical country side.' The rise of Hitler shook the two, who should have combined in opposition at the hour if they could foresee things. Dr. Dollfuss found himself dictator in March, 1933, when the "Austrian parliament committed suicide". Hitler's intentions regarding 'Gleichsaltung' was already known,—the very first paragraph of *Mein Kampf* clearly avowed what this German from Austria considered to be the destiny for himself and his people. It is in opposition to this that Dr. Dollfuss stood. The Nazis were gaining adherents in Austria. Flushed with victory in Germany, they thought of carrying this poor Austrian republic by storm. But for their usual method of violence, Austria would have been theirs. "In 1932, Austria was probably eighty per cent pro-Anschluss. By the end of 1933, it was at least sixty per cent against. Reason: "the Hitler Terror." The Heimwehr, an armed semi-Fascist body, at the time disapproved of the Nazi personnel. The socialists of Vienna, its rival, must never of course surrender to Hitler. The Jews of Austria knew what fate awaited them if the Nazis won the day. Average Austrian was a good Catholic and must fight Nazi paganism. Austria and Hungary, both again, were in favour of a restoration of the Habsburgs. To all these Anschluss with Nazi Germany was now unthinkable. But Dr. Dollfuss was not eager to cement the anti-Nazi forces of Austria in one opposition. Though not altogether happy in his relation with the Heimwehr of Prince Starhemberg and Major Fey (who recently committed suicide with his family on the Nazis, absorbing Austria), the Austrian anti-socialists, Dollfuss was bent on crushing the socialists of Vienna as early as possible. The Heimwehr "forced the hands of Dollfuss, who by his drastic measures provoked the Austrian socialists into an armed resistance in February, 1934, and then ruthlessly suppressed them by the use of artillery with a loss of many hundred lives" (*A Short History of International Affairs*—Gathorne Hardy). A bulwark against Nazism was thus dest
Some respite for Dollfuss as against Hitler
of course gained by the *demarche* of the G
Powers, Britain, France and Italy, decla
to maintain Austrian independence.
in July the Austrian Nazis planned the
which failed, except for the elemination
Dr. Dollfuss, a victim to the Nazi gunmen.
indignation of the powers was a check on
German pronouncement. Signor Mussolini
so far as to move troops to the Aus
frontier in defence of Austria. The Pu
thus ended. Austria now found Dr. Kurt
Schuschnigg, a devout Catholic, as its Chance
Prince Starhemberg was next pushed out in 1
for his indiscretion in congratulating Muss
on his Abyssinian success. The Heimwehr
also cleaned up, and dissolved and incorpor
into the Government militia. A Fatherl
Front was organised instead. Meanwhile, H
and Mussolini were being drawn nearer
the German refusal of sanctions against It
in the Abyssinian war; and, as the Germ
boycott was killing Austria, an agreement
July, 1936, between Schuschnigg and Herr v
Papen, the German Minister to Austria, rec
nizing Austrian independence, came as a re
to all. The interlude lasted till the Berchte
gaden meeting in February last. And now t
Nazi drama begins on the Austrian stage wi
the Fuehrer as the Fuehrer of Austria.

Austria under the Swastika is not a hap
thing to contemplate. Even without the rep
that pour forth speaking of the plight of
Jews, of the Catholic and Fatherland Fr
leaders, of the number of suicides, of the arr
of figures like Dr. Freud, Dr. Neumann,
Archbishop of Salzburg, one can well imag
the conditions that prevail there now under
Nazis. But that an Anschluss was the
solution for this small State, every body
now must recognize. "Austria's fate is in
solubly connected with that of German
concluded Mr. Gunther even in 1936, "the
eventual path of Austria is in the German or
And it is not impossible if Austria, long
obstacle separating the two Fascist States,
become a bridge connecting them." It is
now.

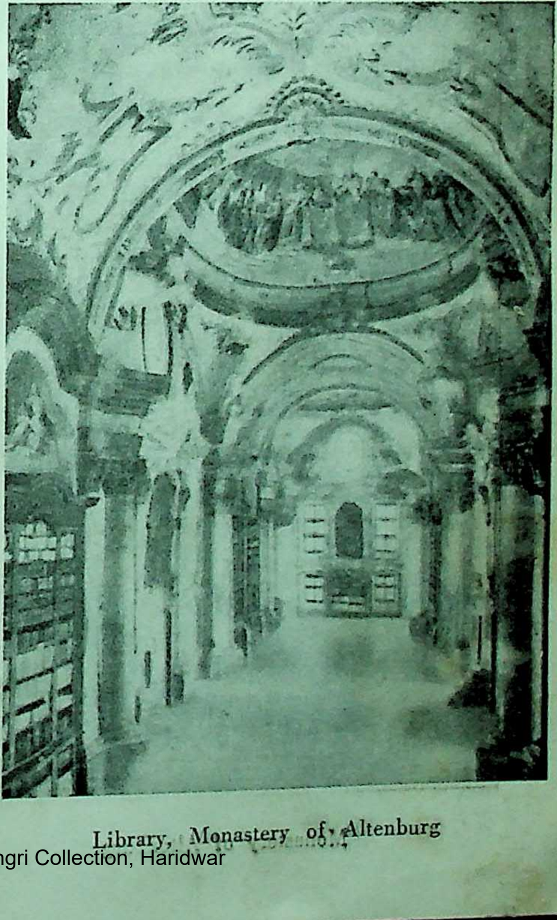
THE NAZI COUP AND ITS REACTION

Europe is at the moment reacting
Hitler's steps. It produced a 'magical eff
in French politics, where the usual Ca
crisis vanished, M. Blum of the Fr
Populaire finding himself at the head of a
of National Cabinet supported by all parti

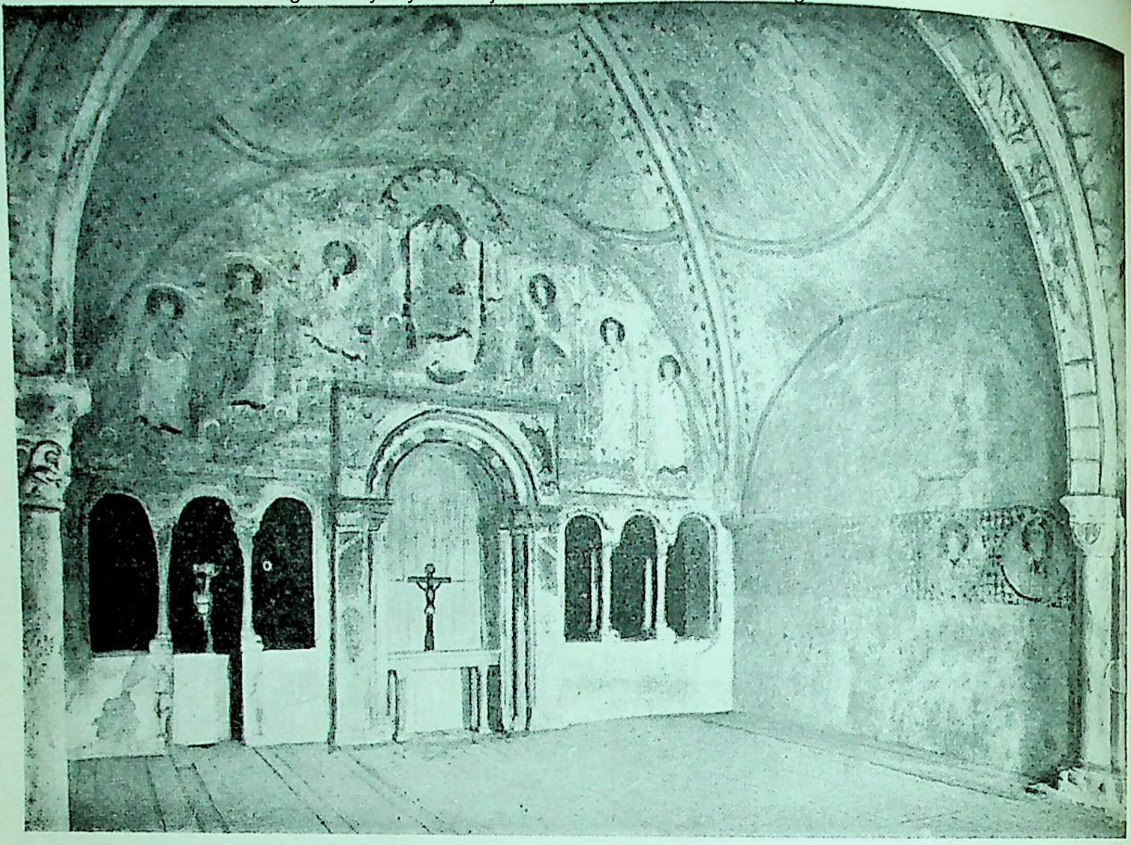
City and Castle of Salzburg



A City gate in Lower Austria

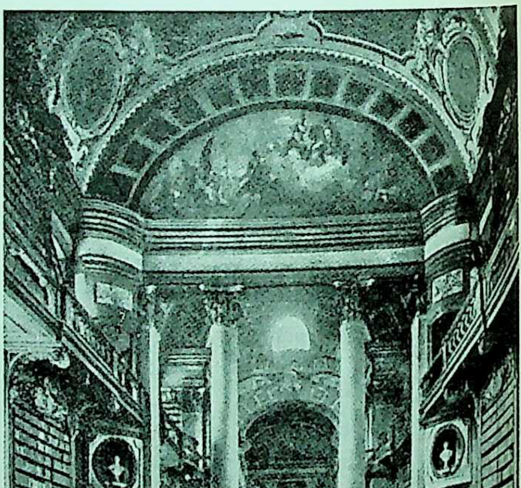


Library, Monastery of Altenburg



Frescoes in the Cathedral of Gurk

Monastery of Altenburg



National Library, Vienna

Right
remains
the spee
gramme
Mussoli
Austrian
restore
Fuehrer
remindi
at the t
that he
"That
tioned."
in futu
shape
claims
Mediter
other i
indepen
sidered
Foreign
power t
The Pre
the gov
with the

"It s
out call
istered a
servation
passed co
British
between
operation

The
indicate
and, the
slovakia
Nazis o
decided
long w
Britain
Central
its valu
claims
May b
useful
it is in

Th
europa
Central
we are
Centur
Germa
advent
intensi
racial

Right and Left. The problem of the franc remains to be tackled, but France is agreed on the speeding and expansion of the defence programme. A prompt overture was made to Mussolini, the former Lord High Protector of Austrian Chancellor, for concerted action to restore its independence. Italy refused it; the Fuehrer had already telegraphed to Il Duce reminding how he stood by the Fascist dictator at the time of the Abyssinian war. He assured that he had guaranteed the Brenner Frontier. "That decision will never be touched or questioned." Mussolini agreed. Perhaps he expects in future some consideration for this in the shape of German support for Italy in her claims to an additional advantage on the Mediterranean sea-board against British or other interests. Britain, pledged to Austrian independence, coolly and dispassionately considered the situation. With Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary and the present Cabinet in power the Nazis are assured of that no doubt. The Premier in the Commons, after stating that the government remained in the closest touch with the French Government, said :

> "It seems to us that the methods adopted throughout call for the severest condemnation, and have administered a shock to all who are entrusted with the preservation of European peace. It followed that what had passed could not fail to have prejudiced the hope of the British Government of removing misunderstandings between nations and prompting international cooperation" (*Reuter*).

The policy of the British Government is indicated to be no more commitment in Europe, and, therefore, no further guarantee for Czechoslovakia or any other small powers against the Nazis or Fascists. A stronger defence plan was decided on with a bigger air arm. It has been long whispered, though stoutly denied, that Britain would give a free hand to Germany in Central Europe for an agreement—whatever be its value—with Herr Hitler who is to forego his claims to the return of the German colonies. May be the Austrian affair may prove to be useful to strike a bargain now on the line, if it is intended.

MITTELEUROPA

The shadow of Hitler has fallen on Mitteleuropa for a long time. It now darkens the Central Europe and Danubian regions. Germany, we are reminded by a writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, "cherished dreams of a German controlled *Mitteleuropa* long before the advent of National-Socialism, which has but intensified the campaign, and, by reason of its racial doctrines, provided it with a new and formidable technique. The eventual aim is the Union of all the German-speaking peoples of Europe in the Third Reich. This Greater Germany, while avoiding the absorption of non-German peoples, would reduce the Czechs to political impotence, and would bring Hungary and the Balkans into the German sphere of influence . . ."

So, Czechoslovakia stands perhaps next in the Nazi programme of German Expansionism. "An autonomous Sudetenland within a federated Czechoslovakia" was the talk so long. It may be made a reality soon by the Nazis. Mr. Chamberlain in the Commons statement referred to the present German attitude in regard to the country : "He said that he was informed that Marshal Goering, on March 11, had given a general assurance to the Czechoslovak Minister in Berlin that it would be the earnest endeavour of the German Government to improve German-Czech relations. The same day the Czechoslovak Minister was assured by Baron von Neurath that Germany considered herself bound by the German-Czechoslovak Arbitration Convention of October 1925"—(*Reuter*). One would do an injustice to the Premier if one holds that he believed in that Nazi profession or asked others to believe it. Czechoslovakia too knows that well enough, and already the Nazi temper is rising there. Its hope is centred on itself and on the Czecho-French and Czecho-Russian Defensive Pacts. The pledge was repeated now by France. M. Hodja, the Czech-Premier, some time ago replied hard to the Fuehrer, but he was striving equally for appeasement of the three millions of Sudeten Germans at home and for consolidation in the Danubian. The task becomes harder after the recent Nazi success. M. Hodja wanted his agreement with the German minority—the "German Activists"—to work, but would in no case tolerate any Berlin dictation or accept the proposals put forward by the Sudetendeusch Party, with the approval of Berlin, for granting the German minority autonomous status within a federated Czechoslovakia. The plan of that Party is or was,—for the plan may change according to the changing Nazi temper, whatever assurance Dr. Goering might give,—that "all nationalities in the republic should be formed into autonomous administrative bodies," the relation between the Sudeten Germans the Germans of the Reich is to be based on the principle of the *Volksgemeinschaft* and an approach to the *Fuehrer Prinzep* made in the election of its speaker of the Presidium (*Nineteenth Century and After*—Feb. 1938).

Czechoslovakia and Germany, "should act in permanent friendship and unity of aim, '*zu gleicher Hand im Donauraume.*' "Broadly speaking," pointed out the writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After,* "it means a community of interests and an approximation of the German and Czech policies in the Danubian regions. Theoretically it would mean an equal partnership. But as between a State of 66 millions and a State of 15 millions such an equality could not exist. It would inevitably mean that Czechoslovakia would have to serve the interests of Germanism in the conduct of her foreign policy. This would create a state of affairs in which the entire present European equilibrium would be radically changed, and in consequence Czechoslovakia reduced from substance to shadow."

This is the very possibility—or certainty?—that the Czechoslovaks have to face now. The last of the 'German Activist' Minister in the Cabinet has resigned, and, that, in spite of the concessions that the State is making to its German minority. Nazi aims and ambitions rule now the Sudeten Germans completely. What helps can the State count on?

Of the allies of Czechoslovakia France has responded. Of Soviet Russia too it may be sure. M. Litvinoff called for a conference of Powers, which, we doubt, will never sit. Again, for the moment Stalin is busy 'liquidating' the Old Guards. It would be an amusing account were it not so tragic. Confessions and revelations and self-condemnation of the repentant accused, of the Left and Right, are a peculiarity of the Soviet trials. These, however, are being repeated too long to carry any conviction with the initiated or uninitiated. Even the Independent Labour Party of Britain came out with a statement condemning the 'regime of blood.' The Revolt of the Marxist Angels is proving what Anatole France depicted in another connection. The Revolution is being consolidated—Stalin would maintain, and so all other good communists. And by the hard and cruel logic of events it also means perhaps that the Revolution is being betrayed, as Trotzky from his exile cries. For ordinary men the old truth suffices—'Revolution eats up its children.'

Any way, it is clear, that everything is not so sound within Soviet Russia, and, a first class war perhaps will show that, in spite of the biggest army and the biggest air forces, the Soviet has foundered as the old Czarist Russia did. In the present crisis, naturally the Soviet voice is not heard so loudly today.

Of the Central European and Danubian powers, Yugoslavia stands in a peculiar posi "She is at once a Central European, a Balk and a Mediterranean State." The States these regions set some value on the friendship this little power, and, M. Stoyadinovich, t Premier and Foreign Minister, had had succ ful deals in economic and other concess from Mussolini on the Adriatic Coast, h friendly economic links with Germany, a retains the French alliance and British frie ship, and so far announces no bloc.

In Rumania, Goga's Rumanianism a anti-Semitism has suffered a sharp decline b cause of the Nazi method of doing away with t Soviet Ambassador. The present regime equally authoritarian, but probably unl Goga's no great admirer of the Nazi's.

There may be an attempt to reorient t policy in the Little Entente following the N triumphs. France is no longer looked upon the essential protector for these small powe An opinion is being freely aired in Europ press that "in view of the commanding posit of Germany and the re-exposed weakness France, the Little Entente had better rega itself as dead and buried, and its members h better re-value their alliances with France (*Reuter*). This 'flight from France' is not remote possibility for the Little Entent Powers.

The events in Central Europe have course loomed large in the month. These a pregnant with big possibilities for Europe a the world. Yet, mighty and significant eve are going on in other parts. There is crisis every corner. Poland settled a border quar with Lithuania by the Hitlerian method of ultimatum, which made the Baltic State reop the frontiers closed after Poland's seizure Vilna in 1921. It is another triumph of 'pea ful method.' And, it may open the Lening road for Poland, and its friend, Germany. harried world, indeed, can hardly keep p with our daily crop of 'menaces'. T big victories of the Spanish Fascists un Franco over the Spanish Republicans m prove to be a turning point in the Spanish C War. France is already alarmed at this pos bility and the consequent weakening of position on the Mediterranean. Britain m look forward in unision with France to rea an agreement with Franco to keep the sea c for an Empire route. In China Japa victories are as expected big and great.

These political thunder-clouds natur darken human horizon more than oth But a proper perspective of the world aff as they are growing more and more complicated, would be missed if we forget that every nation big or small, is busy with an armament programme which may blow up the civilization, and under the weight of all this, the economic foundation of this civilization at any rate may give way. Dr. Tagore declares the doubts and suspicions, as well as the hopes and prayers, of thousands of his fellowmen when he writes, in the *Manchester Guardian*,

> "I can hardly imagine that the catastrophe can be avoided, since all the European Powers are engaged in paving the path of mutual annihilation. In spite of this, I hope the misfortune and suffering, if inevitable, will not exceed the limits of retribution, for there is much in European civilization worthy of cherishing."

European civilization, we should remember, is practically the modern civilization of all world. It is to be hoped that the contending forces within it that are about to come to a clash, soon rather than late, will leave it at a higher and stronger level, and, with old and obsolete forces shed off, open up a new vista for humanity for free and noble growth. Is a catastrophe necessary for that?

G. H.

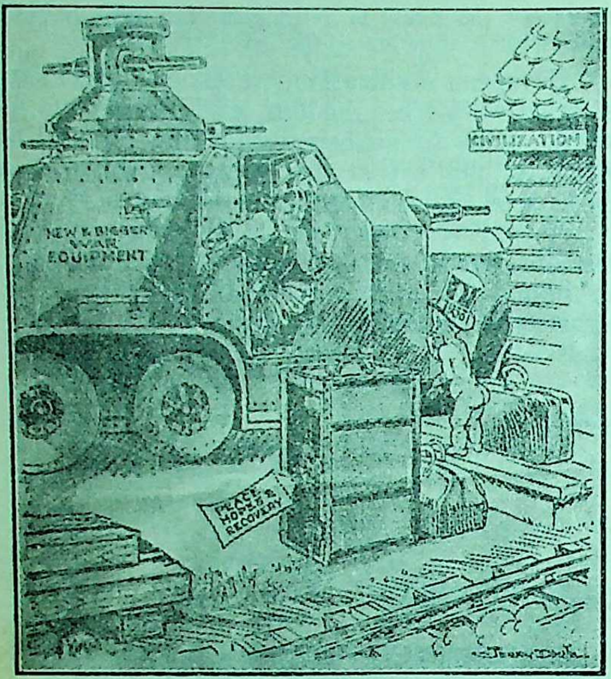
AN INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGIST

Dr. B. K. Chatterjee, M.SC. (Cal.) D. SC. (Paris)

Dr. B. K. Chatterjee has recently come back to India after taking the D.Sc. (State Doctorate) from the University of Paris in Pre-historic Archaeology and Anthropology. Before proceeding to Europe Dr. Chatterjee worked for several years in the Anthropological Laboratory of the Indian Museum, Calcutta under Dr. B. S. Guha and published an important memoir on the Comparative Anthropometry of the Brahmins of Bihar which received high commendations from European Anthropologists. In Paris he worked in the Laboratory of Prof. Paul Rivet in the Natural History Museum and under Profs. Marcelle Boule and Henri Breuil in the Institute of Human Palaeontology. He worked also for a little while under Prof. Otto Schlaginhaufen at Zurich and Prof. Th. Mollison at Munich.

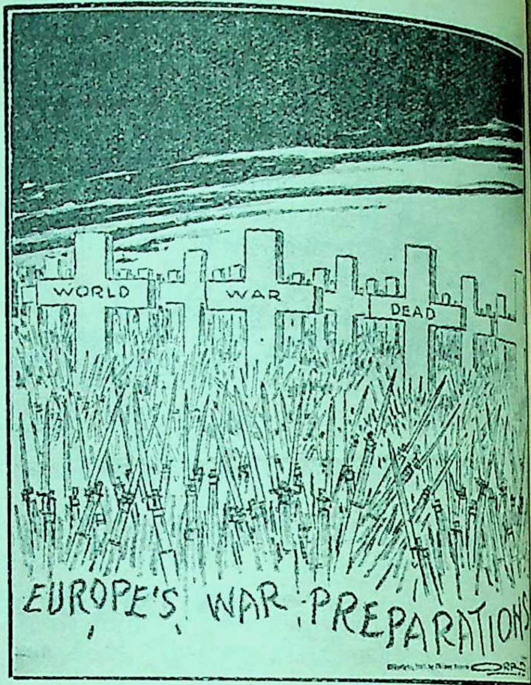
Besides receiving theoretical training in the latest methods of Pre-historic Archaeology and Anthropology, Dr. Chatterjee took part in excavations of Palaeolithic sites at La Quina, Dordgone, and Charante under Prof. Henri Martin and in Abbeville under Prof. Vayson de Praddenne. He spent also one summer in the excavation of Neolithic and Roman age sites in Maiden Castle in England under Dr. Wheeler.

Dr. Chatterjee is the first Indian to have received such high training in Prehistoric Archaeology and to have actually taken part in excavation of several important sites from the Palæolithic to the Roman times under such world famous Archaelogists as the late Henri Martin, Prof. Vayson de Praddenne and Dr. Wheeler.


NEW & BIGGER WAR EQUIPMENT
CIVILIZATION
PEACE HOMES & RECOVERY
Jerry Doyle

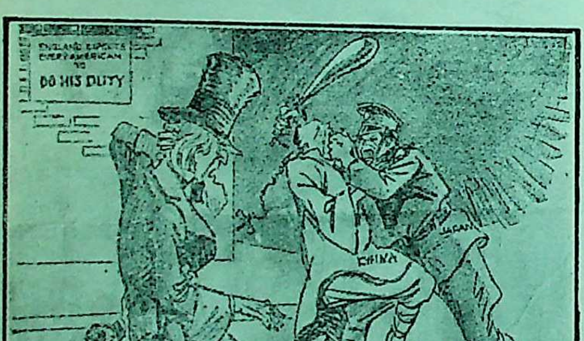
"Jump in, kid; I'm goin' your way!"

—*New York Post*


WORLD
WAR
DEAD
EUROPE'S WAR PREPARATIONS
ORR

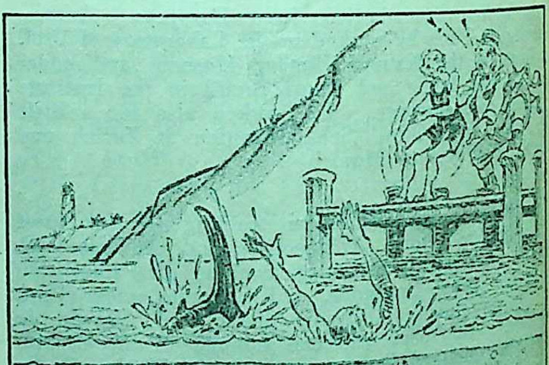
In Flanders Field where bayonets grow between the crosses, row on row

—*Chicago Tribune*


ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY AMERICAN TO DO HIS DUTY
CHINA
JAPAN

"Go after 'im, sam; we're backin' you!"

-*New York Post*


JAPAN
Jerry Doyle

John Bull: "'elp! save 'im! 'e's wearin' my bathing suit!"

—*New York Post*

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Religion in the West

The present position of religion in the West is peculiar. The influence of the official religion of Western civilization, Christianity, continues to decline. Though men in increasing numbers refuse to subscribe to orthodox beliefs, the part which religion has played in man's life is far from being finished. Writes C. E. M. Joad in *The Aryan Path* :

Nature abhors a vacuum in the spiritual world no less than in the physical, and a host of religious substitutes springs up to take the place of religion. There is Spiritualism, there is Christian Science, there is the Oxford Group Movement. All these in their different ways may be regarded as makeshifts designed to satisfy the need to believe which the traditional religion has failed to satisfy.

More important are the *political* effects of the decline of religious belief. As the God above the clouds grows increasingly dim, the demand for a human substitute grows increasingly powerful. In the Dictatorship States the leaders are coming increasingly to be invested with quasi-divine attributes. "Hitler is lonely, so is God. Hitler is like God," is a quotation from a speech by one of the Nazi ministers. At an Art Exhibition recently held in Munich a picture of Herr Hitler speaking at a meeting prior to the assumpion of power by the Nazi Government was entiled, "In the Beginning was the Word . . ." Like God, the dictator is invested with infallible attributes. "Justice is Hitler's will;" "What Mussolini decrees is right;" "Stalin knows what is best for his children." Such statements are indicative at once of the need which the masses of modern Western civilization feel for worship and of their willingness in the present twilight of religion to accept substitutes in human guise for the deity they have lost. There are many causes for the modern worship of the State and the modern religion of nationalism; some are economic, some are political; but one of the most important is the decline of official religion in the Western world, coupled with the persistence of the need to believe.

I have mentioned so far only the surface manifestations of this deep-seated need, manifestations which, in the absence of religion, take the form of the acceptance of religious substitutes. Two causes are, however, at work in the West which may lead to a real religious renascence. The first is the manifest movement of the Western world in the direction of decivilization.

In the second place, there is a growing recognition that science has not said the last word with regard to the constitution of the universe.

Matter

Scientists of the West once regarded matter as an enduring substance built up out of rigid lumps of reality known as atoms, which are fixed, indivisible and eternally indestructible. Writes Swami Pranaveshananda in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

Western scientists conceived matter as existing in space and persisting in time. This is no longer believed by the modern scientists. The atoms which make up matter, when reduced to their ultimate entities, are now broken up into little particles of electricity called electrons and protons. Thus it has been proved that matter practically transforms itself into electric energy. These electrons and protons are invisible entities, but in certain cases it is said that electrons can be driven out of atoms and the actual path of electrons, darting at tremendous speed, can be photographed as they are seen through faint mists in closed tubes. Although they are called particles of electricity, yet it is not known what they are precisely. This much can be said that it is an activity of a mysterious nature. So matter in its final analysis loses its substantiality and presents itself as varying combinations, re-combinations and complex arrangements of electrons and protons. These are no more subjects of speculative philosophy but are demonstrable scientific truths.

The writer quotes Jeans :

"That because matter affects our senses as substantial, that is not to be taken as a revelation of matter. In modern science the substantiality of matter has gone. It has passed from the region of theory and become accepted science, and soild matter is an association of atoms which in turn are associations of electrons and protons, purely non-material entities." Eddington says that the notion of substance has dropped out of modern science and has been dissolved away into a set of mathematical relations between entities of whose nature we know nothing. But there is one species of matter, he suggests, of which we have a more intimate knowledge than is obtainable by the measuring instruments of science. When a man is thinking and feeling, our scientific instruments would reveal nothing but motions of the particles of brain, and in this fact, according to Eddington, lies the clue to the understanding of the nature of matter. That is to say, the nature of matter is of the same nature as thoughts, feelings and emotions —in one word it is mental.

According to Einstein's Theory of Relativity, says the writer, matter is only a string of events as fleeting as thoughts, and science tells us nothing of their actual nature.

The old materialists regarded matter as something different from fleeting thoughts due to its apparent solidarity and permanence. Sir Isaac Newton, the discoverer of the Law of Gravitation, regarded matter, space and time as three separate and independent entities. They were independent in the sense that matter merely occupied time and space, and space remained the same whether it was occupied by matter or not, and the same was true of time. So space and time were regarded as quite independent of matter. They are no longer so. In Relativity Theory, the notion of time and of objective space as separate independent entities has given place to the notion of space-time as inseparable and one actual reality.

Einstein calls time as the four-dimensional continuum, of which three dimensional matter itself is a part, and not something existing separately. Time according to this theory is not terrestrial or parochial but static; and in virtue of this, particular events perpetually come into and pass out of existence. And the forms which these events take are determined by space which is a permanent and universal matrix of all that changes and becomes. So the objective conception of space has been discarded by the present-day science. This Theory of Relativity shows that there is something in this universe which evades our intelligence, but a certain aspect of this unity has been picked out by the mind and is called matter. Thus the mind partitions out the space and time in which material entities exists.

This amounts to saying that this universe of time, space and matter, as understood by us, is only a creation of mind itself.

According to Advaita Vedanta matter is also mental, it is externalised thought. In fact, matter and spirit are two different forms of one substance, although they appear to be two distinct things. Says Chhandogya Upanishad (vi. 2): "Existence alone, my dear, was there in the beginning, one without a second. It willed, 'May I become many.'" 'It' and its antecedent Existence stand here for the Supreme Being. This act of seeing or willing endows the Being with intelligence, and it is this Intelligent Being that becomes all this universe of matter with all its modifications.

Modern Medicine

In his article on the evolution of modern medicine in *The Hindustan Review* Lt.-Col. G. H. Mahony gives a brief history of the emergence of medicine as a science on organized system of thought. In conclusion he writes :

> Glandular therapy has removed the ban of incurability from some types of psychological disorders, and psychoanalytical treatment—instituted by Sigmund Frued of Vienna—has brought many neurotic and psychopathic conditions within the realms of preventable and curable disease.
>
> Perhaps for us the main interest in modern psychological research is the influence it is acquiring in the education and upbringing of our children. Owing to this influence we hope our children—or at least our grand-children—will be happier in childhood and adolescence than we were, and will reach adult life free from many of the prejudices and complexes—"inferiority" and otherwise—which so complicate our human reactions in this generation
>
> Healthier in body, I think tney undoubtedly are. The work of child and maternity welfare clinics has already noticeably reduced the infant and maternity death-rates, and has been instrumental in producing a higher standard of physical fitness in the young of the race. Much research has been done in dietetics, and already the incidence of ricketts and other diseases due to malnutrition is markedly less in such countries as Eng and Scotland. Pre-natal supervision has greatly mod the number of abnormal births, and complications maternity, in countries where maternity welfare cl flourish.
>
> Even recent discoveries in such a branch of p science as physics have in many cases been utilised modern medicine. X-rays are commonly used as an to diagnosis in many conditions, while Electric, X- and Radium therapy are employed in the treatment many disases, especially of cancer, either alone, or supplement the work of both the physician and surgeon.
>
> "Science has no country," said Pasteur. Would not be well, perhaps, if some knowledge of the scien particularly of biology, the science of the great princip of Life, on which medical science rests,—were consider a necessary part of the education of every cultu person? Might not a wider knowledge of Nature a Life lead to a wider outlook and to the recognition all men of the common enemies of humanity? Inste of using the discoveries of science as weapons of destru tion against each other, might not the nations in ti be led to present a united front to the scourges of disea and to direct the weapons of science towards their d truction having through knowledge come to respect t sacredness of human life.

Gold Exodus

In the course of his article on curren events during the depression in *The Calcutt Review* Dr. J. C. Sinha speaks of the enormou amount of gold that was exported from India during the five years 1931—1936 :

> The gold exodus, especially on the scale in which it began after the linking of the rupee to sterling, is very unusual in our economic history. From time immemori import of precious metals has been a normal feature of Indian foreign trade. Pliny complained about 77 A. D that India drained the Roman Empire of 55 milli sesterces or £458,000 worth of gold and silver every ye It was but natural that he should describe India as "sink of precious metals" a charge which has bee repeated by subsequent foreign writers. This inflow precious metals was one of the factors which made unnecessary for India to adopt a policy of mercantilis when it arose in Europe in the sixteenth and seventee centuries.
>
> It is not of course implied that India was nev an exporter of gold in the past. To quote a few rec instances the net export of gold from India on priv account, was valued at Rs. 1.15 crores in 1915-16 a at Rs. 2.79 crores in 1921-22. But such exports s into insignificance when we compare them with the amo which left the country during the five years 1931- to 1935-36.
>
> The net export of gold from India during the last f years was more than one-forth of the total production the whole world, excluding U. S. S. R. As the ann output of gold in this country is not even 2 per cent the world production, the great bulk of the Indian exp obviously came out of the quantity previously impor into the country which had been lying hoarded, par in the form of bullion but mainly in the form ornaments.

The Congress and National Education

Writing about the Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress in *Triveni,* P. Pattabhi Sitaramayya makes the following remarks on the subject of National Education and the policy adopted by the Congress in its last session :

One important field of discussions which has recently been overgrown with brush and hawthorn and the very existence of which has been forgotten by the Indian National Congress, almost since the year 1921, has been rediscovered at Haripura, and that is the subject of National Education. We cannot blame anyone for having neglected this subject all these years, because the Congress could not control the waters of life that alone can enrich the fallow field of Education. Without that fertilizing flood of Nature's bounty, no land can yield any fruit. The advent of the Congress Ministers however to office in the Provinces of India has provided this assistance to the subjct of National Education, and accordingly the Congress has reverted to this subject and laid down its policy, pointing out that national progress ultimately depends upon the method, content, and objective of the education provided for the people. The basic principles which should guide such education have been laid down, the cardinal points being, (1) Free and compulsory primary education for seven years on a nation-wide scale, with (2) the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, and with (3) some form of manual and productive work as the centre round which the whole scheme throughout this period revolves. And a new organization has been brought into existence, called the All-India National Education Board, on lines parallel to those of the All-India Spinners' Association, and the All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh, with power to collect its own funds and frame its own constitution and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects. No small measures of relief and help would therefore be forthcoming in support of the tottering institutions wedded to the promotion of national education, which have been struggling during the last 30 years and more and have kept the banner afloat; and the public may well realize how the institutions brought into existence by non-official initiative a generation ago have had to wait for nearly three decades, playing the part of 'pioneer' schools and 'demonstration' seminaries, before the principles for which they stood have obtained recognition at the hands of Government. The fact is the very Government had to change and a new one had to come into existence in order to accept the principles, originally laid down by the Congress in Calcutta in 1906.

Gaganendranath Tagore

Dr. Stella Kramrisch observes in the *Visva-bharati News* :

Gaganendranath Tagore neither belonged to a school nor did he create one. His comprehensive world of art is also an exclusive one. Saturated with the consciousness of its means and contents, it lays itself out in crystals. They are a concentrated output and have no issue. This is the aspect which his work offers from nearby. A wider view, however, dispenses with the contingencies of the situation around his work and sees it in its attainment. It is Indian, not by literary motif or established symbol. Where these occur in his work, it is by selection and not of necessity. Despite the manifold modes of his work, he was not versatile; he turned nowhere. The many modes to him were themes which lay in front of him, ready to be taken up. He raised them, one by one, and each in its place and made them into instruments to convey his vision. He had his public to whom he conveyed it; the children in his large family mansion, the friends he had in mind when painting and to whom, in every sense, he gave his work. He did not paint for art's sake, nor according to a programme. He did his work in accordance with his vision and to convey its message, a serene profundity.

The Dravidian Racial Element in India

The inevitable result of migration and contact of peoples has perhaps everywhere been the intermixture of races and cultures and fusion of ethnic types. The 'Proto-Dravidians' or Indo-Mediterraneans appear to constitute along with the earlier 'Proto-Australoid' or Pre-Dravidians, the basic substratum of the bulk of the present Indian population. Writes Sarat Chandra Roy, the editor, in *Man in India* :

Although the native Proto-Australoids of India would appear to have been on a much lower cultural level than the immigrant "Mediterraneans," yet both were in origin branches of the same Caucasic race, and the two were therefore not very sharply contrasting ethnic groups. The immigrant Indo-Mediterranean people and the higher sections of the original Proto-Australoid inhabitants of the country would appear to have arrived in time at some sort of working social relations and there came about a certain amount of blending of blood and cultures. More or less inter-breeding of the two divergent types would lead to some modification of physique and temperament and the appearance of a modified racial type with variations within the limits of a dominant pattern, which through inbreeding subsequent to a period of inter-breeding would result in a relatively stable "Dravidian" or, as it has been called, not very accurately, "Indid" type; and with the establishment of race-dominance further intermixture would in time cease. For, in all interbreeding and in mixture of races there is a natural limit beyond which even sex urge may not lead. Colour-prejudice of the more cultured race and the ideal of preserving their blood from further contamination would naturally lead ultimately to the avoidance of further intimate contact of the dominant 'Dravidian' people with the despised Proto-Australoid race and with the hybrid communities that had sprung from the union of the latter with those of the negritic remnants, since practically vanished.

He observes :

In fact, this was not a peculiarity of the then racial situation in South India alone. This has happened in other countries, too, under similar conditions. In most parts of the world where a more civilized race has conquered or come to dominate over a race of lower culture, severe regulations of the nature of 'caste laws' have been made and followed to prevent the blood of the conquering race from being defiled by union with the conquered race. The same attitude against race-mixture has in recent times led all the southern and most of the western States of America to pass laws prohibiting intermarriage of White men with Negroes, mulatoes and Mongolians. Not only are such unions declared null and void, but the statutes of some of the States provide penalty of fine and imprisonment for infraction of the law. Some of the States, such as Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississipi, North Carolina and South Carolina regard this as a matter of such basic public importance that they have gone to the length of making the prohibition a matter of constitutional law. Even in those States in which there is no formal restrictive legislation, the public opposition to such racial intermarriage is found to operate as a fairly effective control.

The Beginnings of Telugu

Telugu claims to be the most musical of the languages of the South, 'the Italian of the East.' In *Triveni* K. Lakshmi Ranjanam describes the beginnings of Telugu :

> Telugu is the language of the Telugu people who seem to have inhabited the country south of the Vindhyas from time immemorial. This part of the country lay on the outskirts of the Aryan settlements in the age of the *Brahmanas.* In prehistoric times the Telugus were known as Andhras. The *Aitereya Brahmana,* which belongs to the cycle of the *Rig Veda,* and whose date is generally reckoned by scholars to be about 1000 B.C., mentions the Andhras by name and includes them in the list of those who may be considered rebels from the Aryan fold. It is primarily the concern of the anthropologist and the ethnologist to wrangle about the Aryan or Dravidian origin of the Andhra stock. In those remote days there must have been not a few who, restive of the rigidity of Aryan society, formed matrimonial and other relations with their non-Aryan neighbours. Such 'deserters' would naturally be grouped with the barbarians by the haughty Aryan dweller. In course of time the Aryan dialect, which these rebels spoke, must have been tempered by the speech of the original inhabitants, thus giving rise to the 'Andhra Prakrit.'

He continues :

> When we come down to historic times we find that the Andhras were making history and were the wielders of a formidable empire which included the Mauryan territories also, and extended from the Ganges to the Krishna in the south. These colonists were like the Normans that invaded England in the 11th and 12th centuries. But the penetration of the Aryan colonists must have been entirely peaceful. Their superiority was based on the higher culture which they brought into the benighted Dandaka forest. They certainly constituted the brain behind the first Andhra Empire. It is to their credit that they did not resist the process of fusion which went on apace between the original Dravidian inhabitants and the new Aryan settlers. The speech of these mixed people fast inter-twined itself into the germ of Telugu. The Aryan colonists must have spoken one of the Prakrits, and the speech of the original people of the soil was the primitive Dravidian language. Prakrit played an important role in the life and ad istration of those days is evidenced by the presen numerous words of Prakritic origin in modern Tel

Even a casual analysis of Telugu voca lary will reveal that the Telugu people did fight shy of absorbing the language of their civilized neighbours, and that they unhesi ingly enriched their own speech by lib adaptation of Prakrit words.

> These are what the grammarian classifies as 'Pra Sama'—'Equivalents of Prakrit words.' Like the A Saxons under the tutelage of Norman conquerors, Telugus were in no hurry to create a literature of th own. The few books of this time that have surviv name at least, the *Brihatkatha* of Gunadhaya and *Saptasati* ascribed to Hala, one of the Andhra Empe were written in Prakrit. The inscriptions of the age of Andhra Empire were in Prakrit. During the march centuries, the speech of the Dravidian dwellers not lived, but assimilated and survived the Aryan di which reacted on it. This speaks highly of the ten and vigour of the people that spoke it. They must been a numerous race, and there was no fear of extin for them or their language.
>
> The traditional conception of the geographical ex of the country over which Telugu is spoken is based an etymological examination of the word 'Telugu.' T Pandits understood this word as a corruption of Sanskrit equivalent, 'Trilinga' the strip of country ly between three Saiva Temples situated in the Distr of Kurnool and Godavari and in the Nizam's Domini Telugu at present has far outstripped the narr geographical limitations set for it.

Bankim Centenary

The Indian P. E. N. makes the followi announcement :

> The Centenary of the birth of the great Beng novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, falls this year, a committee has been formed on the initiative of Bengal Branch and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to m arrangements for its suitable observance. The Commi is headed by Dr. Tagore, with Sir S. Radhakrishnan Vice-President and Dr. Kalidas Nag, 283, Darga R Park Circus, Calcutta, as Secretary. Other members far appointed are Dr. S. Suhrawardy, Dr. Suniti Ku Chatterjee and Sophia Wadia.
>
> Among the plans in which the co-operation of lite men in all parts of India is sought are programmes celebration in the various linguistic areas and the p paration of a bibliography of translations of the w of Bankim Chatterjee in each of the major In Languages.
>
> Any of our members who will co-operate in ei of these lines are invited to communicate directly w the Secretary of the Committee.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Training of the Nazi Leaders of the Future

In the course of an address released in the *International Affairs,* G. A. Rowan-Robinson gives an account of the training of the Nazi leaders of the future. The object of the Nazi system of education is to inculcate the cult of the State in everyone "through bodily strength and skill"; people should think of themselves primarily as members of a group and loyalty to his unit is among the highest ideals placed before every young German. The Government selects the most promising members of the younger generation and gives them a special education so that they may be able to spread such ideas with success and distinction. Fifteen boarding schools or Napolas were started in 1933 for these boys.

None of these fifteen schools contains more than four hundred boys, so that the competition to get in to them is tremendous. Money has nothing to do with it, and, as far as I could see, brains have not very much either. The qualifications are roughly threefold. Firstly, the boys must be racially sound—that is to say, they must be able to produce a pair of highly respectable Aryan parents, grand-parents and great-grand-parents, and the parents must have good records as loyal National Socialists. Secondly, they must be physically fit—the standard of physical fitness is extraordinarily high. And thirdly, they must look reasonably honest (though their honesty is sometimes taken for granted if they have fair hair and blue eyes). They do have to have attained a certain standard in work, but that standard could hardly be called an exacting one. Each year from a vast number of applications a certain number are chosen provisionally and are summoned to the school, where they have to remain a week under observation, or on approval, or whatever you like to call it. At the end of the week the wheat is sifted from the chaff, the chaff is sent home, and the wheat is admitted to the official membership of the school. The parents pay according to their means and the State provides the rest, for these schools are a State concern, and are administered by a special department in the Board of Education.

In conformity with the fashion prevalent in Germany today, both boys and masters wear a military uniform, and the schools are run on purely military lines. But they are not military academies like Sandhurst or Woolwich, for although the vast majority of the boys are going into the army, the schools claim to be training them for all branches of life.

Games take up a very large part of the day's programme. There is no specialising. They are not out to produce record-breakers, but boys who have reached a reasonable degree of efficiency in a large number of games. The Germans demand roughly two things of a game: firstly, it must develop the muscles efficiently; and secondly, it must be a form of *Kampfsport*—that is to say, it must give ample scope for the fighting spirit. So that games like tennis, squash, fives, are considered too tame a pastime, and are consequently not encouraged.

Every single subject is taught with the object of making better Nazis out of the boys.

No subject, therefore, has for them any intrinsic value at all. Art for Art's sake is a decadent doctrine. The schools where classics are studied have been ruthlessly cut down in number; and recently all Latin words were abolished in the schools, and they are inventing new German words as substitutes. Latin, in fact, is of very little use to them except as a means of finding out what Tacitus or Cæsar thought about the Germans. History and Literature must be rewritten and reinterpreted in the light of the new ideas. Volumes are being produced on the subject, and as they have not yet all been finished, the official attitude is in doubt on many points. New problems are cropping up daily—How are we to interpret such and such a fact? Can we recognize so and so? Must we cut out this chapter?—and so on.

The boys go to a Labour Camp at the age of eighteen. These Labour Camps are an essential part of the national scheme of education.

The idea is to unite all classes throughout the country in a common task, and to make them realise that work is not merely a means of earning money, but the moral basis of national life. But, of course, these camps provide another excellent opportunity for drilling a little more politics into the boys. Although they rise at six, work with hardly a break until two-thirty, play games vigorously during the afternoon, they are made to listen between five and six to a lecture on some aspect of the regime.

After the Labour Camp the boys do their two years' service with the army, and then they are free either to go to a university or join any trade or profession they choose. But that does not mean that they have finished with politics. Their political education still goes on. No student at the university is allowed to take his degree unless he has done his quota of political parades with the University Party organization. Further, in every single town and village there is a branch of the S.A. or S.S., and nearly all professions and trades have their own organizations, in which politics figure largely. Everyone who wants to get on in his profession, and all those who are afraid of getting chucked out, feel they must join these organizations. So they have to spend their evenings listening to lectures, and their spare time in parading at some colossal demonstration. It would seem that the Government is afraid that if a man is allowed to drop his political education, he will at once fall back on evil ways and begin trying to think for himself.

— —

Five Years of Nazi Rule in Germany

The Hitler regime in Germany completed its fifth year in January, 1938. A correspondent reviews the economic results of this period in the course of an article contributed to *The Manchester Guardian* :

In 1937 the volume of industrial output exceeded that of the 1928-29 boom by 20 per cent. Yet, with almost a million more workers in employment, consumption goods have not reached the previous level, not to mention the deterioration in quality due to "Ersatz"—the use of inferior substitutes. No more satisfactory is the result in the agricultural sphere. Price stabilisation, control of production, and requisitioning have not prevented the grain crops of the last four years from lagging considerably behind the average of 1929-33. Imports of butter and other edible fats have risen by more than 50 per cent during the same period. Do the weather gods, so favourable to party celebrations, constantly frown on the German farmer? Or are all the myths about "blood and soil," the entailment of the farms, the sweated labour of the Landhilfe not enough to overcome the passive resistance of the peasants, a resistance which once before smashed the German home front?

It is, at any rate, not surprising that under these circumstances real wages should have fallen by at least 15 per cent below the level of 1929. In vain does a huge organization for price control try to protect the consumer. According to an official calculation it save him last year just 1 per cent of his total expenditure.

But by thus tightening his belt, is not the common man helping to make his country self-supporting in the future? In these troublous times a good deal may be said for "autarchy.". For the time being, ,however Germany seems to be rather far off this desired goal. The volume of her imports still amounts to 75 per cent mainly affects manufactured goods. Incidentally, the popular idea that Germany suffers from a general shortage of imported raw materials is quite mistaken. She has cut down such foreign purchases as would benefit the consumer. But her net imports of iron ore, oil, and rubber in recent years exceeded those of the 1928-29 boom by from 50 to 200 per cent, which suggests an accumulation of large stocks. It seems a little doubtful whether these stocks and the potential home resources to be mobilised by the new Four-year Plan are in the end to satisfy the consumer's daily needs.

All is not well in Ethiopia

World Youth summarises in its colu dispatch from a correspondent in Jibuti publi in the *London Times*. Exports from Ethi it appears, have dropped down considerabl a result of the Ethiopians' passive resistanc the Fascist regime.

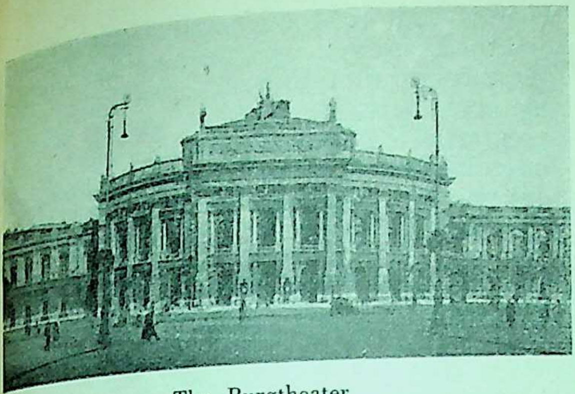
Exports of coffee, hides and skins, which in formed nine-tenths of the total Ethiopian exports were worth around $5,000,000, have virtually come standstill.

The Ethiopians have persisted, and still persi passive resistance, so that miles of valuable coffee tations and tracts of agricultural land which they not cultivate have for two years been left fallow. Th are no new exportable commodities to take the place those lost; indeed, it is apparent that many years pass before other products, such as cotton, can be gr in sufficient quantities for export. Wheat and flour now being imported, though there used sometimes t a small export surplus. Imports in general increased.

New export regulations, designed to provide more that foreign currency which Italy so badly needs, decreed that no firm, Italian or foreign, in Ethiopia obtain a permit to export to Italy unless it sells als non-Italian markets according to a stated propor Firms are entitled to export to Italy only one-third of quantity of hides and skins they succeed in selling non-Italian countries, and this has sent prices soaring the Italian market. Export and import restricti exercised through a multiplicity of State controls, had a strangling effect on trade of all sorts.

The Maria Theresa dollar has been officia supplanted by the paper lira. In November the offici exchange rate was 10½ lire for one dollar—it has f tuated between 5 and 13½—and on the "black mark the rate was much higher. Dollars, however, are pra cally unobtainable. The Italians, when they set out force their paper currency on the natives, relied pressure to buy, but the native is biding his time living on very little.

As the Ethiopian is no navvy, Italian labor has to be employed for the necessary road building at inf wages. Prices, in consequence, have soared aloft.



The Burgtheater

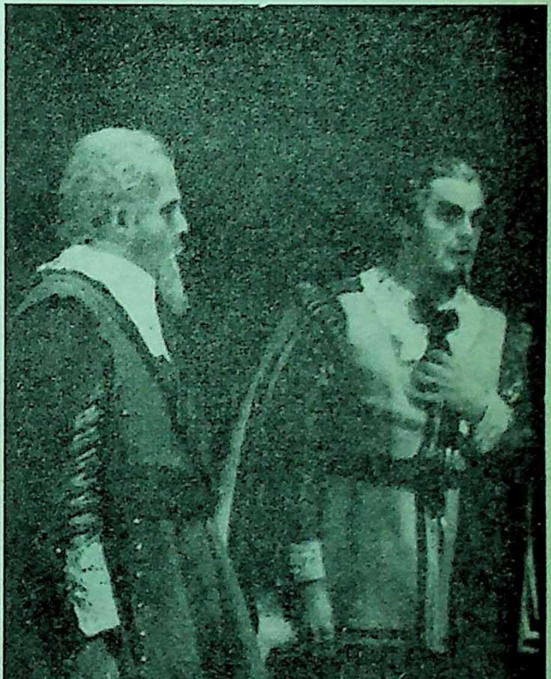
The Opera, Vienna

MUSICAL LIFE IN AUSTRIA IN 1937

By Frau HEDDY FULOP-MILLER, *Austria*

Great achievements of the past bring obligations. If to these are joined living forces of the present then the prospects for the future are favourable throughout. And so—one cannot repeat this often enough—there are still remarkably strong and vigorous forces alive in the musical life of Austria today. To be sure they are no longer always to be found in the magnificent opera palace, in the sumptuous music halls ; much that is new and promising takes place in a small modest room, but the love for the cause is all the greater!

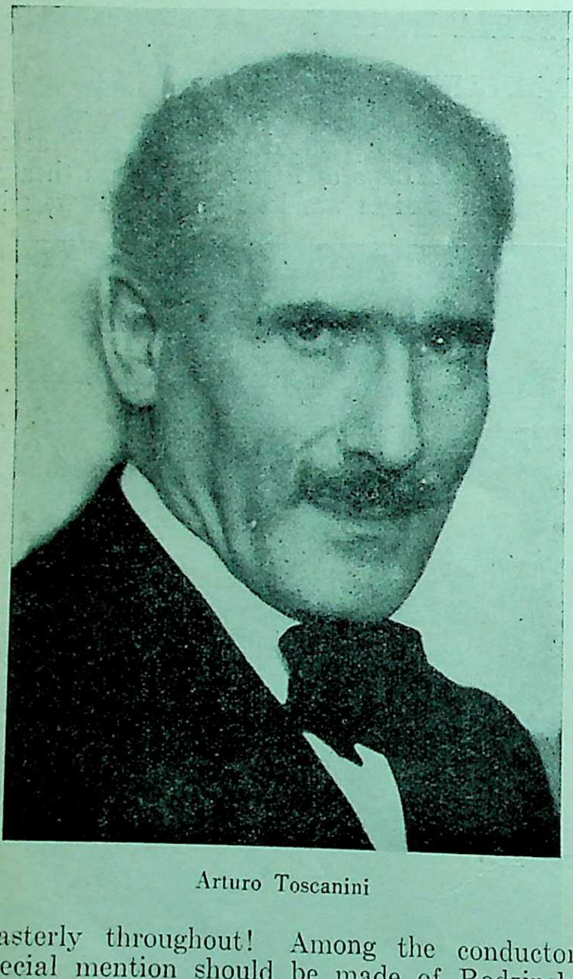
Externally the state opera house is still the centre of the musical events. Internal difficulties—the one : all too many guests will have to find some solution—has not succeeded in suppressing entirely the desire for new achievements. And so some novelties were heard : Wolf-Ferrari's *Schmuck der Madonna*, Paumgartner's *Rossini in Neapel*, the *Sühne* by Wenzl-Traunfels, Marco Franc's *Fremde Frau* and finally Weinberger's *Wallenstein* and Respighi's *Flamme*. A proud number—if we think of past years. To this must be added more than one new production to round off the picture. Here only the *Meistersinger von Nürnberg* under Furtwän gler and Pfitzner's *Palestrina* under Bruno Walter can be mentioned. The Volksoper (people's opera) too introduced trial Saturday afternoon operas, which found a friendly reception. Under Paul Csonka, an international opera society performed works by Milhaud, Ibert, Rossini and Monteverdi ; operas were also given in a "Theater für 49" (theatre for 49), Bittner's *Höllisches Gold*, Reznicek's *Spiel oder Ernst* may be mentioned, the Volkshochcule (People's University), Ottakring, has arranged a studio for opera and the "Vereinigum (society) der Lutinisten" acted Mozart's *Marriage of Figaro* in various theatre halls, as a kind of wandering stage. If we add to this studio performances arranged by the Ravag (Vienna's broadcasting company) under Oswald Kabasta (for instance, Cornelius' *Cid*) and mention further the free air perform-



"Wallenstein"

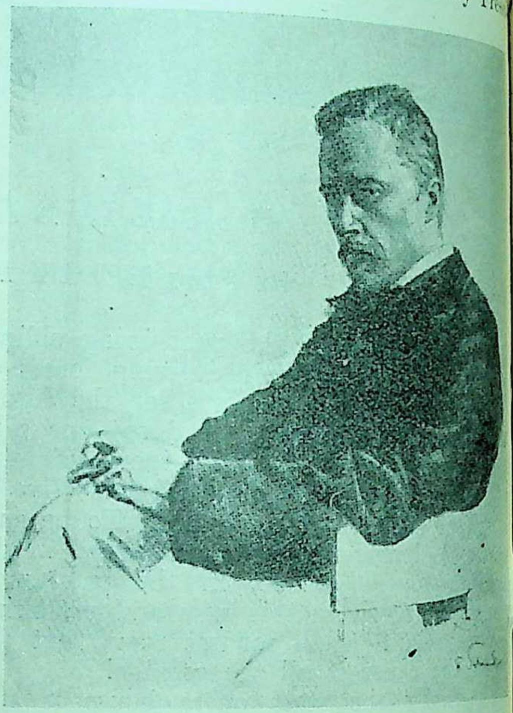
ances in the Schlossberg in Graz (in the first place "Fidelio" and "Salome") then we gain a very varied picture which gives much promise for dramatic art.

Of the great concert cycles those of the philharmonic orchestra, the serial concerts of the society of "Musikfreunde" and those of the "Konzertverein" must be mentioned first. The Philharmonic concerts are gradually introducing modern music to their program, though the selection often lacks a uniform line. This may partly be due to the fact that there is no permanent conductor to direct the concerts. No need to stress that the performances were masterly throughout! Among the conductors special mention should be made of Rodzinski, Toscanini, Bruno Walter (who also appeared as exquisite pianist) and Weingratner. A Brahm's concert conducted by Toscanini with the a major Serenade, the 2 symphony and the Haydn variations, was particularly fine.



Arturo Toscanini

Kabasta too in his cycle Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde-Ravag celebrated with the symphonic orchestra the 40th anniversary of Brahm's death in a festive manner. A double concert (Morini-Piatigorski) Haydn varia and the IV Symphony were performed. Altog these concerts of Kabasta are enjoying incr ing popularity for which a most succ program selection is partly responsible—in wh interesting modern work is combined with gr old masters. Among other things Karl Hol "Symphonic variations on a theme by Fr



Hugo Wolf

baldi" and Hindemith's *Schwanendreher* (wi the composer as soloist) were to be hea and also his Symphony "Mathis der Mele then Hugo Wolf's "Penthesilea" in its origi form, magnificent performance of Franz Schmi IV and Bruckners III; in the autumn Beethoven cycle was started.

The concerts of the "Konzertverin" w conducted by Karl Bohm, Reichwein's succes These concerts too, which are widely app ciated are also distinguished by excell program selections. Performances of Bruckn IV Sympohny, of Strauss' "Till Eulenspieg and (in an extraordinary concert un Knappertsbusch) of his "Alpensymphony" d serves partcular mention. As a matter fact, Richard Strauss himself conducted "Alpensymphony" in a monster concert w the philharmonic and symphonic orche which included Beethoven's V, and the fes Praludium.

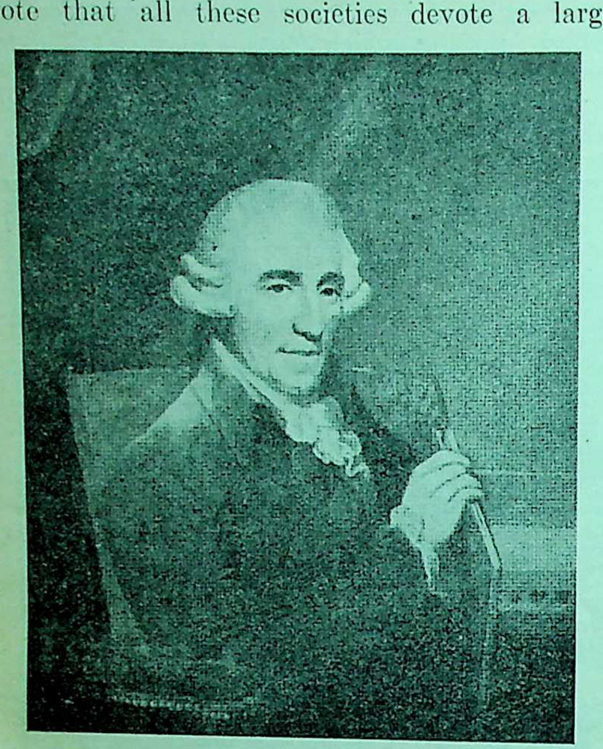
Apart from the Vienna symphonic orc tra,—which next to the philharmonic orche is most in demand in Vienna—other orchestral societies showed great activity; the "Tonkunstler Orchester" lead by Reichwein, the vigorous Vienna Kammerorchester which can also be heard in the Ravag (an Otto Siegl celebration under Erich Bruckner was a noteworthy event), the active Akademische Orchesterverein under Ferdinand Grossman, the "Ostmarkische Kammerorchester" under Erich Bruckner the old established women's symphonic orchestra under Julius Lehnert and finally the Musica-viva orchestra founded this autumn and conducted by Hermann Scherchen.

In the field of chamber music there was a slight increase compared to past years. There is the Rosequarted, the Sedlak—Winkler, Mairecker and Kolisch quartest as well as the more recent Graf-Kurz and *Konzerthaus* (concert house) quartets. Further there are the Milderleute, Lilly Weiss, Anita Astquartets and, by no means least, the active quartet Prix. They all play old music and admirably much new music. If the foreign societies are added to these, and they are ever willing to come,—and furthermore the popularity of chamber music at home, then the prospects for the future permit of a healthy optimism.

Salzburg Festival

The Academic Mozartgemeinde must also be mentioned in connection with chamber and house music, which favours ancient music played with ancient musical instruments.

The interest in vocal music has decreased slightly; singer concerts have become rare. A deep impression was made by Lotte Lehmann, Gigli, Schal Japin, Gerhard Husch, and Kiepura. Choral singing also rouses much interest. The state opera chorus celebrated the 10th year of its existence with a festive concert containing works from Palestrina to Richard Strauss; Bach's High Mass was performed with the philharmonic orchestra under Ferdinand Grossmann. To celebrate its 40th Jubilee the "Dreizehnlinden" chorus sang the Missa Solemnis in St. Stephens cathedral conducted by Ferdinand Habel. In this connection mention must be made of the church concerts which in spite of modest means strive to preserve the high cultural traditions. The large men's choirs: "Mannergseangverein," "Schubertbund," "Lehrer a capella Chor," etc., are all faithful to their well-earned reputation; last year they had the opportunity of showing their artistic ability abroad. It is most welcome to note that all these societies devote a large portion of their programs to modern contemporary production.



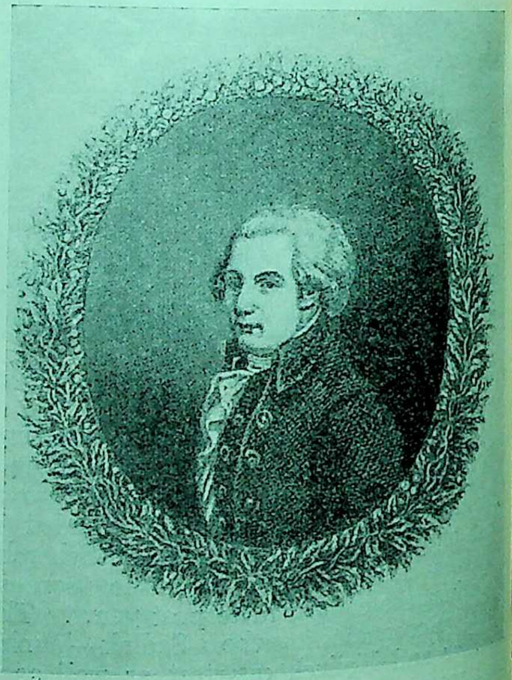
Joseph Haydn

The Vienna "Sangerknaben" occupy a special position and last year too they were able to consolidate their reputation abroad. Altogether greater attention is beginning to be attached to boy's choirs; a fine example of this is the "Sangerknaben von Winerwald," who are at home in Modling near Vienna, and were also most successful on tour.

The various Jubilees which had to be celebrated gave opportunity for music of all kinds. The gratest celebration was the one to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the "Gesellschaft der musikfreunde" which took place with fitting solemnity and brilliance. For the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde have been invaluable and unique furtherers of the concert life and musical development of Vienna and the preservation of valuable music documents in their archives, among other things 130 of Beethoven's letters are preserved there—is of great importance. And so the festival concerts, the series of which was opened by Bruno Walter conducting Mozart's G. Minor symphony and in which Kabasta conducted Bruckners VIII and Furtwangle Haydn's "Schopfugn" were veritable sensations in the musical life Vienna. Backhaus with Bram's B mi concerto, Casals with the Haydn concer the philharmonic and symphonic orches all did their bit to make the whole a succ We will also take this opportunity of mentio the Singverein and the Orchesterverein of Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde which, consis of amateurs, have achieved much of va during the last decades and which are a ready to welcome new production. This w confirmed once again by a performance of t Requiem by Vittorio Giannini under Kabasta

Other celebrations were made for the 15 anniversary of Gluck's death, for the memory Michael Haydn, Franz Listz, Carl Prohaska well as for the living artists Emil v. Sau Alexander Wunderer, Bernhard Paumgartn and others.

And now we must turn to the musi festivals of last year. They began accordi to tradition in the Vienna festival weeks, i June. The festival weeks closed with a magi ficent performance of Wagner's Ring conducte by Knappertsbusch in the state opera. Shortl after the Upper Austrian Bruckner festi was celebrated, which, under the name "Danube festival weeks 1937" can bo for the third time of a really brilliant succ Linz, St. Florian and Steyr were the pla where Kabasta, Ormandy and Weisbach co



Mozart

ducted works by Bruckner, Beethoven and Schubert and also, and this must be suitably emphasized, works of present-day composers, quite the contrary to Salzburg which seems to avoid most anxiously all modern production.

Salzburg once again attracted thousands of people (50,000 in all), for whom the unforgettable magic of the landscape was combined with the unforgetable magic of the performances to form an entity. Once again the operas, beginning with Fidelio and ending with the Magic Flute, the orchestral concerts, the cathedral concerts under Josef Messner, the serenades under Bernhard Paumgartner, etc., proved most impressive experiences and offered such a varied picture, that it is difficult to pick out individual achievements, all the more so as the whole world was full of the successes which, for instance, Knappertsbusch had with Rosenkavalier and Electra, Toscanini with Fidelio or Falstaff or the Magic Flute and Bruno Walter with Gluck's Orpheus, with Don Giovanni and Nozze di Figaro. An achievement of particular note was the IX symphony of Beethoven with Furtwangler. This festival summer added to its triumphs a concert with Lehmann—Bruno Walter, two evenings of the Strassburg Cathedral choir as well as a few Mozart performances,—in one of which Mozart's own piano lent its melancholy tones—and it led on, almost without transition, into the musical season in Vienna.

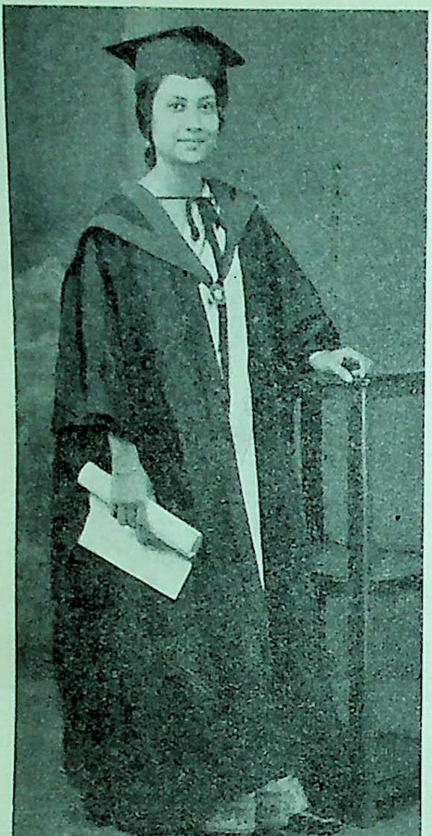
Though the present description is of necessity extremely limited and much of importance has had to be left out, yet those who are interested will be able to appreciate the signs of varied life in the world of music, to realize how, in spite of limited means, friends and lovers of music are doing all in their power to further and develop it. May the future bring full success to their efforts!

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

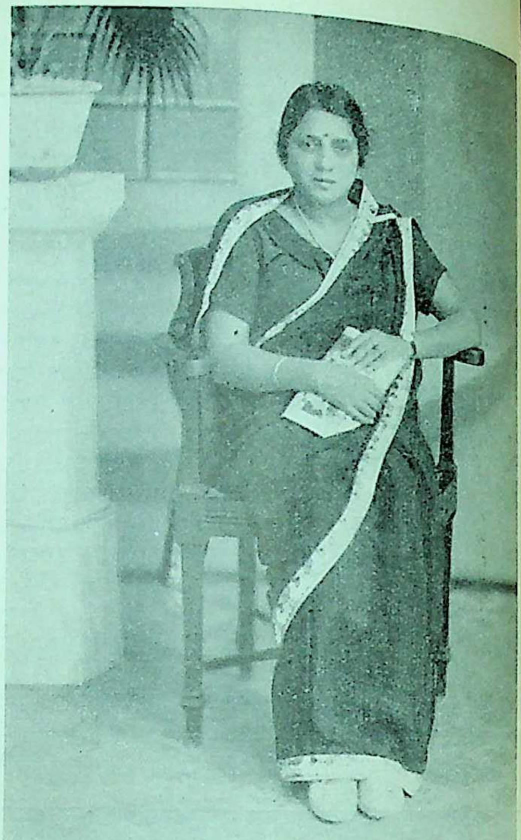
Srimati Kamala Roy passed her Matriculation examinations from the Bethune Collegiate School at Calcutta in 1932. The same year she was married early in May to Dr. Dhirendra N. Roy, Professor in the University of the Philippines, Manila, and went to Manila with him. At Manila she immediately entered the University of the Philippines and began to specialise in science. In 1936 she obtained the B.Sc. degree with a major in Botany. In this University she took some special graduate courses in algæ under the instruction of Prof. H. H. Bartlett, Chairman of the Department of Botany, University of Michigan, U. S. A., who came there as an exchange professor. Next she visited with her husband China and Japan and finally came to Europe. At Paris she began her post-graduate researches in the cytology of algæ under the guidance of Prof. Pierre Allorge, Director of the Laboratoire de Cryptogamie of the National Museum of Natural History and President of the French Botanical Association. She has recently finished writing her thesis. It has been accepted for her Doctorate degree (D.Sc.) at the University of Montpellier. The title of her thesis is *"Recherches sur la Structure du Noyau Quiescent et sur les Mitoses Somatiquse de Quelques Fucacees."* It has been published in the *Revue. Algologique*, Paris. Mrs. Roy has also been elected a member of the Botanical Association of France.

Dr. Kamala Roy, D.Sc. (Montpellier)

Srimati Kamala Debi, b.a., daughter of Sj. Asutosh Bagchi, Assistant to the Controller of Examinations was awarded the Mokshada Sundari Gold Medal by the Calcutta University, for her Bengali essay on the "Life of Sir



Srimati Kamala Debi



Mrs. Kamala Jamkhandi

Surendranath Banerjea," the subject was selected by the Syndicate, and was open only to lady graduates of the University. Srimati Kamala Debi, when an undergraduate student of the Vidyasagar College, in 1936, was awarded the Basanta Gold Medal for 1935 for her essay on "Health Education Through Schools in Bengal," which was published in *The Modern Review* of October 1936.

She passed the B.A. Examination with Distinction in 1937 from the Vidyasagar College.

MRS. KAMALA JAMKHANDI, B.A., B.T. (Bom.) T.D. (Dublin) the Karnatak Educationist, whose services were lent by Bombay Government to H. H. the Aga Khan Education Board, Zanzibar, has returned to India by s.s. *Tairea* recently after her successful work there for two years.

The sixth biennial Conference of the National Council of Women was held at Daryaganj, Delhi, during the first week of March. In the absence of Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore, Mrs. Brij Lal Nehru presided.

Lady Linlithgow in a message advocated that the prevention and cure of Tuberculosis is a matter that might well take a foremost place in the activities of the N. C. W. I. and urged the increase of Purdah Clubs where girls and women could play Tennis and other outdoor games and have classes of physical exercise in the open air.

On the following days several important matters were discussed under the presidentship of Mrs. Manek Lal Premchand, and following resolutions were adopted:

(*a*) A protest against the existing discrimination in Hindu law against the right of women.

(*b*) A recommendation to take immediate steps to provide for adequate machinery to make the Sarda Act effective.

(*c*) A recommendation that Provincial Committees should approach their respective Governments to formulate schemes of vocational education for adult women, and to urge that lady teachers should be employed in Municipal and District Board schools. The Conference further urged that immediate steps should be taken by the Government of India to abolish all recognised brothels in order to prevent traffic in women.

Notes

Appeal To Governments To Lift Ban On Communist Party In India

An appeal, signed by some two hundred Congress and Labour leaders belonging to various parts of India—mostly to Bengal, urging the provincial governments, specially those run by the Congress, to lift the ban on the communist party in India, has been recently issued and published in some daily papers.

As published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Town Edition, March 20, 1938) and *Advance* (Town Edition, March 21, 1938), it runs as follows :

> The Congress Ministries in seven provinces have removed the ban on all *bona fide* political and nationalist organizations which had been suppressed by the bureaucracy, but the ban on the Communist Party of India and its Provincial and District branches continues. A prosecution of two young men on the charge of assisting the operation of this body is proceeding in the United Provinces. In Bengal several young men are being tried under the same charge and the provisions of repressive measures originally designed for the suppression of terrorist activity are now freely used both in Bengal and in the Punjab against the Communists.
>
> It is well known that the Communists or the Communist Party do not contemplate the *immediate* organization of violence. This can be proved from their writings as well as from the judgments in the several prosecutions launched against them in the past. They may believe that a radical change of the present order of society and the establishment of socialism can be achieved only through the organization of the toilers on the basis of the principle of class struggle *and that in this process mass violence will have to be used against those who forcibly resist the change.*
>
> We consider that the Communists should have a right to propagate their views like any other *bona fide* political party. This right is guaranteed in other democratic countries like England, France and America. All honest persons who love liberty of thought, whether they agree with Communism or not, concede that in a civilized country the Communists ought to be allowed to exist as a party and enjoy the freedom to propagate their views. Even the Allahabad High Court in its judgment in the famous Meerut Case laid down that it was not criminal to hold Communist views. The guaranteeing of civil liberties requires that every citizen should not only be free to hold any political views he considers sound but also should have the freedom to persuade others to his way of thinking. Freedom of opinion and of organization is an elementary civil liberty, the basis of our modern civilization, the guarantee of its safety and any further progress. We, therefore, consider that the Communists in India should have a right to exist as an open political party just as in other democratic countries. We are of opinion that the Congress Ministries who are commanded in the election manifesto of our great National organization, the Indian National Congress, to restore the civil liberties of the people, should immediately lift the ban on the Provincial section of the Communist Party and pass resolutions in the Legislative Assemblies demanding from the Central Government to lift the ban from the Central All-India organization of the Party, its Central Committee.
>
> In doing this the Congress Ministers should be taking another bold step towards freeing the political life in our country from the shackles of imperialist repression and forging links of solidarity with a brother party which is struggling for the complete National Independence of our country." [Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*]

We are certainly for the lifting of the ban on the communist party in India; for as a party it has not done, nor does it propose to do, anything unlawful. But we are sorry we must criticize the appeal. We can only hope that no communist has drawn it up.

Every individual and every organization should undoubtedly have the rights asked for in the appeal printed above, provided that the exercise of these rights is not incompatible with the object of the State in the country in which the individual and the organization carry on their work. Therefore, in the abstract we think that the communist party in India should have these rights. Some of the laws in British India are unduly restrictive and repressive. All public-spirited persons should try to get these laws repealed or suitably amended. In the meantime those who feel hampered in their legitimate, if not also 'lawful,' activities owing to the existence of these laws, can only go on if they feel they must, and take the consequences.

We are at one with socialists and communists in their fight with poverty, though we may differ as to the means and methods and the spirit in which the fight should be carried on. We also agree that land and the natural mineral, vegetable, and animal wealth of the country should be nationalized, adequate compensation being paid to the present owners wherever necessary.

But we do not think there ought to be any separate socialist or communist party in a subject country. The first duty of all who love the land in which they live as subjects is to combine to attain the full status of citizens. India cannot become a communist or socialist state all at once or before she has become an autonomous or independent state. Moreover, the masses in India are at present far too ignorant and backward to understand socialism and communism with all their implications.

Congressmen, socialists and communists are all struggling to make India free. Hence, socialists and communists should all join the Congress and make a combined effort with Congressmen to win freedom for India. As for their other ideals, if they can convert the majority of Congressmen to their views, their purpose will be better served than if they worked separately.

As regards the appeal printed above and the agitation which is being carried on in Bengal for the lifting of the ban on the communist party, we are sorry we must say that, *so far as Bengal is concerned,* these are "a singularly unfortunate example of the art of doing a thing at the wrong time and in the wrong way and explaining it in the wrong language."

As to the "time," Mahatma Gandhi has not yet concluded his conversations with the Governor and the Ministry of Bengal relating to the release of detenus and political prisoners—we write this on the 23rd March, 1938. It is unnecessary to explain in detail that negotiations for the release of these political sufferers carried on by the high priest of non-violence on the understanding that the persons to be released do not believe in violence, and an agitation carried on simultaneously for the "legalising" of the communist party—a party which in its stronghold abroad has not been famous for non-violence, cannot consistently be parts of the same strategic or tactical move.

As to the "way," the right way should be to take the advice of Mahatma Gandhi in all such matters and be guided by it. Nothing should have been or should be done which might or may even indirectly stand in the way of the fulfilment of the mission of his visit in Bengal.

As regards the "language," the appeal says, "the Communist Party do not contemplate the *immediate* organisation of violence." It further said, "*that in this process* [of establishment of socialism] *mass violence will have to be used against those who forcibly resist the change.*" (These words in italics do not occur in the version printed in the *Hindusthan Standard,* Town Edition, March 18, 1938.) While complimenting the writers of the appeal on their frankness, we are constrained to observe that those who do not contemplate the immediate organisation of violence may not be against its subsequent organisation. As regards the use of mass violence "against those who forcibly resist the change," the resisters may be either private parties or the State itself. If the resisters be private parties, the Communists of India should seek the proper legal remedy, if available; they cannot expect the State to allow them to take the law into their own hands; for the "legalising" of the party by the State on the strength of this appeal would be indirectly sanctioning such procedure on their part. If the resisters be the State itself, how can the State, by "legalising" the party on the strength of the appeal, agree in advance to the use of mass violence against itself?

All Congressmen are committed to non-violence, at least as a policy. Therefore it is their duty to scan every word of every statement or appeal affecting or involving the policy or principle of non-violence, before signing it, if they are asked to do so.

Socialism and Communism In India

In the foregoing note we have not discussed the principles of socialism and communism. Perhaps we are not competent to do so. But we may be permitted to write a few words of casual comment. Before doing so, we shall quote a few sentences from a "highly provocative book," *Heredity and Politics,* by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, "one of the most outstanding and challenging personalities in science and politics to-day."

This book was published in England on the 8th February last and has been just received.

In the first chapter, devoted to an examination of "The Biology of Inequality," Professor Haldane writes :

> I wish to examine certain statements regarding human equality and inequality, some of which have been used to justify not only ordinary policy but even wars and revolutions. . . . .
>
> We will first consider the doctrine of the equality of man. I will quote from a great revolutionary document of the eighteenth century, the American Declaration of Independence, which was published in 1776 and is

> mainly due to Jefferson.—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This or a very similar doctrine of equality was important for the French Revolution. What did it mean in practice? The thirteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States' constitution were needed to abolish negro slavery and racial discrimination in the matter of the franchise. For whites it meant a very considerable measure of equality before the law, and it has, I think, meant a somewhat greater equality of opportunity than exists in England; but it did not give rise to any systematic attempt to bring about economic equality."

Coming to more recent times, the author observes:

> Modern revolutionary theory is much more modest in its statements regarding equality, though in practice it goes somewhat farther in that direction. "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity." So wrote Engels,* and the passage was considerably amplified by Lenin. Modern revolutionary theory looks forward to two types of society; Socialist society in which each citizen works according to his ability and receives in accordance with the amount of work done, and Community society in which each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. There is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union, but Communist society remains an ideal. Neither of these theories is equalitarian. Stalin in a report to the seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. said: "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism." Further, so far as I know, official Communist theory includes no clear statement of the origins of inequality other than economic.
>
> Now, although Jefferson regarded the truth of human equality to be self-evident, there is remarkably little positive evidence for the Jeffersonian theory, and its interest is, I think, mainly historical.

The Soviet Union has possessed and exercised sovereign power for a good many years. It has exercised this power most ruthlessly, never hesitating to imprison, banish, or execute those who stood in the way of the realization of its ideal, whatever their number. Yet, we are told in the foregoing passage by Professor Haldane in his latest work, published less than two months ago, that, *"there is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union"*—only a certain approximation, not full realization! As for a Communist society, why even in the Soviet Union, that holy of holies of Communists, it still remains only an ideal! We do not for these reasons say that no one in India should cherish socialistic or communistic ideals—and we know that, even if we were to say so, our opinion would not influence Indian socialists and communists at all. What we say is that the first duty of politically-minded Indians of all schools is to concentrate all their efforts on winning freedom for India. When freedom has been won or all but won, different groups may try to remodel society and the State according to their ideals.

In the modern Indian languages of Sanskritic origin, the word Communist is generally translated as *samyavadi*. That word connotes that communists are for human equality. Yet we have seen that *neither socialist theory nor communist theory is equalitarian* and that Stalin himself has said that "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements *are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism.*" Engels wrote that "any demand for equality which goes beyond that [*viz.*, "the abolition of classes"], of necessity passes into absurdity." But the idea underlying the word *samyavadi* is that there is to be equality, economic, political, and what not. Our masses are completely in the dark as to economic, political and social theories, and even our educated classes do not possess much up-to-date and definite information on these subjects. Hence, the declamatory preaching of communism under the name *samyavad* among the former, and among the latter also to a great extent, is likely to raise expectations of a coming equalitarian Utopia which must remain a dream.

There are people in all countries, including ours, who will not listen to commonsense unless one quotes "high" authority for what is said. Hence we have been obliged to bring in Haldane, Engels, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. But ordinary experience and commonsense show that, not to speak of work requiring genius, expert knowledge, or special skill, even in fields of unskilled labour the amounts of work done in a stated period of time by different persons differ to a considerable extent. If several persons are set to breaking stones or bricks, using the spade or the axe, driving the plough, or copying from manuscripts or books, it will be found that they have not done the same amount of work during the same period, and the quality of the work done will not be the same in the case of the different workers. Therefore, they cannot justly claim the same remuneration, though all may be entitled to a minimum living wage. The man who does more and better work may generously forgo his claim to higher wages

---

*Friedrich Engels, the socialist, "is best known as the friend, colleague, and continuator of Marx." *Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*

in favour of less competent persons and be satisfied with a living wage. But that is his generosity; inferior workers cannot demand any share in his just earnings.

This is not a plea for paying any man a hundred, five hundred, a thousand or ten thousand times as high a salary as another man gets;—enormous differences in salaries are unreasonable and unjust. What we are trying to show is that complete equality of remuneration is neither natural nor just even in the case of ordinary unskilled work of various kinds. And the scale of remuneration, to be just, must be different in the case of different kinds of work, requiring varying degrees of expert knowledge, special skill, or genius. Even in Soviet Russia the authorities have been obliged to pay some workers a hundred or five hundred times the wages paid to ordinary labourers in order to secure the services of experts and specialists.

The Communist-Fascist Struggle

In Europe the Communist-Fascist struggle has been, for more than a year, very fierce and ferocious in Spain, and promises to be more widespread and intense in course of time, spreading to other countries. Fascism is in the ascendant now. Except in Spain, nowhere else has its challenge been accepted. Britain is neither fascist nor communist—perhaps it has a soft corner in its heart for fascism. But it will not take up the challenge of either party unless and until its own interests are directly affected. Soviet Russia wants to take up the challenge of fascism and has recently done a little kite-flying to ascertain if it can expect to have any allies. Nazi Germany has conquered and annexed Austria without actual fighting, though this conquest has been followed by treks and numerous 'suicides.' Czechoslovakia may be the next victim.

The communists have got the upper hand in Russia by bloodshed and it is by continuous purges involving very many executions that they are able to maintain their position. In Spain slaughter is still going on. In other European countries, wherever there is a Communist-Fascist struggle, violence is in evidence. *But nowhere in Europe is a clear and decisive victory for either party in sight.*

Potential Communist-Fascist Struggle In India

In India there is a socialist-communist party, but no fascist party yet. Perhaps the capitalists and land-holders (variously called zamindars, taluqdars, etc.) have not yet become sufficiently dynamic. We are entirely against the enactment of the communist-fascist tragedy on the Indian stage. Our imagination recoils at the thought of its possibility—perhaps because we are timid, not cast in the heroic mould. But should there be such a struggle in India, there is sure to be violence and bloodshed, as foreshadowed in Bihar and Cawnpore. And in such a struggle, at least in the beginning, the fascists are likely to be better able to command up-to-date arms than the socialists-communists. In Europe, the struggle is still going on without any bright prospect for either party. If that is the case in European countries, which are all independent, socialists-communists in *subject* India cannot expect to have a walk-over. In Europe the communist-fascist conflict is a two-party fight. In *subject* India, it will be a three-party fight, fascism and imperialism being on one side and socialism (or communism) being on the other. The latter, therefore, cannot have a walk-over.

But is such a struggle unavoidable, inevitable, in India? The Congress is the biggest and the most powerful popular organization in India. The expression "slave mentality" or "servile mentality" is more often on the lips of Congressmen than on those of others when they want to condemn their opponents. We humbly venture to think that, if anybody thinks that for the economic and political salvation of India a class struggle on the European model is the only way, that India needs must have communism of the European or Russian sort, he does not betray a non-servile mentality. Why must we copy Europe in everything? For winning independence Gandhiji has found in *Satyagraha* a non-violent, moral substitute for war and Congressmen have accepted his method. If there be a non-violent substitute for war between country and country, between Britain and India, can there not be a non-violent substitute for struggles between classes in the same country? The critic may here object and say: "You are taking for granted that class struggle in India will be attended with violence, but it may be non-violent." We shall be glad indeed if it be non-violent. But the signs point in a different direction. Any struggle on the European model between Haves and Not-Haves is likely to have features of the European type.

Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders have on many occasions arbitrated between Labour and Capital with satisfactory results. May there not be a national board with Gandhiji at its head to mediate between the Haves and Not-Haves and to lay down the principles and policy to be followed in all class struggles?

The communal decision of the British Government, whatever its intention, has accentuated and aggravated communal strifes. Communal strifes *are* a kind of class struggle. Congress proposes to find a substitute for the communal decision in an agreement amicably arrived at between Hindus and Muhammadans. Congress does not favour group struggles in this case. Nor do we in any case that may lead to violence. In the case of propertied groups, however, *e.g.*, ruling princes, capitalists, landholders, Congressmen seem to be for a fight to the finish. Perhaps propertied persons are lost souls—particularly when they are not members of the Congress; for there are several very wealthy men who are followers of Mahatma Gandhi. *They* are not lost souls.

Once upon a time we asked an Indian communist or socialist why he and other Congressmen do not try to win over the zamindars and capitalists to the Congress cause, thus leaving them to side with the foreign bureaucracy and imperialists. His reply was to the effect that those people are already allies of the foreign bureaucracy and imperialists, meaning that Congressmen have not driven them to side with the latter. That is true, but it is also true that many zamindars and capitalists are members of the Congress. But is it not also true that the vast majority of Indian Muhammadans and of their leaders are allies of the opponents of Indian freedom? If Congress can negotiate with them, as it ought to, why can it not negotiate with the propertied classes?

Like other communist-socialists, Congress socialists are, we believe, against anybody having private property. But some at least of their leading men do have very comfortable private property. That, however, is a digression. Property is desired by people not for its own sake but because it is or may be a source of income. Jobs in government departments and offices are sources of income and are in that respect exactly like property. By ear-marking high percentages of these jobs for particular communities the British Government in India has given these communities a proprietary right in them which is not in substance different from giving them jagirs. So far as we are aware Congress has not yet passed any resolution against this communal decision No. 2. Perhaps Congress will find a substitute for it in an agreed settlement No. 2. But as propertied men in the ordinary sense are lost souls, there will not be any agreed settlement with them.

Private Property of Individuals, Nations, Etc.

In socialist or communist theory individuals have no right to private property. That is to say, according to British communists no Britisher ought to own a British coal mine, iron mine, etc.; according to Russian communists no Russian ought to own a Russian coal mine, iron mine, etc. But the same communists hold that the British nation (that is, the aggregate of all Britishers) owns all British mines and the Soviet Russian State owns all mines in Russia. That is to say, the private property of every individual national is zero, but the private property of the aggregate of these nationals is a big something.

Coming to India and supposing that India has become a communist state, we must hold that no Indian has a right to any private property but that the aggregate of all Indians owns all the wealth of India of all kinds. That is plain. But is it also plain that the aggregate of all the persons living in each province and in each district of India owns all the wealth of each province and each district. If that also is clear, some other questions must be answered. Provincial boundaries and district boundaries have changed from time to time and may again change. Those changes involve much group expropriation and also much vesting of new property in re-formed groups. What right has anybody to expropriate any group and vest property in another group or sub-group?

Let us take some examples.

According to communist theory, all wealth in Andhra-desha belongs to the aggregate of persons inhabiting Madras Presidency, including the people of Andhra-desha. If Andhra becomes a separate province, the aggregate of the people of Andhra will become owners of its wealth but the aggregate of the people of the other parts of the Madras Presidency will lose their share of the right to Andhra wealth. According to what communist law of justice or equity?

Formerly, the people of Bengal in the aggregate had their share of their right to the wealth of Manbhum, Hazaribagh, etc. Now they have been deprived of that share. It has been transferred to the aggregate of the people of Bihar. According to what communist principle of justice or equity?

We need not give other examples or refer to district boundaries.

We have said that in the hypothetical future communist India, the aggregate of all Indians will own the aggregate of all wealth in India. Oriyas, Biharis, Bengalis, etc., are included in the aggregate of all Indians; and Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, etc., are parts of India. Therefore, may it be concluded that in that future-India Oriyas, Biharis, Bengalis, etc., will have some right to the wealth of Orissa, Bihar, Bengal, etc.? If then, why not now?

The existing boundaries of all independent countries were not their boundaries in previous ages, centuries, or even decades. Therefore, the *National* wealth of these countries has not remained the same. Some nations have by conquering and annexing new territories become owners of the wealth of these territories. Does communism recognize the acquisition by a nation of such wealth by conquest? If it does, as it must until there is a world revolution and the formation of a world communist state, why does it not recognize the acquisition and keeping of private wealth by private individuals by honest individual labour? Is it because the private individual in a communist country can be coerced and expropriated, but communist states cannot coerce and expropriate non-communist states? So, might is right?

In communist theory and practice, individuals must not own some acres, however honestly acquired, but large aggregates of individuals called nations can own thousands and millions of square miles, however dishonestly acquired. But perhaps we are doing some injustice to communism. Perhaps, when the world revolution, of which they have ceased to talk latterly, comes, all mankind will be the masters of all wealth everywhere. But, it is to be hoped, even at that time people will have such private property as their own saris and loin-cloths, punjabis and coats, pyjamas and pantaloons, shoes and sandals, pens and pencils, and the like. Every one must have some minimum private property. If the aggregate of nationals called the nation can have their national property, called the motherland, why not allow the smaller unit called the family to have its homestead so that little children may have a home to call their own? To have a home to call one's own is necessary for the growth of personality. If the earth can be rightly cut up into continents, countries, provinces, counties, cantons or districts (divisions which are not all Nature's handiwork), owned by large or small aggregates of individuals, why stop short and draw the line there? Is it unnatural for the smallest aggregate, the family, and the smallest unit, individual, to own something?

Communism And The Abolition Of Classes And Castes

"The real content of the proletarian de for equality is the demand for the abolitio classes." So wrote Engels, the socialist, fr and colleague of Marx. Property, rank certain amount of education—these and the distinguish the classes from the masses, proletariat. But these can be acquired. C is one of the meanings of class, and it cann acquired. In Britain, the son of a very p man, a landless labourer with little education, acquire riches, become a lord and a man of h rank. He becomes a member of the cla In India one of the plebeian class can beco rich and can also become a Raja, a Mahar a Nawab, a Knight; more can obtain the ti of Rai Saheb, Rao Saheb, Khan Saheb, K Bahadur, Dewan Bahadur, etc. So the g between the masses and the classes is not imp able in India, too. But the kind of distinct denoted by caste cannot be acquired. Brahman is born a Brahman, and whether be rich or poor, illiterate or learned, virtu or vicious, he remains a Brahman. No amou of wealth or learning or virtue can make non-Brahman a Brahman. In ancient tim Brahmanhood could be acquired, as anci Sanskrit literature testifies. But one's cas is unchangeable now. One can become cas less by leaving the orthodox Hindu fold, but o cannot change one's caste.

If by a communist is to be understood o who stands up for human equality—social a political equality, if not also economic equal he must work wholeheartedly for the abolit not only of classes but also of castes, too, and an example in his own person of both classl ness and castelessness. Mahatma Gandhi d not call himself a communist, and he is advocate of *Varnashram dharma* as he und stands it. But his life shows that he is fo classless, casteless society and for the politi social and, as far as practicable, econo equality of all persons.

Members of the communist party in In should ask themselves whether their life is concrete illustration of the ideals for which co munism stands. Such of them as live substantial residences, whether inherited or b or hired by themselves, and if their standard living is decidedly above that of the masses, th certainly cannot convince others that they convinced and sincere communists. Again, if they preach the obliteration of classes but themselves observe caste distinctions as regards marriage and dining, such preaching cannot be convincing. It is easy to declaim against titles and capitalism, but it is not so easy to give up caste.

Industrialization and Capitalism in India

Most Congress leaders, including the present president of that bdoy and his predecessor, want India to be industrialized in the sense in which many European countries, the United States of America, and Japan are industrialized. They want big factories, equipped with up-to-date power-driven machinery, for large scale production. Such factories can be started in India at present only by capitalists. If there were State socialism in India, the State would no doubt establish and work such factories. But at present India being a subject country, if the Government were to establish factories, they would not be Indian concerns and their profits would be absorbed by Britishers to a considerable extent. Indian State Railways are a big industrial enterprise. But it is not India which solely, exclusively or mainly derives advantage from them. There can be real State socialism in India which will be advantageous mainly to India when India becomes free and autonomous. So long as India is not free, industrialization is possible only by the enterprise of Indian capitalists. Hence, without sacrificing the interests of Labour, Indian capitalistic enterprise should be encouraged. It is not *impossible,* though it is difficult, to industrialize India in another way, which is the one enjoined and approved by Mahatma Gandhi. It is by the revival of India's indigenous village and cottage industries and the introduction of new village and cottage industries necessitated by the march of civilization and the advancement of science. This method of industrialization is preferable on moral grounds and for preventing the workers from degenerating into wage-serfs and parts of machinery, as it were. It would also better serve the purpose of full utilization of India's vast man power. But the Western type of industrialization can be shorn of its defects and harmful features. And it duly recognizes the dignity of man's intellect and fully utilizes his inventive powers. The dignity of bodily labour deserves recognition, and thinkers and workers have recognized it. But one is reminded of the indignity of manual labour, if it is insisted that human hands must do the work which a machine invented by man's intellect is capable of doing.

Perhaps in the long run in all countries, all men will be able to utilize the time and energy, saved by the use of machinery, to make progress in knowledge, culture and spirituality.

Tagore's Science Primer

Rabindranath Tagore's science primer in Bengali, named "Visva-Parichaya" or "Introduction to the Universe," was published some six months ago. Within four months of its publication, a second, revised and enlarged, edition had to be published. This second edition in its turn has had to be reprinted in a month or so. This we learn from a copy of the reprint just received. Happy news to lovers of literature and science.

Gandhiji Deprecates Demonstrations During Political Prisoners' Release Negotiations

Our first editorial note in this issue was written on the 23rd March. In that note we have said that meetings held for lifting the ban on communists are at present untimely. We had expressed a similar opinion to some Congressmen before the 23rd March. In the morning papers of the 25th March we found the following :

> An appeal to workers and the public not to hold demonstrations and meetings and the like and to the prisoners and detenus to be patient while the negotiations on the question of release of political prisoners and detenus were going on, was made by Mahatma Gandhi in the course of a short statement immediately before leaving Calcutta at 8 last night for Delang.
>
> Gandhiji says : "I am sorry to have to interrupt the negotiations for the release of detenus and political prisoners as I must keep an appointment in Delang. I hope to return on April 1, and resume the negotiations. I would urge workers and the public not to hold demonstrations, meetings and the like while the negotiations are going on. I would also urge the prisoners and detenus to be patient and feel sure that I shall leave no stone unturned to redeem the promise I have made for bringing about the desired relief."

The demonstrations and meetings deprecated by Mahatma Gandhi do not exclude those held for urging the provincial and central governments to lift the ban on the communist party in India.

Summer Vacation

In most provinces of northern India and perhaps elsewhere, too, schools, colleges and universities enjoy a long summer vacation. The population of India is more rural than urban. Large numbers of our students have their homes in villages. If these students of ours can acquire as much knowledge as possible during the vacation, of their own and neighbouring villages, including the standard and ways of living of the rural masses, that will be a valuable equipment for their future work as citizens. The shouting of national and revolutionary slogans or electioneering for this candidate or that, is no substitute for such knowledge. On the contrary, *active* participation in politics while one is still a student prevents one from forming one's character and acquiring knowledge—knowledge even of politics. Many students shout political slogans and are carried away by the excitement of political agitation, but will not sit down to read a book written even by some great political thinker.

Those of our students who have scientific curiosity can make good use of their vacation and have a happy time of it if they try to get acquainted with all the wild flowers, fruits and plants and the birds, butterflies and various insects in their neighbourhood. They may also collect different kinds of stones.

In many districts there is distressing scarcity of water in the hot months. It is no doubt the duty of the government and district boards, unions and rich landholders to come to the rescue of the village people at this time. But, whatever the reason, they do not always and everywhere get adequate help. Older students can organize Bands of Self-help. That would be doing fundamental national work, cementing real friendship and camaraderie between the classes and the masses.

Illiteracy prevails to a far greater extent in rural regions than in urban areas. Each student can make at least ten persons, juvenile or adult, literate during the long vacation. Will they do it? Illiteracy in India cannot be liquidated unless literates in general, old and young, lend a hand.

In more than one place, we exhorted some women workers to ascertain how many girls in their part of the village or town were illiterate and were receiving no schooling, and to make arrangements for their tuition. But to no effect. The women workers, like the male workers, like agitation and sensation and revolutionary slogans more than "reformist" humdrum and slow but solid work. We wonder if our political leaders ever told their followers that even in countries like Russia and China where there have been and may again be revolutions, the rank and file had for years done "reformist" educational work.

Students' Political Organizations

Those students who have attained majority and are politically-minded may come members of the Congress or some political organization to their liking. who are minors should bide their time. is no reason why students should have separate *political* organizations. Such sep organizations mean waste of time, energy money. We do not write this with refe to students' clubs, associations and the like discussing politics. Students not only may should have their debates on political subj

Capital has its politics, Labour has politics, Peasants and Farmers have their poli Traders and Shopkeepers have their pol Landholders have their politics, Congress its politics, Liberals have theirs, Socialists Communists have theirs, the Hindu Mahas and the Muslim League have theirs. students—whose main work is study building up the body and mind, who are mi minors, who are maintained by their guardi who are in the formative and prepara period of their life, and who come from dif ent communities, classes and ranks of soci all having politics or no-politics of t own,—students as such do not have and can have any separate and special kind of poli of their own.

It is natural and legitimate for them expect to achieve political distinction become political leaders; but not while they still students.

Criticism of Present Social, Political and Economic Systems and Orders

The old order changeth yielding place new. And to bring in the new order,—whe social, political or economic, both destruc and constructive criticism are necessary. old social, political or economic order has t attacked, no doubt. But the object of attack should be the order, the system, w has to be mended or ended—not the pers who represent that order or system.

In the existing order—social, political economic, some persons or classes may oc privileged positions. Others, who feel dep of their human birthright, may become env jealous, or angry, and in criticising the order they may be disposed to attack the sons or classes occupying advantageous tions. But it should be borne in mind these persons did not create the existing order; they are only the inheritors of a

76396

system. So the criticism, the attack should be such as to be calculated to convince even the privileged inheritors of the old system of its evils. It is difficult to bring home to people the evils of a system which gives them advantage. They may obstinately defend it and thus make themselves obnoxious. Moreover, many of these persons of privileged classes may be bad men whose life and conduct are apt to rouse the wrath of others or excite their hatred or contempt. These people cannot expect to escape criticism. It may even be the duty of social, political and economic reformers to criticise their life and conduct and make them the objects of righteous indignation or expose them to ridicule and contempt.

Nevertheless, the general rule to be followed is to criticise the system, the order, to be mended or ended, not the persons who appear to have advantage over their fellow-men.

And privileged persons are not wholly to be envied. They may not even be at all enviable. Just as crutches do not develop men's power to walk or run fast and firmly, so privileges do not develop people's real manhood.

Frightfulness in Europe

Let us take it for granted that the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Fascists in Italy, Germany, Spain,......are trying to make their nations great. But their leaders are trying to do so by their frightfulness. They may think that their end justifies their means. But they are wrong.

The frightfulness of the dictators and of the men who carry out their orders brutalizes them, and those who are subjected to their terrorism either die or live as wretched dehumanized specimens of humanity, in spite of their apparent strength. No economic or other advantage, claimed by the dictators as having accrued to their nations, can outweigh these evils. Subjection and submission to dictatorship is a sign of political decadence, as submission to infallible guru-ism is a sign of spiritual decadence.

Reform of Secondary Education

We have received a brochure on the Reform of Secondary Education in Bengal by Prof. N. C. Bhattacharyya dealing with the salient features of the existing system of school education, a historical retrospect of the various proposals made from time to time to institute a Secondary Board and a "dispassionate presentation and criticism of the problems involved" in the Draft Secondary Education Bill. Though we are not in agreement with the writer's views regarding the advisability of a large Board or the constitution of District Advisory Committees, we commend the historical portion, which clearly shows how at each stage the communal composition of the proposed Board has been more and more pronounced. While the Sadler Commission reserved only 3 seats for Mahomedans in a Board of 15 or 18, the recent draft proposed a reservation of 15 out of 34 seats. But communalism apart, there are other serious objections to the recent move to control the schools in the province with non-academic objectives.

"Religious" Riots

The riots which are called "religious" have no religion in them. They are irreligious.

The prime minister of the United Provinces and some other ministers have made it clear in the U. P. Assembly to what great extent the communal propaganda carried on by the Moslem League in the Provinces and the lies of the Urdu press there were responsible for the riots in Allahabad, Benares and some other places in the U. P. It is unnecessary to repeat here in detail what the ministers said. They have quelled the riots successfully and very quickly.

These riots are not only extremely lamentable, they are disgraceful, too, in addition to being sanguinary and politically, socially and economically injurious to all parties concerned.

A Non-Violent Army to Quell & Kill Riots

In connection with these riots Mahatma Gandhi writes as follows, in part, in *Harijan*:

> Time has arrived to consider the nature of Congress non-violence. Is it non-violence of the weak and the helpless or of the strong and the powerful? If it is the former, it will never take us to our goal and, if long practised, may even render us for ever unfit for self-government.
>
> The weak and the helpless are non-violent in action because they must be. But in reality they harbour violence in their breasts and simply await opportunity for its display. It is necessary for Congressmen individually and collectively to examine the quality of their non-violence. If it does not come out of real strength, it would be best and honest for the Congress to make such a declaration and make the necessary changes in its behaviour.
>
> NON-VIOLENT ARMY
>
> "By this time, *i. e.*, after seventeen years' practice of non-violence the Congress should be able to put forth a non-violent army of volunteers numbering not a few thousands but lacs who would be equal to every occasion where the police and the military are required. Thus, instead of one brave Pashupatinath Gupta who died in the attempt to secure peace, we should be able to produce hundreds. And a non-violent army acts unlike armed men, as well in times of peace as of disturbances. They would be constantly engaged in constructive activities that make riots impossible. Theirs will be the duty of seeking occasions for bringing warring communities together, carry-

ing on peace propaganda, engaging in activities that would bring and keep them in touch with every single person, male and female, adult and child, in their parish or division.

"Such an army should be ready to cope with any emergency, and in order to still the frenzy of mobs should risk their lives in numbers sufficient for the purpose. A few hundred, may be a few thousand, such spotless deaths will once for all put an end to the riots. Surely a few hundred young men and women giving themselves deliberately to mob fury will be any day a cheap and braver method of dealing with such madness than the display and use of the police and the military.

"It has been suggested that when we have our independence, riots and the like will not occur. This seems to me to be an empty hope if in the course of the struggle for freedom we do not understand and use the technique of non-violent action in every conceivable circumstance.

"To the extent that the Congress ministers have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent in my opinion we must admit our failure.

"That the ministers could not have done otherwise is unfortunately only too true. I should like every Congressman, I should like the Working Committee to ask themselves why we have failed if they think with me that we have."

As Mahatma Gandhi is non-violent in thought, word and deed, and fearless, too, ready to meet death any moment non-violently for a worthy cause, the supremely heroic remedy for riots, suggested in *Harijan*, has most fittingly come from him.

Gandhiji's Definition of a Swadeshi Company

The following is Mahatma Gandhi's definition of a Swadeshi Company, as given in *Harijan* :

"As regards the definition of a Swadeshi company I would say that only those concerns can be regarded as Swadeshi whose control, direction and management, either by a managing director or by managing agents are in Indian hands. I should have no objection to the use of foreign capital or to the employment of foreign talent when such are not available in India or when we need them, but only on condition that such capital and such talents are exclusively under the control, direction and management of the Indians and are used in the interests of India. But the use of foreign capital or talent is one thing and the dumping of foreign industrial concerns is totally another thing. The concerns you have named cannot in the remotest sense of the term be called Swadeshi rather than countenance these ventures. I would prefer development of the industries in question to be delayed by a few years in order to permit national capital and enterprise to grow up and build such industries in future under the actual control, direction and management of Indians themselves."

Enlightened Civic Administration of Mohen-jo-Daro

In the course of a flying visit to Karachi Rao Bahadur Kashinath N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology, answered many questions asked by some pressmen. Asked
his impressions of Mohen-jo-Daro, Rao B
Dikshit said :

He began his work of research in 1925 and had
a thorough study of this illuminating centre. He f
the people of India in those periods were far a
the people of other continents in regard to town-p
and the amenities which they had enjoyed were u
of in Egypt and Iraq. There seems to have been a u
and well-conceived scheme of civic administration in
no slums existed at all. The population seems t
been a wealthy, commercial and industrious oli
probably the ancestors of the present industri
enterprising commercial section of Sindhis kno
Bhaibunds. There were proofs to show that even in
B.C., Mohen-jo-Daro was as cosmopolitan a city as K
is today.

The problem is, added Rao Bahadur Dikshit, how
civilization built up by most worthy inhabitants could
come to such an abrupt end without leaving any
behind for the successors, till, after a few thousand
Buddhism again enlightened this province. World i
has been aroused and foreign explorers are visiting
to unravel the puzzle, but the sons of the soil look
concerned.

From the fact that no arms for war
have been found at the excavated site
Mohen-jo-Daro, Mr. Aldous Huxley has c
to the conclusion that the ancient people
dwelt there were pacific, that being a proof
the opinion of that distinguished author t
people could make great advance in civiliz
without addiction to and participation
warfare.

Germany Conquers and Annexes Austria

If people dwelling in neighbouring regi
or countries belong to the same race, use
same language and have the same religion
culture, and if they willingly and of their
accord, without any coercion, form one St
there can be no objection to such a developm
On the contrary such amalgamation may
welcomed. But the swallowing up of Au
by Nazi Germany by an overwhelming show
force is nothing of the kind. It is nei
federation, nor confederation. It is conq
and subjection, pure and simple. Austria
acknowledge Hitler's supremacy in every res
and in all departments of life.

Great Britain has not come to the rescu
Austria. Neither France, nor any other po
And, of course, not Italy.

Of all people in Austria the Jews are
greatest sufferers. Blank despair faces
200,000 Jews there. They are deprived of t
places in the public services and profess
No wonder, there have been hundreds of suic
among them, and the usual average of 4 bu
a day among the Jews in Vienna has alr
exceeded 140 a day. Even an octogen

eminent scientist like Dr. Freud is under arrest for the offence of being a Jew.

Vienna is distinguished for its eminence in medicine and surgery and other branches of science, and in music and other arts. Many of the most celebrated names in science and arts in Austria are those of Jews. So, Nazi persecution of this long-suffering race will greatly injure the cause of science and arts in Austria. An esteemed Vienna contributor has sent us an account of Austria's achievement in music, which is published elsewhere in this issue.

Among the victims of Nazi persecution in Vienna is Dr. Heinrich Neumann, the eminent throat, nose and ear specialist, who treated Rabindranath Tagore in the Hotel Imperial of that city in October, 1926. The editor of this Review was also under his treatment at that time. A year or so ago ex-King Edward VIII placed himself under his treatment.

What has added to the distress and despair of the Jews in Austria is the practical refusal of Britain to admit Jewish refugees. Britain has hitherto had the proud distinction of affording shelter to political refugees. That glory has departed.

Anti-Semitism

The persecution of Jews all over Christendom has been a blot on Christian civilization. In former ages, when most people in Christian countries believed in some sort of Christianity, anti-Semitism was due to religious bigotry and fanaticism. But in modern times, when faith in religion has declined in the West, the persecution of the Jews is due more to other causes than Christian bigotry and prejudice. The Jews distinguish themselves in science, literature and the arts, and attain great success in business. This rouses the envy and jealousy of their "Christian" neighbours.

Many Jews migrated to and settled in India centuries ago, and have been living here peacefully ever since. That does not show that they are a quarrelsome people.

It is true that Judas Iscariot who betrayed Jesus Christ was a Jew. But Jesus was himself a Jew and his other apostles were Jews. So, if Christians have reason to hate Jews for producing one Judas, they have ample reason to love the Jews for giving them their saviour Jesus, his many true apostles and all the great prophets who preceded Jesus.

Poland and Lithuania

Poland wanted to treat Lithuania as Germany has treated Austria. So Lithuania has chosen to prudently accept Poland's ultimatum. As in the case of Austria, so in that of Lithuania, none of the great powers have intervened.

Bombing of Non-Combatants in Spain

The civil war in Spain continues as furiously as before. The insurgents have bombed the non-combatant civilian population of Barcelona, killing hundreds including women and children. America has protested against this savagery. But of what avail are wordy protests behind which there are no military or economic sanctions?

The recent rapid advance of the insurgents seems to indicate that the war may soon end in victory in their favour.

Nazi Eye On Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia has a large German population. Hitler wants to bring under his sway at least the Germans there, if not the Czechs also. Masaryk's republic cannot expect any help from Great Britain and not, of course, from Italy either. France may help. For Germany has already become very strong, and any further aggrandisement of Germany will make the position of France precarious. Russia is in favour of intervention.

Soviet Russia and German Aggression

> Moscow, Mar. 17.
>
> An invitation to all great Powers to discuss the action necessitated by the occupation of Austria and the threat to Czechoslovakia, is being sent out by the Soviet Government today, announced M. Litvinoff to foreign correspondents.
>
> He supplemented this with an assurance "that the Soviet Union is ready to participate in collective action, which aims at checking further development of aggression and eliminate the danger of a new world massacre."
>
> Germany, Italy and Japan had not been invited, "because it is fruitless to argue about aggression with an aggressor."
>
> He said the Soviet would know how to act singly should joint action fail.
>
> Asked how it was possible to help Czechoslovakia since she had no common frontier with the Soviet, M. Litvinoff replied, "Where there is a will there is a way."
>
> He added whereas the Chinese and Spanish wars mainly affected countries immediately contiguous, the Austrian occupation presented an immediate menace to eleven countries and the whole world.
>
> The above-mentioned invitation has not yet been received in London nor has there been any preliminary contacts to that end.—*Reuter*.

It is probable that, if the Soviet Union has to act, it will have to act singly, or perhaps with the help of France.

When criticising America and the great European powers for not fighting on behalf of weaker countries against their aggressors, we do not at all suggest that it is easy to do so *now*. Now all the aggressors are stronger than when they first began the game. Japan's aggression in Manchuria could have been stopped, and if it had been stopped, Japan would not have begun the war against China now going on. Nor would Italy have felt encouraged to invade Abyssinia. Italy's unchecked aggression in Abyssinia has encouraged General Franco in Spain, and also Hitler to annex Austria.

All the imperial powers have built up their empires by aggression, and so they hesitated and could not whole-heartedly venture to nip in the bud the aggression of the new players in the imperialist game. These players have now become powerful experts and cannot be easily tackled.

British Foreign Policy

The British Government were unable at present to give a special guarantee of help to Czechoslovakia in the event of an attack by Germany, stated Mr. Neville Chamberlain in the course of a long statement on the international situation in the House of Commons on the 24th March last.

Continuing he said, "Britain is ready to render any help towards the solution of questions likely to cause difficulty between the German and Czechoslovak Governments. Meantime there is no need to assume the use of force or indeed talk about it. That will only do harm and interfere with the progress of diplomacy and increase the feeling of insecurity."

He added, "Peace is the greatest interest of the British Empire. That does not mean nothing will make us fight (Cheers). We are bound by treaty obligations which entail the necessity of fighting if an occasion arose."

He hoped nobody doubted that we should be prepared in such an event to fulfil those obligations (Cheers). There were certain vital British interests for which we should fight, if they were menaced—the defence of British territories and communications which were vital to our national interests. There were other occasions too, under which we might fight if it was a choice of fight or abandoning of all hope of averting destruction of those things we held dearest. He added, "Nevertheless our object must be to preserve things we consider essential without war if that is possible, because we know that in war there are no winners (Cheers). There is nothing but suffering and ruin for those involved and even if we are not directly involved with our worldwide trade ramifications we will be involved in consequences which must sooner or later react on ourselves."

Concluding Mr. Chamberlain emphasized the need for acceleration of rearmament, especially of the air-force and anti-aircraft defences. He hoped that it would yet be possible to arrive at a reasonable balance in armaments by agreement instead of free unlimited competition.

The gist of all this is that Britain will not fight unless her own interests are directly involved and that, too, not until she has armed herself satisfactorily. That is why she has got rid of Eden to please Italy and has even agreed to give financial help to Italy indirectly.

Professor Meghnad Saha

We are glad for the Calcutta Univer that professor Dr. Meghnad Saha, F. R. the eminent physicist and mathematician, accepted the post of Palit Professor of Phy of the Calcutta University. But we are for the Allahabad University, which loses distinguished a scientist and educationist. the present Dr. Saha comes here for a y But Calcutta hopes to be able to retain services till he is at least 60 years Besides science, Dr. Saha is interested in has special knowledge of various "nati building" projects, such as the resuscitati training and control of our rivers, the su industry, the jute industry, and the like.

Sino-Japanese War

All lovers of national freedom are glad feel encouraged that China's resistance Japan grows stiffer. In man-power China immensely superior to Japan, and in mode military equipment her position has be improving.

Multi-lingual Provinces in India

Bombay Presidency is a province whi includes several linguistic areas, such as Maha rashtra, Gujarat and part of Karnataka. Befor the recent introduction of provincial autonomy Sindh was also included in it. All these lingui tic regions are not equal in extent, nor are th speakers of Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, an (formerly) Sindhi equal in numbers. But th most numerous, or the more numerous, neve considered the others "foreigners", "outsiders" or interlopers, or required them to produce certi ficates of 'domicile' to become eligible f appointments in the public service or for stu in educational institutions. The speakers each language have considered and treated th speakers of the other languages as equal citi zens of the Bombay Presidency.

Madras Presidency is also a province whi includes several regions in each of which mo of the inhabitants use a distinct language, su as Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, an Tulu. In this presidency the different par occupied by the speakers of these languages a not equal in area, nor are the speakers of the languages equal in numbers. Nevertheless, is only right and reasonable, the most numero linguistic group or the larger linguistic groups not consider the others "strangers", "aliens" "foreigners", and so forth. All are equ citizens.

In the Central Provinces and Berar

main languages, Marathi and Hindi, are spoken. Their speakers do not treat each other as "foreigners" or "interlopers."

When we come to the *province* of Bihar, we find a different state of things. This province consists of the *sub-province* of Bihar proper and the *sub-province* of Chota Nagpur. But, the whole *province* is called Bihar. That has perhaps led the Biharis to think that their civic and political status is superior to that of the Bengalis in the province. Before 1912, the *sub-province* of Chota Nagpur formed part of the *province* of Bengal, along with Bihar and Orissa. And in Chota Nagpur there are areas, such as Manbhum, which are predominantly Bengali-speaking, the other more or most numerous inhabitants being aborigines, *not* Biharis. Districts like Manbhum ought to have been and ought to be included in Bengal, for they *are* parts of Bengal.

Now, when Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur formed one province, the Bengalis were never so foolish, illogical, 'anti-legal', or unreasonable as to require Biharis, Oriyas and Chota Nagpurians to produce domicile certificates.

But Bengali-speaking persons even in parts of Bengal like Manbhum must produce a domicile certificate to get a job in the public service anywhere in the province of Bihar! This is absurd. Why, they are as much citizens of Bihar province as the Biharis. As for Bengali-speaking men in Bihar proper, we do not see why they should be required to produce a domicile certificate. Some of them have been long settled in Bihar—some families have been there from pre-British days. But apart from that fact, they are citizens of India, they have not come from Peru or Patagonia or Zululand. Is a Marathi-speaking man living in Gujarat, a Gujarati living in Maharashtra, a Tamil living in Andhra, or a Telugu-speaking man living in Tamil-nad, required to produce a certificate of domicile?

As the *province* of Bihar includes parts of Bengal, Bengalis of that province have as much right to all the advantages of that province as the non-Bengalis of the sub-province of Bihar proper. That the Biharis of the province of Bihar are more numerous than the Bengalis of that province is no more a justification for the Biharis to consider Bengalis outsiders, than the fact that the Marathi-speaking people of Bombay are more numerous than the speakers of Gujarati there would be a justification for the former to consider the latter interlopers.

Bengali-Assamese relations in the *province* of Assam would excite laughter, if they were not deplorable. This province includes parts of Bengal, like the district of Sylhet and parts of Goalpara and Cachar. And the Bengali-speaking population in the province of Assam is far larger than the Assamese-speaking population. Yet, because the *province* is called Assam, both the Government and the Assamese people of the province appear to think that the Bengali-speaking people there can live and earn their living there only on sufferance. To require the Bengali-speaking people of Assam to produce certificates of domicile is no more reasonable than it is in Bihar.

The reason why in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and the Central Provinces and Berar, the speakers of Marathi, Gujarati, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Hindi, etc., do not require one another to produce certificates of domicile, is that they can hold their own against one another in educational qualifications. That is not the case in Bihar and Assam. The Biharis and the Assamese did not or could not take to Western education as early as the Bengalis. But that is not the fault of the Bengalis. Nor is it the fault of the Bihari community in Bihar and the Assamese community in Assam that they have to try to avoid open competition with the Bengali community in Bihar and the Bengali community in Assam respectively by the assumption that they have a claim to jobs in public services and seats in educational institutions prior and superior to that of Bengali communities in Bihar and Assam.

Asking For Domicile Certificates Illegal

Sub-section (1) of section 298 of the Government of India Act, 1935, runs as follows:

> "298.—(1) No subject of His Majesty domiciled in India shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in India, or be prohibited on any such grounds from acquiring, holding or disposing of property or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession in British India."

To require a Bengali in Bihar to produce a certificate of domicile goes against both the letter and spirit of this provision in the Government of India Act.

It is not Biharis but Bengalis in Bihar who can ask the Governor to protect their legitimate interests, according to sub-section (3) of this section 298; for they, not the Biharis, are a minority in Bihar. This sub-section (3) runs as follows:

> "Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the special responsibility of the Governor-General or of a Governor for the safe-guarding of the legitimate interests of minorities."

We are not lawyers. So we cannot say whether the legality of the Bihar Government's insistence on the Bengalis in Bihar producing domicile certificates can be tested in the High Court or the Federal Court.

Have Bengalis Been Swamping the Services in Bihar ?

The cry that Bengalis have been swamping the services in Bihar is a false cry. Bihar became a separate province in 1912. At and before that time Biharis had not made as much educational progress as they have since done. Moreover, when the province of East Bengal and Assam ceased to exist, many of its Bengali officers were transferred to Bihar. For these reasons the services in Bihar had a considerable number of Bengalis in them at that time, and those of them who have not since then either died or retired are still there. In judging whether Bengalis are swamping the services in Bihar, one must take into account only those Bengali Government servants who have been appointed since 1912. The names of Bengali officers of the all-India services serving in Bihar should not be taken into account. Lastly, in considering whether Bengalis have got a disproportionately large number of berths in Government offices and departments, one must bear in mind, not the percentage of the population of Bihar constituted by them, but the percentage of the English-knowing population of Bihar proper which they form. For adult Bengalis in Bihar proper are mostly literate. If all these precautions are taken in arriving at an impartial conclusion, it will be found that Bengalis appointed since 1912 have not at all got more than their due share of appointments.

Bengalis and Provincialism

Bengalis are no more a perfect people than others. They have their defects. But they are not the most provincially-minded nor the only provincially-minded people in India. If some of them, not all of them or most of them, have advocated the policy of "Bengal for the Bengalis," it was long after the policies of "Bihar for the Biharis," "Assam for the Assamese," "Orissa for the Oriyas," had been formulated and followed and Bengal's business, big and small, and Bengal's labour market had been captured by non-Bengalis. Even in such circumstances cultured, thoughtful and liberal-minded Bengali nationalists like Mr. Anilbaran Ray, whose article is printed elsewhere, condemn the cry "Bengal for the Bengalis."

We will mention some facts to show that perhaps Bengalis have a small amount of broad-mindedness. Many streets and parks in Calcutta bear non-Bengali names, such as Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Mohammad Ali, etc. We shall be glad to publish the names of cities and towns outside Bengal which have named more streets and parks after Bengalis. Calcutta University recognizes all the principal languages of India. We shall gladly publish the names of other Indian Universities which do so. The most important chairs in the Calcutta University have been held by non-Bengalis, like the late Dr. Ganesh Prasad, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Mr. Manu Subedar, Mr. Manohar Lal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Taraporewala, etc.

It is not for proving that Bengalis are a faultless people or that they are better than others that we have said these things. These are intended to show that we are perhaps not wholly bad.

Tagore's Plays in Orissa, Germany and Czechoslovakia

Mr. Anilbaran Ray has quoted in this issue, p. 405, a passage from the *Vaitarani* of Cuttack to show that its editor took it as an insult to Orissa that one of Tagore's plays had been selected to be staged by the girls of the local girls' school. In 1926 we saw Tagore's *Post Office* played in Dresden and in the German theatre and the Czech theatre in Prague. These three theatres and the adjoining streets were so crowded with admiring crowds that ingress and egress were very difficult at the time.

Why is a Tagore play an insult to Orissa but not an insult to Germany and Czechoslovakia?

Another Charge Against Bengalis in Bihar

It had been said before and the charge has been repeated recently that Bengalis in Bihar do not merge their identity in that of the Biharis and call themselves Biharis.

If this be an offence, Bengalis in Bihar are not the only offenders. In Bengal there are Hindustanis, Biharis, Oriyas, Marwaris, Gujaratis, Panjabis, Sindhis, Marathas, Tamils, Telugu-speaking persons, Malayalis, Kashmiris, Nepalis, etc.; but none of them merge their identity in that of Bengalis. Some of them can speak Bengali and do speak it in conversation with Bengalis. But Bengalis in Bihar also can and do speak Bihari and Hindi in conversation with Biharis and Hindustanis.

Gujaratis dwelling in Maharashtra have not become fused with the Maharashtrians, nor the latter living in Gujarat with the former. The Tamil-speaking and Telugu-speaking peoples have not become one people by social fusion in areas predominantly Telugu or Tamil-speaking. Examples need not be multiplied.

Unity is desirable. Whether complete fusion and uniformity are also equally desirable, we will not discuss here. It is necessary here only to say that there are socio-religious, linguistic and cultural difficulties standing in the way of a complete fusion of the peoples living in different parts of India.

If Bengalis had no developed language and literature of their own, no culture of their own, and some manners and customs peculiar to themselves, or if all these were decidedly inferior to those of the other peoples of India, it would have been desirable and easy for them to lose their identity. But they have their own language, literature, culture and customs, and they do not think that these are all decidedly inferior to those of others, though others may do so.

Bengalis in Bihar are advised to make common cause with Biharis. They have done so. They have done their bit for the educational, social, religious and economic progress of the country and gone to jail like others by taking part in the Congress movement.

An Achievement of the Frontier Assembly

Among the other noteworthy achievements of the N.-W. Frontier Assembly is the passage of a Bill in favour of the repeal of section 124A (the sedition section) of the Indian Penal Code and of several repressive laws and the modification of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code so as to make it harmless to the cause of freedom. Has it been approved by the Governor of the province?

New Ministry in Sindh

In consequence of the defeat of the old ministry in Sindh, a new (coalition) ministry has been formed. The Congress party in the Sindh legislature is not represented in it, but it will co-operate with and support the new ministry in all measures in consonance with Congress principles and policy. The strength of the Congress party is such that its vote can keep the new ministry in power or throw it out. The new ministers appear to be giving effect to Congress ideals.

Panjab Premier on Shahidganj Bill

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the prime minister of the Panjab, has shown both courage and statesmanship in opposing the introduction of a Bill drafted by a Muslim M. L. A. for enacting that a mosque must always remain a mosque in spite of decisions of law-courts, long-continued adverse possession and use otherwise than as a mosque, and so on. The Lahore High Court, on appeal, having decided that Shahidganj was no longer a mosque, parties of Muslims have been continually courting arrest by going to perform worship there, and many have been arrested and sent to jail. The Bill was meant to nullify the High Court verdict. The Panjab prime minister has seen the danger of the blow to judicial authority involved in the Bill and also the menace to peace and communal harmony in the legislative recognition of the opinion, "Once a mosque, always a mosque." Mussalmans are not the only people who love their religion and places of worship. If the Muslim cry were heeded, others would raise the cry, "Once a temple, always a temple." And there would be no end to attempts at legislative enactments, litigation, and communal riots.

Bihar Education Minister's Appeal

Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of Bihar, has appealed to the teachers and students of the province to co-operate with the government in liquidating illiteracy. We heartily support this appeal.

Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths

The Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths held its sessions in Madras on the 12th, 13th and 14th March last in the spacious University Examination Hall, facing the beach. It was kindly lent for the purpose by the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, who also spoke at one of the sittings and acted as sectional chairman. The first session opened with a prayer. The Maharaja of Pithapuram, the president of this fourth Congress, delivered a speech worthy of a spiritually-minded man and a devout believer in God. The success of the Congress was not a little due to his influence and financial backing. Miss Sakuntala Sastri, secretary to the Congress, had worked hard for days on end, with the result that on all the three days there was a galaxy of speakers, the attendance was large and the audience included many of the most important members of the public in Madras, including Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the prime minister. Many prominent persons made speeches, such as Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, Dr. F. W. Thomas of Oxford University, Sir K. V. Reddi, Dr. G. S. Arundale, Her Highness the Maharani Saheba of Nabha, Dewan Bahadur S. E. Runganathan (Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University), Prof. Kanga, Sardar Sardul Singh Cavishere, the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, Rev. Siddhartha (a Buddhist monk), Mr. S. A. W. Bokhari, M. L. C., etc. Among the foreign delegates Mrs. Gasque (the director of the Congress), Mrs. Elizabeth Bedlington Hopf, Mrs. Georgena M. Gault, Prof. Leesar, and Mr. Franz Giger made speeches. Mr. Watanabe, a Japanese delegate, read a paper on "Shintoism."

Vidyamandirs in C. P.

The Vidyamandir scheme of the Central Provinces education minister, if properly worked out, will go a great way to remove illiteracy in that province.

Congress and Education

For years, after non-co-operation began, Congress had paid little attention to education proper, its attention being concentrated on winning Swaraj in a year. At present, Congress leaders appear to be somewhat more in earnest about educating the masses.

Premature Release of a Felon

A man of the name of Zaffar Hussain, of the Central Provinces, "a triple graduate", a Khan Saheb, and "an inspector of schools", was convicted last year of criminally assaulting a Hindu girl and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment and a heavy fine. His conviction was upheld in appeal in the Sessions Court and the High Court, the latter expressing the opinion that the punishment was unduly lenient. This fellow has been recently released by the minister of law and justice in C. P., one Mr. Yusuf Shareef, without consulting his colleagues! The prime minister of the province has said that he came to know of the affair only after its publication in the press. It is said Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is investigating the matter. In the meantime, the released felon has migrated to a neighbouring Indian State and been appointed an officer in the education department. The C. P. minister of justice and the appointing authority in this Indian State ought to be sent to an unnameable region for their fine moral ideals. But for the present the former ought to be dismissed and sent to Coventry.

His previous history is interesting.

> He was not a Congressman until after the ele when in the Congress search of a Muslim Minister was got at, it appears, by Maulana Abul Kalam Az and he signed the Congress pledge in order to be a Minister.

The Hindus of C. P. are greatly exci over this disgraceful affair—particularly women-folk.

Bombay Home Minister Criticized

The Leader writes:

> The action of the Home Minister of the Bo Government in suspending for 15 days the sentences imprisonment passed on two persons convicted under Gambling Act to enable them to settle certain busi affairs led to an adjournment motion in the Bo Legislative Assembly by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. . . . T motion was, of course, defeated.

The Bombay Sentinel writes:

> For years the Congress and other political parties the country have been railing against abuses of its po by executive authority under the bureaucratic regi We expect something better now from a Congress Minis We expect to be freed from these administrative scanda but this exhibition of the misuse of executive power serve the convenience of a couple of *suttoreas*, who h been given their deserts by the High Court, suggests th our expectations are not to be fulfilled . . . There is can be no defence of the Minister's conduct. It has even the excuse of a bureaucratic precedence, in th presidency at any rate.

The Servant of India also has severely criticised Mr. Munshi, the home minister. He has deserved such criticism.

The Late Maharaja of Patiala

The (late) Maharaja of Patiala died las month at the age of 47. He was a leadin member of the Chamber of Princes and it Chancellor for eight years. He was a kee cricketer and spent large sums to encourag sport. During the last few years he had bee thinking of democratising the administration o his State and giving an effective voice to th people in the management of their own affairs He set up a constitutional committee in Februar last to go into these questions. Perhaps wh the committee submits its report, the Yuvaraj who is now the Maharaja, will introduce liberal measure of reform.

Disturbed Conditions in Palestine

Palestine continues to be in a disturbe condition.

> JERUSALEM, Mar. 27.
>
> Collective fine of five hundred sterling has be imposed on the village Khanyunis near the railway li in south Palestine, where a military petrol lorry w wrecked by the explosion of a land mine last Thurs when one British soldier was killed and another seriou injured.
>
> A punitive police post has been established in th

village. Isolated outrages and murders of Jews and Arabs continue.—*Reuter.*

Indiscipline Among Bihar Students

We are sorry to read the following :

PATNA, Mar. 26.

The Senate of the Patna University today accepted the amendment to university regulations empowering the Syndicate to take disciplinary action against students found guilty of misconduct or breach of discipline.

In the U. P. also in some centres of high education there was indiscipline among students last year.

Bride Refuses To Marry Much-married Lothario

NAHAN, Mar. 27.

Discarding their veils, a dozen Hindu women marched out of the women's quarters and stopped the polygamous marriage of a wealthy merchant just as it was about to take place. Cries of 'shame' and 'Down with polygamy' greeted the bridal procession on its way to the marriage pandal (marquee), but as the bridegroom took no notice of their protests, the women threatened 'satyagraha' at the pandal. The bride, thereupon, announced amid the acclamation of the women that she refused to go through the marriage.—*Associated Press.*

Opening of Bhonsla Military School

NASIK, Mar. 27.

A refreshing downpour of rain preceded the formal opening ceremony of the Bhonsle Military School by H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, which had to be postponed yesterday owing to the tornedo which swept over Nasik. After some time the rain ceased and there was bright sunlight again.

His Highness on his arrival was presented with a guard of honour and was received by Dr. Moonje. The open air ceremony commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram" sung by the cadets.

Mr. Pratab Sheth, welcoming H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior, referred to the want of an Indian army and said that Indians should not look to the British troops for their country's defence.

The Principal of the School read out a number of messages, including those from Lord Willingdon and the Governor of Bombay. The Vice-Principal then read out the substance of the progress of the school during last year. Dr. B. S. Moonje presented an address to H. H. the Maharaja of Gwalior. His Highness then delivered his address.

In moving a vote of thanks, Dr. Moonje announced that he had received a communication from the Huzur-Secretary of the Maharaja of Gwalior making a donation of one lakh for the school. He also stated that it was the desire of the Maharaja to appoint two representatives, one the Army Minister and the other some Minister from the Gwalior Government on the Board of Directors of the School so that H. H. might remain in touch with the progress of the school.

Dr. Moonje expressed his gratefulness for the Maharaja's decision. He also announced an anonymous donation of Rs. 5,000 from Calcutta for creating a Bengal block.

The Maharaja will be visiting the Maratha boarding-house tomorrow.

It is estimated that the damage due to yesterday's storm amounts to about Rs. 50,000. There has been some damage to the grape crops.—*A. P.*

Sentences in Moscow State Trial

MOSCOW, Mar. 13.

All the accused persons in the Soviet treason trial, except Rakovsky, Plevney and Bessenov, were sentenced to death today.

Rakovsky, a former Soviet Ambassador in London, was awarded twenty years and Plevney and Bessenov twenty-five and fifteen years respectively.

MOSCOW. Mar. 16.

The 18 accused sentenced to death in the treason trial were shot.

All the accused held important offices in Soviet Russia and, according to the charges brought against them and according to the confessions of all or many of them, they were guilty of treason. They had treasonable secret relations with many European governments. What a revelation of the ethical ideals and the sense of honour of these men and of many European governments!

Successive pillars of the Soviet State have been brought to trial and found guilty of most culpable conduct. It cannot be said that no high officers of State in other countries, professing some religion or other, have ever been convicted of such offences. But anti-God Soviet Russia appears to hold the record in such crimes.

It would not be right to inquire if the present incumbents of high offices in Russia are men of higher ideals. But lurking suspicions are apt to raise their head. Let us hope everyone of them is the real Simon Pure. Though we are not communists, we sincerely believe that the future of mankind depends a great deal upon Russia becoming and remaining free from tyranny and treachery of all sorts and from imperialism, capitalism and fascism.

"National" and Foreign Education

With reference to the question of advocates of national education giving foreign education to their children, *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay writes :

In democracy everyone has the right to educate his children as he pleases and we do not see what good it does the country to condemn men's actions with political catchwords. After all, in education a man may be trusted to give his children that which he thinks is the best for them. There is room for complaint only when a man recommends a particular type of education for other people's children and rejects it in the case of his own. We have in mind the news that has recently been published in the press that Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj's son is studying for the barrister's examination in England and a son of Kaka Kalelkar, whom one might call the prophet of the new education in India, is at Oxford. If the young men had gone abroad for technical education, it would have been easy to have given the whole matter the semblance of consistency. Now the two leaders of Congress thought appear in the peculiar position of the Troll-king in Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," who proudly announces the Swadeshism of his people,

> "Here all things are mountain-made, nought's from the dale,
> Except the pink bow at the end of your tail."

A Non-Bengali Comment On Domicile Certificates

The Indian Social Reformer of Bombay writes :

> One of the surprising facts brought out by the controversy over the position of Bengalis in Bihar, is that they are required to procure "domicile certificates" from the district authorities. We do not know of the existence of such a practice in any other part of the country. It would also seem that this requirement is confined to Bengalis. Whatever might have been the defect of the old Hindu and Muslim regimes, provincialism was not one of them. In British India until twenty years ago provincialism was regarded as a narrow anti-national sentiment. At no time was nationalism so much talked about as at present. Surely to require people from a neighbouring province to take out "domicile certificates" is not in accord with nationalistic ideals.

We have to repeat here what we have written in a previous note. The present province of Bihar consists of Bihar proper and some regions which formed parts of the province of Bengal before 1912 and of which the Bengalis were the principal inhabitants even before British rule. In fact, they have been at least for centuries parts of natural or geographical and linguistic Bengal and have been tacked on to Bihar since 1912. Most "Bengalis in Bihar" are natives of these regions. Very many Bengalis have been in Bihar proper for generations and have no homes in Bengal. Large numbers of other more recent settlers also in Bihar proper have no homes in Bengal.

All these classes of Bengalis are liable to the production of a "domicile certificate."

Result of the "War to End War"

The Living Age for March, 1938, writes :

> "Twenty-five wars, great and small, have been fought since the world sat down at Versailles to establish an enduring peace. Each of the past three years has witnessed the beginning of a new war : in East Africa in 1935, in Spain in 1936, in China in 1937. Not included is the perennial struggle between the British and the Arabs in Palestine, the British campaign against the Waziri tribesmen under the Fakir of Ipi, or the bombing of the Hadramaut Arabs by the Royal Air Force. The disturbing aspect of the 1935-37 wars is the fact that each new war has been greater than its predecessor. War is in the air; believing it to be inevitable, many peoples have lost their old fear. Will 1938 bring a new and still bigger war—perhaps the general conflict that will, it is said, destroy Western civilization ?"

C. P. Minister of Justice Resigns

Since writing our note on the premature release of a felon in the Central Provinces we have learnt that Mr. Shareef, the minister who released the man, has resigned. He has done the right thing.

Governor-General Certifies Finance Bill

Neither according to the old Government of India Act nor according to the new could and can the Central Legislature exercise any control over military expenditure. But up to 1937, its members could act like a debating club reference to it. This year the Gover General deprived them of the right to t pastime. So the elected members refra from discussing any part of the Finance Bill threw out all demands one by one as they c And hence the Governor-General has certi "that the said Bill is essential for the inter of British India." The Central Governm can now spend whatever they wanted to sp in any department.

This is a fitting prologue to the intro tion of Federation.

This is Popular Government, not Dicta ship.

U. P. Drive Against Illiteracy

BENARES, Mar. 1

> The 'Associated Press' understands that Sampurnanand, the new Education Minister, U. P. Gove ment, is contemplating a bold step for fighting illiter According to the proposed scheme each district in U. will have forty centres for spreading education am the adult population.
>
> In addition to this 4,000 reading rooms with suita newspapers will be opened at primary schools for liter people and each district will have twelve libraries. C culating libraries, radio lectures with lantern slides a cinema will also be used as a means of spreading edu tion, each district being provided with two radio a two lantern-lecture centres.
>
> Physical training in schools and intermedia colleges and military training, including the use of fi arms in intermediate colleges, are proposed to be mad compulsory throughout the province, while vocational education will receive attention.—*A.P.*

Protective Duty On Salt

Owing to the protective duty on forei salt, the Indian salt manufacturing industry h made considerable progress. But it has not y completely ousted foreign salt from the mark And in Bengal it has not made as much progr as elsewhere, though it is a maritime province a formerly had a flourishing salt industry. T Bengal Government got sixteen lakhs of Rup from the Central Government from the s revenue, which the former ought to have sp for promoting the salt industry in Bengal. did nothing of the kind. On the contrary. found out an "expert" who declared that s could not be manufactured in Bengal on commercial scale! Now however the Beng ministry have promised to do all that lies in power to promote the industry. That is encouraging response to public opinion. B something more is necessary. The salt du will cease to be imposed from the current mo of April. It ought to be renewed and maintai for a further term of years.

The Last Calcutta University Convocation

Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered the convo tion address at the last convocation of t

Calcutta University for the conferment of degrees. He struck a new vein and dwelt on the need and importance of friendship between the students and their teachers and among the students themselves and spoke of his own experiences in this regard. He observed that small classes were better for gaining this object than crowded ones and also for teaching. It was easier and more effective to appeal to the small group mind than to the big crowd mind. He also pleaded for removing at least some colleges to the outskirts of towns. All this is undoubtedly necessary. Greater approach to educational ideals will be made when promoters of education get more money from the Government and rich men.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, who is the Chancellor of the University, delivered a short extempore speech, in the course of which he observed :

> If they looked round the world, the East and the West, they found suspicion between people and nations and they wished a little more friendship were brought out in the lives of the people of the world.

While it would not be true to say that the weaker and subject nations could do nothing to foster international friendship, it is the stronger and independent nations who can do most to remove suspicion between peoples and nations. Without their cordial initiative and co-operation, the efforts of the weaker peoples would not be of much avail.

Communal schools, colleges and Universities in India serve partly as obstacles to the growth of inter-communal friendship.

> Proceeding, His Excellency said that the graduates who were entering the threshold of life had the best wishes of all present, who had travelled more down life. Many of the young people who were entering life would have great struggle ahead. They should remember that they would go up into life equipped with chances which were denied to many millions of fellow citizens. His Excellency appealed to graduates to make service the key-note of their life.

We cordially support this appeal.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the Vice-Chancellor, declared in the course of his address :

> However important and fundamental the changes which we have recently introduced in various parts of our University organism, the time has now definitely come when we have to probe deeper into our educational system as a whole and strive strenuously for improvement. Public opinion in this province will not for a moment tolerate any proposals which under the cloak of reform may aim at restriction of facilities. We want more education and better education, and any reformer who can satisfy us in this respect will find enthusiastic support from all. While on the one hand we have to guard against the dominance of vested interests, we must also recognize that existing institutions which have worked for the advancement of education under tremendous difficulties, cannot be deleted by a stroke of the pen. True statesmanship must discover a satisfactory way of readjusting and utilizing all existing resources, both in man-power and in materials, and evolve a new system of education capable of complete fulfilment before long.

Midnapur Vidyasagar Memorial Committee

On the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Midnapur branch of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat ("Bengali Literary Academy") a day was set apart as Vidyasagar Day in honour of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was born in the Midnapur district. Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., magistrate of the district, delivered an address, of course in Bengali, as president on that day. We learn from it that the Vidyasagar Memorial Committee had resolved (1) to place a marble or bronze bust of the great philanthropist and author on the site of the house in Birsingha village where he was born, and to build a hall adjoining the Bhagabati Vidyalaya founded by Vidyasagar in memory of his mother, to locate a library and keep relics therein; (2) to metal the road from Khirpai to Birsingha village at a cost of Rs. 10,000; (3) to erect a Vidyasagar Memorial Hall in Midnapur town at a cost of Rs. 30,000, to serve as a town-hall; (4) to set apart Rs. 4,000 for awarding a gold medal every year to the best research worker in Bengali language and literature; (5) to publish an authoritative edition of Vidyasagar's works.

Thanks to the zeal and energy of Mr. Sen and the Committee many of the proposals have already begun to be carried out. The public spirit and munificence of the Midnapur District Board, the Raja of Mahishadal and the Raja of Jhargram are worthy of special mention. The first volume of the memorial edition of Vidyasagar's works will be found noticed on another page.

Returned Emigrants' Sad Plight

> "They have now one single craving which is as deep as life itself, namely, to get back to their own homes in the colonies and become colonials once more," said Mr. C. F. Andrews in the course of a broadcast talk to-night on the problem of "Returned Emigrants" from the Calcutta Station of the All-India Radio.
>
> Mr. Andrews said that while possibly fifty per cent. of the emigrants get taken back by their own village communities there were many who were rejected. There were many who had tried village life in their former homes of up-country and had failed: "and their one passionate cry is for a ship to take them back to Fiji, British Guiana or Trinidad, where they would be able to live as they had lived before." They, however, fail to get a passage "for their money is all spent; they are starving and even shelterless. They cling together in their misery and will not go away from docks for fear they should miss a steamer."
>
> "Some have been waiting there round the docks for twenty years! Some only came a year ago! There is one further ship due this very year, which has already been chartered by the British Guiana Government. If it starts, it will bring back from 600 to 900 more to add to all our troubles!'

Honour to Prof. D. K. Karve

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve, founder and lifelong devoted worker of the Hindu Widows' Home in Poona and of the Shrimati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey Indian Women's University, will complete the 81st year of his long, beneficent and strenuous life on the 18th of this month (April). We offer him our respectful and cordial congratulations and greetings in advance. We have no doubt the occasion will be celebrated with due solemnity and magnificence.

Princes' Power Of Constitutional Advance In Their States

The Indian Nation of Patna writes :

> It is highly satisfactory to have the authoritative statement made by Earl Winterton in the House of Commons, on behalf of the British Government, that 'it is not the policy of the paramount power in ordinary circumstances to intervene in the internal administrations of full-powered Indian states.' 'The paramount power', he maintained, 'will certainly not obstruct the proposals for constitutional advance initiated by a ruler.' This authoritative declaration of policy by the British Government should give a quietus to the speculations raised by the statement of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, that the extension of responsible government in the states would involve an infringement of the treaties between the states and the paramount power. . . . Earl Winterton made the position clear by declaring that 'the consent of the paramount power had not been required before constitutional advances had been approved by the princes, nor, so far as we are aware, has it been sought in such matters.'

Earl Winterton's pronouncement is satisfactory so far as full-powered Indian States are concerned. If these States do not allow their subjects to manage State affairs in increasing measure, their rulers are to be held responsible. But Earl Winterton said nothing about States which do not enjoy full powers. If there be no constitutional advance in these States, will the sovereign power be to blame or the States themselves?

South Africa Does Not Train Indian Doctors

Indian Opinion of South Africa writes :

> A Commission has been appointed to enquire into the facilities for medical education for all races. No facilities exist for the training of non-European Doctors in the Union. Thousands of pounds are being spent by Indians to train Indian Doctors, who, perforce, have to proceed overseas to pursue their studies. It is hoped that when the Commission sits at Durban, the Indian community will not lose the opportunity to present its case.

Bengal Civil Liberties Union on "Mahatmaji in Bengal"

Bengalis are grateful to Mahatma Gandhi for his strenuous efforts at great inconvenience to himself to release the detenus and political prisoners of Bengal, and so is the Bengal Civil Liberties Union. It continues to publi revealing statements. In its statement No. dated 18-3-1938, it draws attention to s facts which Gandhiji may or may not kno

In his Wardha statement, dated the 2 November, 1937, Gandhiji had said that Bengal ministry had travelled along Cong lines to a considerable extent. The Union says

> Today we give below some outstanding facts a chronicle of events from October, from which the p may judge in what lines the Ministry has been trav and decide for themselves upon the line in which t should travel.
>
> A. 1,106 detenus have been released in pursu of the Communique and a few hundreds were rele with various restrictions or no restrictions, before t Communique and after the release of the 1,100.
>
> But
>
> (i) with a very few exceptions those rele detenus who are out of the list of 1,100 are not get any allowance.
>
> (ii) Many of the 1,100 have not as yet recei any allowance, and many of those who have received a are getting at the rate of Rs. 10/- only per month inste of Rs. 15/- as promised.
>
> So,
>
> (iii) a great saving has been made by the Govern ment, as about Rs. 800/- annually per head of those wh have been released from Jails or Camps and ab Rs. 300/- annually per head of those released from t village domiciles have been freed. This saving may b roughly estimated at Rs. 8,00,000/-.
>
> (iv) The Government are not utilising the wh amount thus freed in giving the released detenus prope relief, but additional amounts have been provided in the Budget for 1938-39 for the Special Branch and Intelligen Branches of the Police Department in the apprehens of recrudescence of terrorist activities on the release ma
>
> Thus the policy seems to be: 'Let off a detenu, d him at every step and harass him till he falls flat at th feet of the I. B. police.' Such playing with the you of the province is certainly not travelling along t Congress lines.

We do not know whether this interpretati of the policy is correct. If it be wrong, t Bengal Ministry can contradict the Union.

Proclamation Relating To Indore State Depressed Classes

We make the following extracts from t Proclamation issued by H. H. the Maharaja o Indore, removing many of the disabilities of t depressed classes in his State, which goes furth than the Travancore proclamation :

> "Whereas we have felt for a long time past that t suppression of a large section of the Hindu commu cannot be based on religious sanction; still less can be justified on moral and humanitarian grounds:....
>
> "In pursuance of the decision, we hereby decl our pleasure and ordain and command that:
>
> 1. All State temples within the limits of the S be thrown open to Harijans for darshan according to t rules that may be laid down by us.
>
> 2. All existing public wells, as well as wells c structed by the State hereafter, be invariably open to classes alike. This is our policy, but in enforcing in regard to the existing public wells, the District Offic will act in their discretion according to local needs a circumstances.

3. All concerned should make it possible for the Harijans to have an unrestricted use of public places, such as hotels, restaurants and public conveyances.

4. Our Minister in charge of Municipalities should, subject to his discretion in the light of the conditions and requirements of a particular locality, allow Harijans to build or own houses in all areas open to higher castes and communities.

5. Full and hearty effect be given to the existing orders relating to the unrestricted admission of the Harijans' children into State educational institutions.

6. There shall be no restrictions in the matter of recruitment to State services, except where the incumbent has essentially to be recruited from a particular class or community.

7. All State Public Offices and buildings are open to Harijans for entry.

8. There shall be no restrictions on the wearing of ornaments, the taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies."

Sir William Rothenstein on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture"

The opinion of so eminent an artist and appreciator of art as Sir William Rothenstein on the artistic genius of any people is entitled to respectful attention. When delivering the Sir George Birdwood memorial lecture on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture" to the Royal Society of Arts in London, Sir William expressed the view that "no people had been so profusely inventive as the Indian people." Said he:

> "Their iconography is, I suppose, the richest and most exuberant ever evolved from the human brain. They have peopled their vast heaven with an incredible number of gods, for all of whom they have invented forms, attributes and attitudes whereby they could be recognized.
>
> "There is a tendency to pass too lightly over this prolific creation of forms, gestures and attitudes perfected by the Indian genius, which were adopted and taken over in all their completeness when Buddhism spread to the Far East. Surely this teeming creative fertility is in itself an astonishing and supreme achievement, the more so since they showed in all the forms they conceived for their gods an equally abundant plastic inventiveness."

The lecturer recalled that it was just 28 years since he listened to an address on Indian art by Sir George Birdwood, who, though he gave full recognition to the beauty of Indian craftsmanship, denied any fine art to India. "Times have changed," added Sir William Rothenstein. "There is a growing appreciation of the great contribution India has made to painting and sculpture, but even today the exalted place given to the art of China and Japan is scarcely extended to Indian art. Yet in Hindu sculpture, apart from its spiritual and symbolical character, there are certain plastic qualities of breadth, volume and poise which seem to me to be unique."

Sir William Rothenstein declared that nowhere had the plastic qualities of the human form, both male and female, been better understood and rendered than by Indian sculptors.

Bihar Congress Ministry's Recognition of "Fissiparous Forces"

Replying to a debate, a Parliamentary Secretary to the Bihar Congress Government declared that the Congress Ministry stood by the circular which laid down the principle that no community should get over-representation in services in excess of their population strength. When one of the members, Mr. K. N. Sen Gupta, enquired what the Government meant by the term "Community", the Congress Prime Minister said:

> "The question was a difficult one and he would not try to define it on the floor of the House. The Government of India Act recognized *only* certain communities, but unfortunately there were fissiparous forces at work which demanded recognition of sections within each community. *Government as Government could not ignore the forces that would recognize communities within Hindus and even within Muslims.*"

Thus the Congress Prime Minister of Bihar is not going to rest content with the communities into which India is divided today under the Government of India Act, but he is going to give official recognition to the various fissiparous tendencies which tend to create further dissensions within each community.

French Colonial Terror

Paris (NNS.)—In French Morocco the suppression of the national Moroccan movement continues under the iron hand of the governor, General Nogues. Last October, more than 400 Moroccans of various political persuasions were summarily tried and sentenced to hard labour in the Atlas Mountains. Telegrams of protest by their compatriots resulted in further arrests. A Moroccan Socialist, Driss Benzakour, was arrested because he had served as interpreter for the well-known Socialist leader, Magdelaine Paz, during her sojourn in Africa. On the other hand, General Nogues suppressed an anti-fascist pamphlet written in Arabic which denounced "the Italian terror in Libya." Left groups in France are indignant over this reign of terror under a Popular Front government.

Indo-Afghan Trade Negotiations

The Times of India observes:

> It is welcome news that the Government of India and the Afghanistan Government have decided to negotiate a trade pact on a basis of reciprocity. It will be recalled that a series of questions on the subject of Indo-Afghan trade was recently raised in the Central Assembly. The salient fact emerging from that discussion was that the Afghan Government has adopted a policy of granting State monopolies in both import and export business to large concerns. For instance, imports of sugar, cement, petrol and motor vehicles are in the hands of one company, and Indian interests largely engaged in these lines have been hard hit. The export of dried fruits from Afghanistan—a lucrative industry—has recently been entrusted to another company, and more Indian merchants have suffered. Moreover, Indian goods exported to Afghanistan are subjected to tariff duties whose minimum is 35 per cent. The Government of India have refused to retaliate by imposing heavy duties on Afghan goods entering India. It will not be easy to find a remedy agreeable to both parties; but that some remedy is called for is obvious.

Mrs. Kiran Bose

We are glad to learn that Mrs. Kiran Bose has been nominated by the Government of India as a delegate to represent India at the next session of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions, which will begin at Geneva on April 21 next. Mrs. Bose is honorary general secretary of the National Council of Women. She is a sister of the late Srijut Atul Prasad Sen of Lucknow and a daughter-in-law of the late President Ananda Mohan Bose of the Indian National Congress. Begum Shah Nawaz represented India before at the League Committee.

Governor-General's Autocracy

The Hitavada is justified in holding the opinion that

> The Viceroy has acted in a high-handed manner in disallowing Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's resolution recommending an increase in the recruitment of Indians to the Foreign and Political Department. Eight months ago, Mr. Kunzru moved a resolution recommending the speedy Indianization of the Government of India Secretariat and put up an unanswerable case against the present unnational policy of Government with regard to recruitment. Government could not answer his case effectively. Probably the Viceroy felt that if Mr. Kunzru moved his resolution, Government would be forced to give an assurance on the subject. Hence to safeguard probably against that "danger," he disallowed the resolution, gagging a discussion of the subject altogether. This action shows the nakedness of the autocracy in New Delhi.

Jews' Pathetic Faith in League

A Geneva message states that denouncing the ill-treatment of the Jews of Austria the executive committee of the World Jewish Congress has sent a petition to the League of Nations, invoking the treaty of St. Germain in regard to the rights of minorities guaranteed by the League, and asking for the application of the emergency clause.—*Reuter.*

Military Training for Indian Youth

At the opening of the Bhonsla Military School at Nasik His Highness the Maharaja Scindia pointed out in the course of his speech that

> Opinion in India had been widely expressed to possess institutions where Indian youth might receive military training in order to equip them for the responsibilities of the country's defence. The Indian Military Academy was instituted in response to this long-felt demand. This school, his Highness hoped, would enable the Indian youth to be trained in the art of war so that they might be able to take proper place in the defence of their Motherland.

The military authorities have promised to help the Bhonsla School in training its scholars.

The Court of Lucknow University has passed a resolution on the subject of obligatory military training for its students. It is not known whether the military authorities will provide the necessary facilities for their training.

The Searchlight of Patna informs its readers that Dr. Syed Mahmud, minister education, Bihar, announced in the cours his speech on the occasion of the inaugura of the Patna District Branch of the St. Jo Ambulance Association that "he was soon g to open a military training school for Bi where, besides ordinary military training, t students would receive training in aircraft al Perhaps the honourable gentleman consulted t military and civil authorities concerned bef making the announcement.

The Madras Premier On Prohibition

Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, the pri minister of Madras, replied at considera length to the discussion on the cut motion the Excise 'Demand'. He gave out so original notions of his. *The Guardian* Madras writes :

> As an expert temperance worker, he met 'amateurs,' as he called the critics, with answers that w make them chary in future of stale arguments and ind them, we hope, to do their little bit to make Prohibi a success. Some ideas of the Premier on tempera work are such as are not familiar even to workers in t field. They are : reduction of shops will result consolidation of business in a few hands, grea competition in drink trade, and therefore increa income, and zest for drink. Liquor shops if removed remote places will continue indefinitely. They must allowed in places where they are not wanted, so th decent people will observe the havoc drink works an will try to end the evil. Excise Licensing Boards wer not intended to abolish drink or to reduce shops. Th had other purposes : at any rate they have not secur these results. Prohibition would not have succeeded its working had been entrusted to the Excise Depa ment on the ground of their special experience, inste of the Police. The licence dealer was a source of corr tion and he was in close touch with the weaker eleme of the Excise Department.
>
> Severity of punishment in the case of illicit disti tion is justified. It is a different thing when those w drink are punished severely. If temperance propaga was not done, there was no guarantee that Prohibit would be introduced just because the Premier said Spying system against a disgrace or against the ruin a family is nothing to be ashamed of. The wife is spy upon the husband if he is intent upon ruining he

"Cheap Justice"

We learn from the same weekly that b the premier and the minister for courts a prisons have met the insistent demand f reduction of stamp duties and court fees wit determined refusal.

> The loss involved is one which the Government ca contemplate. But the refusal is more on the ground th the lowering of costs would cheapen litigation and le the poor man to waste his meagre resources. It did necessarily cheapen justice. They have hinted that reduction would benefit lawyers at the expense of poor. If the Ministers stopped with this, we sh have treated the contention on both sides as argum that did not divulge the real truth about the demand the refusal. The Ministry however gives proof of serious intentions to help the poor in the announce

made during the debate on Tuesday, that the Government proposed to reorganize Village Courts so as to give them greater power and to make them better bodies. The policy of the Government was to see that as far as possible the people were not driven to the necessity of having recourse to Courts of Law.

Mr. Jinnah and Muslim Leaguers, and Federation

We have all along held the opinion and expressed it repeatedly that the opposition of the Muslim League and Muslim leaders like Mr. Jinnah to Federation was due to one-third of the seats given to the Indian States in the federal legislature not being reserved for them in the same way as the same proportion of the British-India seats have been given to them in the same legislature, and that, if their wishes in this respect were met, their opposition would at once vanish. We find *The Tribune* of Lahore holds the same view. It writes :

> It would not be unreasonable to assume that all the strong things said against the federal plan by Mr. Jinnah and some other prominent Muslim leaders would be as quickly forgotten if the Muslim demand for one-third share of the States representation were conceded, as all the strong things said by them in favour of undiluted national government were forgotten in the provincial sphere when the prospect of Muslim preponderance in some of the provinces and of Muslim representation substantially in excess of what was due to the community in other provinces was held out to them; and British imperialism would once again find its strength in India's disunity.

We hope the Lahore paper is right in holding that the British Government will not find it easy to meet the Muslim demand as regards the Indian States seats.

> The only ground of hope in this matter is that it will not be so easy for the British Government to concede the Muslim demand in this case as it did find it easy to concede the Muslim demand in the provincial sphere or in respect of representation on the British Indian part of the Federal Legislature. The plea of the inability of the parties concerned to come to an agreed decision, which they found so handy in the other case, is not available to them in this case. The States have all been allotted their share of representation in both Houses of the Legislature by the Act itself, and whether the representatives of the States be elected or nominated the British Government have no right whatever to say to them that a particular proportion of those representatives shall be Muslims. Insistence on any such limitation of the rights of the States would amount to so outrageous a violation of the autonomy of the States that even the authors and champions of the present constitution, may well shrink from it. Any such insistence on their part may buy Muslim support, but it will alienate all other parties even more completely than now.

Why Mr. Anthony Eden Resigned

World Youth, an international news review of Boston, gives due praise to Mr. Anthony Eden, Britain's late foreign secretary.

> A steadily widening divergence of opinion between Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and the majority of the British Cabinet has resulted in Eden's resignation. Captain Eden has been unable to conceal a well-bred disdain for the posturings and threats of the European dictators, and their controlled press has been roaring for his head during the past two years and more. He epitomizes the type of liberal English gentleman that stirs an inferiority complex in the heavy-fisted climber. Beyond this, Eden is the leader of the powerful pro-League opinion in England, and has always stood for a stiffening of British policy toward Italian and German aggression. The older members of the British Cabinet, led by Premier Neville Chamberlain, are seeking by compromise and concession to avoid trouble with the two dictators. They have been loath to let Eden go, because of his great personal popularity with the British public. He is also a brilliant parliamentarian. But it is known that many of the statements of policy which he has been obliged to make on behalf of the British Government have been bitterly against his personal convictions. Long Cabinet meetings before and after the Hitler speech on Sunday gave rise to rumors that the opposing points of view within the Cabinet had been brought to a critical stage. A street demonstration as Captain Eden left Downing Street indicated the affection and esteem of the British public for their retiring Foreign Minister and the courageous attitude he has attempted to uphold.

Importance of Singapore to Europe & America for Purposes of Defence

The same American weekly explains how important the Singapore naval base is for the defence not only of the British Empire in Asia and Oceania but of the Dutch and French possessions in Asia and of the Philippine Islands. The possible enemy is, of course, assumed to be Japan. Japanese activities in Siam are thus accounted for :

> Japan and Siam have long been friendly, and authorities in Paris claim to have evidence that Japan has been slowly filtering soldiers a few at a time into the Siamese frontier bordering on French Indo-China along the Mekong River, in accord with the Siamese Government. This had been set aside as a demilitarized zone by the Treaty of 1925.
>
> France has now to face the possibility of having to defend French Indo-China against a Siamese attack on land supported by Japanese naval action. The reason for such an attack, from the Siamese viewpoint, can be seen in a map recently published by the Siamese Government and widely disseminated in the Siamese schools. It shows "Siam's former frontiers." This map shows as former possessions of Siam a large slice of Burma on the west; a large part of Laos on the northeast and all of Cambodia on the southeast. The last two territories are now part of French Indo-China. Burma is now a British Crown colony.

As for the Kra Canal in Siam, it is said :

> Japan's reason for stirring up trouble in this part of the world is twofold. First, the Haiphong-Yunnan railway, over which arms were being sent to China until France, at Japan's demand, closed the railway. Second, Japan knows that Singapore is the cork to the bottleneck of the Malacca Strait. If Siam, in return for services received, can be persuaded to let Japan build a canal through the Isthmus of Kra, the passage round the Malayan Peninsula and through the Straits guarded by the strong naval base at Singapore could be avoided. This projected Kra Canal has long been a favourite dream of Japan, and British pressure to prevent its construction is evidently because it would nullify the value of the Singapore base.

Congress Bulletin Number One of 1938

Congress Bulletin No. 1 of 1938, promptly issued on the 12th March last, contains the authorized versions of Resolutions of the Haripura Congress, a Summary of the Proceedings of (*a*) the All India Congress Committee and (*b*) the Working Committee, Ministerial Resignations in U. P. and Bihar, Circular to the P. C. C.'s, and Congress Organisation.

The condolence resolution of the Congress as reported in the dailies in February contained not more than half a dozen names, not including that of Heramba Chandra Maitra. As published in the Bulletin, the names, not printed either in alphabetical or chronological order, are of eighteen men and women, the name of Heramba Chandra Maitra standing last. But better last and least than not at all in the Congress Roll of Fame, perhaps!

By the third resolution Congress sent its greetings to the Indians of British Guiana on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the arrival of the first Indian settlers in that South American colony and sent its good wishes for their advancement and progress. Our present issue contains an article on the topic by Mr. C. F. Andrews. (Please read Demerara for Denmark in the second line of the article.)

The other resolutions were on Guidallo of Assam, Indians Overseas, Indians in Zanzibar, Indians in Ceylon, China, Palestine, Foreign Policy and War Danger, Excluded Areas and Commissioners' Provinces, Ajmer-Merwara and the Indian States, Federation, Kenya, Midnapore Congress Organizations, National Education, Minority Rights, Indian States, Ministerial Resignations in U. P. and Bihar, Kisan Sabhas, Constitution Committee.

The Bulletin has printed the names of 13 Muhammadan gentlemen with *Shri* before them—it is to be presumed, with their consent. One may rest assured that Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq has threatened Congress with dire consequences.

Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference

The Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference at Birboi, Orissa, was largely attended and discussed some very important questions, such as tackling and putting an end to communal tension and riots by non-violent means, spread of a knowledge of Hindi as an interprovincial language, the adoption throughout India of the Nagari script, the promotion of national education according to the Wardha scheme, etc. A village industries exhibition was also held. The conference was very successful and useful.

According to *Advance*,

> Babu Rajendra Prasad, Kaka Kalelkar an Jamnalal Bajaj addressed a mass meeting of vill night emphasising the need of learning Hindi.
>
> Babu Rajendra Prasad paid a tribute to the province for its progress in the field and urged O emulate its example. Kaka Kalelkar said that it shame for persons belonging to different provin speak in English. . . . The greatest difficulty wa apathy of the people to learn Hindi. Kaka K also appealed to them to adopt the Nagari script by Oriya literature could be augmented.

If Kaka Kalelkar really said that it w shame for persons belonging to diffe provinces to speak in English, it must b his opinion, a much greater shame for Con to draft and pass resolutions in English publish Bulletins and Pamphlets in English. India only 10 per cent. of the people are lite in their mother-tongue. So, to cry shame the non-Hindi-speaking portion of these 10 cent. for not knowing Hindi and on the Hindi-speaking portion of the illiterate 90 cent. for not reading Hindi in addition to mother-tongues shows excess of zeal more t sobriety of expectation.

As for adopting Nagari as the All I script, it is admitted that the Sanskrit alph is more scientific than any other in the wo But the Nagari script requires some modif tions. It has more straight lines and cor or angles than the Bengali script and is older than the latter. So it may be modified some extent on the model of the Bengali scri —with which, by the by, Oriyas are m familiar than with Nagari.

ERRATUM

P. 375, 2nd line of Mr. Andrews's arti "The Indian Centenary in British Guia *for* Denmark *read* Demerara.

Request to Contributors

Contributors are requested to kindly that typed manuscripts are preferred, adequate margin and space between the —though *legibly* hand-written manuscripts also considered. The paper should be white should not be flimsy. One side of the p should be left blank. The ink used should deep and black or blue-black—not red reddish.

Contributions which have been sent to o journals also, should not be sent to us.

Unaccepted and unused manuscripts returned, if at the time they are sent to us consideration sufficient postage is enclosed. in no case can we undertake to be respon for loss of manuscripts.

Editor, *The Modern Revie*

Printed and Published by Lakshminarayan Nath, Prabasi Press, Calcutta

NEW (2nd) EDITION

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, M.R.C.S. (Lond.), I.M.S. ; Lt.-Col. K. R. KIRTIKAR, F.L.S. I.M.S.

Revised, Enlarged and Greatly Re-written

By Rev. FATHER E. BLATTER, S. J., Ph. D., F. L. S. and

Rev. FATHER J. F. CAIUS, S. J., F. L. S., M. S. C. I. (Paris)

With the Collaboration of Dr. K. S. MHASKAR., M. D., M. A., D. P. H., D. T. M., etc.

Complete in 8 volumes

Letter Press, Size 7″×10″, in 4 Vols. *Plates, size 10″×12½″, in 4 portfolios*
Price Letter Press 4 Vols. Rs. 120. *Price Plates, 4 Portfolios, Rs. 200*

PRICE COMPLETE SET Rs. 320

This book contains Botanical descriptions, vernacular names and names in foreign languages as far could be available, properties, uses and habitats of over 1900 plants used in medicine by the medical ofession all over the world. The work is useful to Botanists, Medical Men, Drug Manufacturing Chemists, orest Officers and all those interested in the development of the economic resources of India.

rofessor Suessenguth of the *University of Munich* writes in **Botanisches Centralblatt (Jena),** among other things as follows :

"In the **New Edition** the editors have modernized the nomenclature in keeping with the present sition of Systematic Botany. The descriptions of the plants have been taken from the contemporary tanical literature. The therapeutic effects of the different species have been specially attended to. This **xtraordinarily** detailed work will be fundamental for the appraisal of all Indian drugs."

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

Second Edition, Revised and Illustrated.

A Big Volume of 1011+xvi pages of about the size of *The Modern Review*

With 120 Illustrations and Four Maps

The Portrait of Sivaji, in colours, is from an old painting

PRICE Rs. 15/- ; POSTAGE AND PACKING Re. 1-8 ; PER V.P.P. Rs. 16-12.

s been praised in The Tribune, The Hindu, The Hindustan Review, The Sind Observer, The Leader, ity (of America), The Christian Register (of America), The Servant of India and the Japan Chronicle.

Major B. D. Basu's

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

Praised in **The People, The Modern Review, The Leader, The Servant of India, Advance, The Hindustan Review, The Mysore Economic Journal, The Indian Nation, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, etc.**

Price Rs. 10. Postage Extra

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

SECOND EDITION

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (Retired)

Excellent printing & get-up. Cloth, gilt letters. *Price Rs. 2 As. 8 net.*

Highly praised by—THE TRIBUNE, THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES, FORWARD, THE HINDU OF MADRAS, THE GUARDIAN OF MADRAS, NEW ORISSA, and others.

The Second Edition of this Remarkable Book has been recently Published.
It is an improvement on the First.

To be had of :
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, Calcutta Or of Dr. L. M. BASU, 49, Leader Road, Allahabad

JABAKUSUM
HAIR
OIL
জবাকুসুম তৈল
जवाकुसुम तैल
JABAKUSUM TAILA

A PRODUCT OF THE GLORIOUS EAST

JABAKUSUM stands out as the world's best brain cooler & hair-grower.

Available at your favourite stores.

C. K. SEN & Co., LTD.
CALCUTTA.

८-२-३८

22-1-12

THE MAY 1938
MODERN REVIEW

Gurukul Kangri Library.

England's Losing Game : *D. Graham Pole*

Escape : *Jawaharlal Nehru*

Dhondo Keshav Karve (illust.) : *R. Chatterjee*

A National Language For India : *Khagendra N. Sen*

Indian Art in Tibet (illust.) : *Monindra Moulik*

New Definition of the Empire (illust.) : *M. Mansinha*

Tribal Population And Christianity : *D. N. Majumdar*

What is the Matter With Money : *Richard B. Gregg*

The Teaching of Science in India : *R. L. Moore & B. C. Mahendra*

Premature Retirement of the Indian Services : *Bool Chand*

Democracy and Public Opinion : *Bijaybihari Mukharji*

Major Yeats-Brown's Caricature of India

Inland : Rs. 8-8
Foreign : Rs. 11-8

EDITOR
RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

BENOY

HISTORY OF ORISSA

BY R. D. BANERJI

In two volumes of Royal 8vo. format. Printed on the finest antique paper and illustrated by numerous plates

Both Vols. I and II OUT Price Rs. 20 per Vol.

Half-Morocco Binding, Rs. 25 Per Volume

This book, which was written by the late Mr. R. D. BANERJI just before his death, is the finest history of Orissa yet published. The illustrations are all specially engraved on two-hundred screen plates.

From **The Servant of India** :—

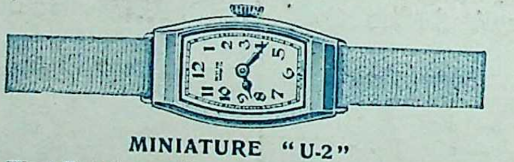
"The second volume of this posthumous work fully maintains the standard of the first. The difficult task of arranging and presenting in a readable form the sordid and disjointed history of a land during its decadence and painful death has been attempted with considerable success, though the author has had to digress very often to state and explain unused, forgotten or discovered original sources, on which that presentation is based.

"The chapters on Maratha and British administrations afford much food for reflection to the administrators and citizens of India today. Marathas, Oriyas and Bengalis, Indians and Europeans in India, Hindus of different denominations and Muslims, have all poignant lessons to learn, mistakes to avoid, wrongs done to atone for. Appendix V shows the archæologist Mr. Banerji to have been an impartial student of modern history as well, and he has rightly drawn attention to the failings of the people of Bengal from the days of Clive to those of Macaulay."

All lovers of history and literature should order their copies straightaway from

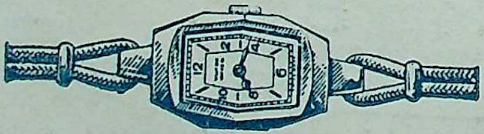
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, CALCUTTA

DESIGNS OF - -
DEPENDABLE HERITAGE!



MINIATURE "U-2"

West End Patent "Everbright" Steel ... Rs. 36
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ... ... Rs. 70
18-ct. Solid White Gold ... ... Rs. 75



MINIATURE "R-2"

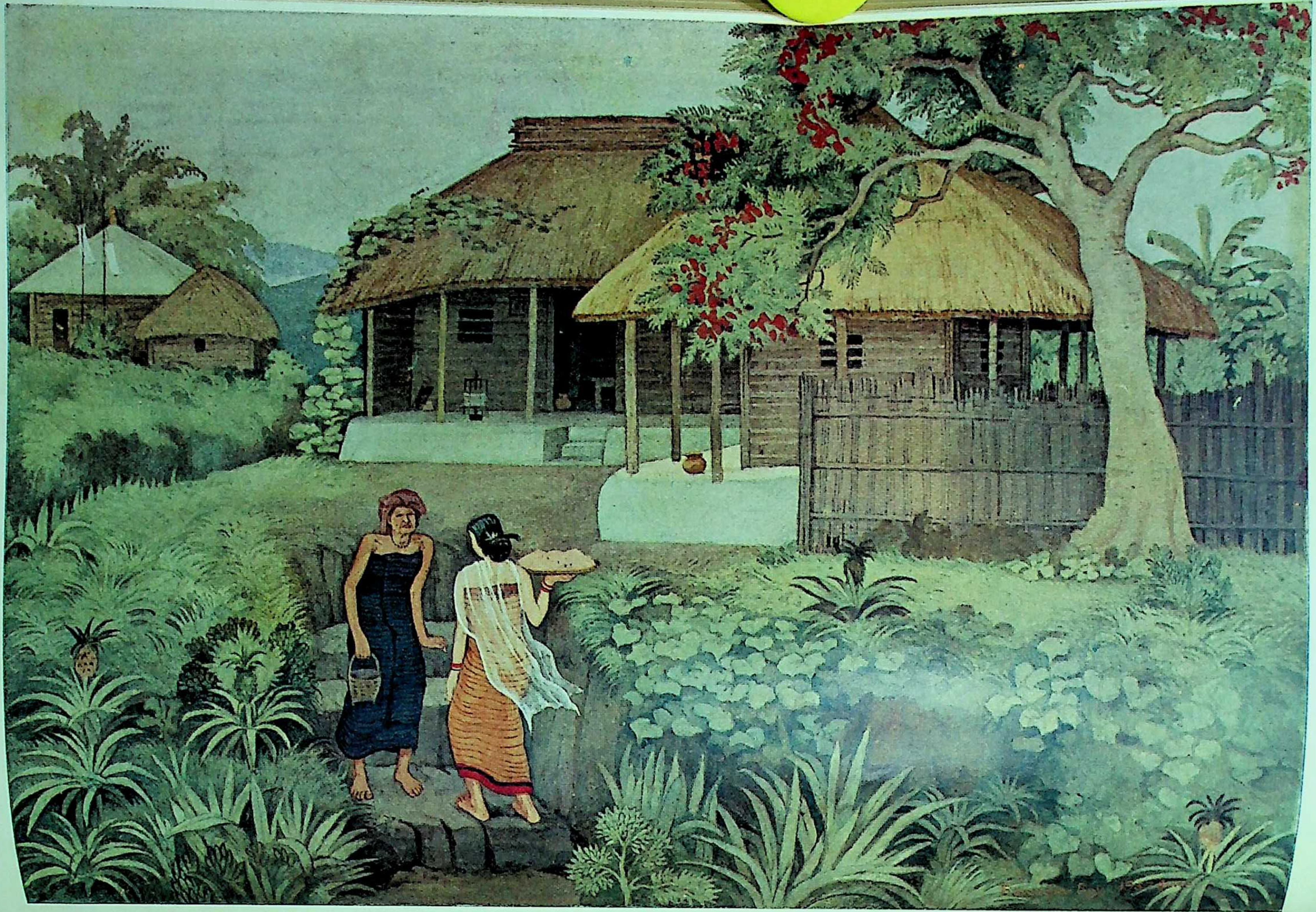
West End Patent "Everbright" Steel ... Rs. 59
18-ct. Solid Yellow Gold ... ... Rs. 105

HANDSOME ADORNMENTS AS WELL!!

Numerous models of most recent creations offer you unlimited scope for selection. Ask for large FREE Catalogue.

West-End Watch Co

BOMBAY CALCUTTA



A MANIPUR VILLAGE

By Basudev Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY 1938

VOL. LXIII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 377

ENGLAND'S LOSING GAME

BY MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

"NAPOLEON knew *the strategic advantage of securing Spain in a struggle with Britain . . .* but our Ministry seems to be as blind as bats," remarked Mr. Lloyd George a week ago on the eve of his departure for a holiday in France. He might have discoursed still further on the Napoleonic theme. For Napoleon, in common with all the most famous Generals in history, was a master of the strategy of indirect approach. According to this strategy, you do not meet the enemy in a head-on collision, do not let him guess what you have in mind or where you will strike. Because to do so, to follow "the line of natural expectation", is to throw away immense advantages. In a trice you mobilise against you all the material and psychological factors there are on the other side. What folly! So instead you save up the decisive encounter until the end. You may even get all you want without it ever happening. And in the meantime you exercise your strength on indirect objectives—getting rid of the smaller fry or the momentarily weaker fry (assuring the ultimate Enemy as you do so of your fundamentally pacific intentions!); those fry whose material resources you covet and which might have proved useful to the real Enemy, or who lie in the way of the Enemy's line of communications.

This is exactly what is happening today. Germany wants hegemony over Europe. She also wants the return of her Colonies. So the ultimate enemy is England (now that the purblind English have repudiated Collective Security), who cannot allow any single Power to swallow up Europe and who holds the mandate for Germany's former African Colonies. Accordingly Germany is fighting England already. But, following the strategy of indirect approach, she is fighting not England but Spain. When she and her ally-for-the-time-being Italy have conquered Spain, they will be in command of the western entrance to the Mediterranean. With air bases and naval bases on opposite shores of the Mediterranean—not to mention at Majorca which both Italy and Germany are using as an air base now against Republican Spain—England's lines of communication with India and Australia are cut. To suggest that we can use the Cape route is of course abdication and kissing the rod. No. Germany and Italy, however much Mr. Neville Chamberlain will not see what all but he can see, are fighting us now in the Mediterranean. And we must either fight them now by supplying the Spanish Government with the arms we have hitherto refused to allow Spain to buy—or fight them a few years' hence when Germany has become the strongest Power extant.

It is said that Mr. Chamberlain has been assured that Germany will not be in a position to fight a major war until the year 1940. By then no doubt he anticipates that our rearmament will have reached so satisfactory a level that Germany will hesitate to strike. But, in Hamlet's words, who has cozened him at hoodman-blind? Time is on Germany's side, not ours. While we are rearming, she is sucking-in her neighbours. It is only necessary to look at a map of Europe to see what is happening. As someone shrewdly observed, when Germany marched into Austria unopposed, all France's allies on the continent were suddenly turned into liabilities. Czecho-Slovakia had another frontier to defend. Poland sent an ultimatum to Lithuania and began what is really a penetration there, the port of Memel being her envy. But the inwardness of this is that Poland wants to form a Baltic *bloc*. And this *bloc* of course would immobilise France's ally, Russia. Roumania, with its own brand of Fascism, is already more than half in the stampede. (And in Roumania is all the oil Germany requires. Just as in Czecho-Slovakia she is after the Skoda Munitions Works.)

No, there is no time to lose. If we take a strong line now, we may avert catastrophe. But nothing can save us in a few years' time. If we embark on a war then, we cannot win. Indeed some wise men in England, such as Mr. Bertrand Russell and Mr. H. G. Wells, believe that the next European War will never end.

Perhaps it is worth while to digress for a moment and listen to what Mr. Bertrand Russell has to say on the subject. It is appallingly like the H. G. Wells film. Indeed the only difference is that whereas in the film civilisation was brought back to the world by a race of super-scientists, in Mr. Bertrand Russell's view it is to be salvaged by America stepping in "after a catastrophe in Europe." Said Mr. Bertrand Russell in an interview:

> "If I were a betting man and were laying a bet, I should think the odds in favour of a big war within the next ten years about 3 to 1. If not in the next ten years, sooner or later, I am afraid there will be war.
>
> "I think it will go on until Western Europe is reduced to chaos. Industrialism and ordinary government would disappear. The countryside would be full of marauding gangs of disbanded soldiers who would turn into bandits. There would be vast epidemics. All sanitary services would have gone to pieces There would be widespread starvation. Petty chiefs would be setting up military despotisms all over the country. You would have the kind of condition which existed after the fall of the Roman Empire."

I have said that if we take a strong line now we may avert disaster but that nothing can save us, or Europe, if we go on procrastinating. But unfortunately there is a third alternative. If we follow Garvin and the Beaverbrook st and the Londonderrys and the Astors, we may merely deteriorate into a second-class Power with Fascist leanings.

Are we doing that already? Certainly the past weeks have been weeks of humiliation. On February 22nd, in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain, as a writer in the News *Chronicle* points out, virtually invited Herr Hitler to invade Austria. "We must not," said Mr. Chamberlain on that soon-to-be-famous-occasion, "delude ourselves and, still more, try to delude small weak nations into thinking that they will be protected by the League against aggression and acting accordingly when we know that nothing of the kind can be expected." Not very surprisingly, less than three weeks later, German troops marched into Austria. And still less surprisingly, when our genteel Lord Halifax had with the Prime Minister put out a hand to stop the avalanche which they themselves had heralded, they found the avalanche was threatening them! Has enough attention been paid to the last paragraph of that letter from Baron von Neurath which the Prime Minister read out in the House of Commons? There are two ways of reading it and one way it looks very like a threat. "In this situation," wrote the German Foreign Secretary after giving the Nazi version of the state of insecurity in Austria, "dangerous consequences could only come into play if an attempt should be made by any third party, in contradiction to the peaceful intentions and legitimate aims of the Reich, to exercise on the development of the situation in Austria an influence inconsistent with the right of the German people to self-determination."

Dangerous consequences to whom—to the third party? But the Germans in any event can spare us their threats. Like a dog that has been trodden on (only the dog knows when it was an accident) we jump all round them to show how forgiving we are. Just after the rape of Austria, after our Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax had taken the German Ambassador to task in the matter, the two men were photographed together "each smiling benignly upon the other." . . . And at this very moment at a time when the machinations of the Astors—the pro-German group who have controlling interests in the *Observer* and the *Times*—have been pilloried in other newspapers and especially in a cartoon by the unshakeable Low, the Prime Minister has set the seal of his approval on this group by hastening off to spend the week-end with them at the Astors' home at Cliveden on the Thames.

Defenders of the Prime Minister, of the mental attitude which clings to the policy of Non-Intervention, are leading us on and on to our destruction. *Nothing* it seems, not the agony of Barcelona, not the heroic situation of Czecho-Slovakia, not the threat to the British Empire itself, can shake them out of their lethargy. Any one who has ever canvassed in an election can recognise the type. They are the optimum expression of the kind of voter who never thinks for himself, at bottom has no convictions, but has an instinct only to be on the winning side. They think they are evincing an open mind when they take their tone from whatever appears to be the fashion—and all the time, of course, they are merely unconsciously seeing to it that whatever sun is in the ascendant, they will get some warmth from it. That is the attitude towards Fascism in this country today. Every day we hear of some notable defection. Lady Astor is reported as the latest Jew-hater making attacks on the Jews at a meeting of the Conservative Foreign Affairs Committee and at a private dinner of the English Speaking Union. Mr. Beverley Nichols, sometime Liberal, sometime pacifist, who wrote a book exposing the armaments racket, entitled *Cry Havoc*, is publishing a book this week attacking the League of Nations, calling for fair play for the British Union of Fascists (though for the present he denies he is one of their supporters), and extolling the leader of the British Fascists, Sir Oswald Mosley, as "one of the three most dynamic personalities in the Empire today." Apropos of Mr. Nichols, it might be added, two things should be noted. In the first place he is a member of the so-called Oxford Group, which cannot be too often shown up for what it is, a Fascist mass orgiastic religion. And then with regard to his plea for fair play for the Fascists. Such appeals should always be resisted. As the Elizabethans are said to have discovered long ago—Be tolerant of all but the Intolerant!

The trouble is of course that today's fashion suits the class in power so flatteringly that it needs a superman to disabuse them. Indeed they are so sure of themselves, so powerfully aided by the Beaverbrook press, with its millions of daily circulation, which lines up behind them every unthinking little man who wants to be persuaded that we can keep out of Europe, that they imagine that the Opposition is as likely to come in with them as to provide an alternative Government. May their disabusement come sooner than they think. Perhaps the victory of General Franco, which they have so powerfully encouraged, will at last open their eyes to the bill they have let us all in for. But for the moment the Government is shutting its eyes. It is useless for the Spanish Government to continue to send us proof after proof of the arrival from Germany and Italy of more men, more guns, more aeroplanes. Mr. Chamberlain either has other information or repeats his parrot talk that Germany and Italy are not the only interveners. They are so deliberately blind that they affect not to see what is obvious to a twelve year old who looks at a map of the Mediterranean. That granted France and Russia are intervening on one side and granted Germany and Italy are intervening on the other, it still remains that we cannot afford to be indifferent. For France and Russia, if they are intervening, are intervening on the side that will keep the Mediterranean open. Whereas Germany and Italy, on the other hand, can have no other hand, can have no other object in intervening but this—to gain strategic control of the Mediterranean and so emasculate Great Britain before taking her on in hopeless combat.

But our ruling class insist on closing their eyes to all this. In the early days of the Spanish Civil War, when it seemed that Madrid would fall, the Spanish Government got cold feet and began to flee. The situation was saved by the Communists and other Leftist groups who have held Madrid together ever since. This our ruling class cannot stomach. Rather throw away the gateway to our Empire than give succour to "communists"! Surely we shall not lose our gateway but fraternise rather with our opposite numbers, the ruling classes, the Fascists, in Germany and Italy. . . . But they have overlooked one thing. It isn't only the remaining democracies, America, France and the Scandinavian countries, who despise us for trying to "buy peace from the Danes." The "Danes" in this case despise us most of all and more than ever as we hasten to cover up and deny their lawlessness.

It is very important to get this right. The salient points in the present situation all boil down to this. Mr. Chamberlain's Government is sympathetic to the authoritarian Governments of Germany and Italy. (They are much more up their street than are the variations on a Popular Front which are going on in Paris. And they hope that their sympathy will be met half way. Vain illusion!

For what is the Berlin-Rome-Tokio axis if it is not an axis directed against France and England? But our Government go on in the same inept way, keeping mum in face of one victory after another for the enemies of England—victories in the Far East, in Abyssinia, in Spain, in Austria. Even when, as a result of pressure from the League of Nations Union or from Mr. Winston Churchill, they depart from their complete mumness, they stop short of making themselves plain beyond a peradventure. And the only result is that they please nobody. They have made an enemy of Japan without saving China. They made an enemy of Italy without saving Abyssinia. They have not saved Austria, and if they are still in power (which Heaven forfend) they will not save Czecho-Slovakia—but they have given Germany a pretty good hint that they are anticipating the possibility of being drawn into war in an ensuing Franco-German conflict. And so Germany will go on getting ready to fight us.... What clumsy tactics! It merely means that in the end we shall confront an invincible Germany, confront her without a single ally except France who cannot help being in the same boat with us. It makes you think of King Lear! (Do you call me fool? *All thy other titles thou hast given away.* That thou wast born with.)

Why are we so over-anxious for the good opinion of Germany and Italy, good opinion on their terms, and so wantonly careless of the opinion of the world at large—the only opinion worth having. France has ceased to conceal her impatience with us. The other day M. Blum's old newspaper, the *Populaire,* blew the gaff about Non-Intervention. "It is perhaps a unique case in history," it commented, "for a great country to announce in advance that she will do nothing to prevent events which she would like, above all, to avoid. But England is intervening constantly in all questions which crop up on the Continent of Europe. She intervenes by her silence, by her granting of blank cheques, and by the atmosphere of impunity which she creates round the worst misdeeds of international gangsters." She intervenes by her silence ... Can anyone doubt the truth of that?

Italy at any rate was quick to take up the challenge. And the Rome newspaper *Il Tevere* at once came out with the most insolent warning to France. "If France intervenes, it is most certain that a big mess will occur .... If France seizes this occasion for a coup, let her be ready to face other coups. If France moves a finger over the frontier there will be a general movement."

It is eloquent of the mentality prevailing in Fascist countries that on the same day as this Italian newspaper was growling at France and prophesying the deluge should she intervene in Spain and the Mediterranean, the official Order of the Day, issued in Rome, was concerned entirely with a tribute to the Italian legionaries fighting in Spain. Quite blatantly the Fascists demonstrate that there is one law for themselves and another for France and England when it comes to altering the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. And these are the people whose favour we are courting, to whose increasing violations of Non-Intervention we persist in turning a blind eye. (Why do we trouble to cover up their guilt? They glory in it. And show their contempt for us in doing so. It isn't the enemies of Mussolini in this country who make Mr. Chamberlain's task a difficult one. It is the utterances of Mussolini himself.)

If France thinks we are selling Europe to the Dictators, allowing an atmosphere of impunity to surround their misdeeds, it is nothing to what our American cousins think about it. Perhaps it is one of the penalties for refusing to be honest with ourselves, refusing to take up the fight which is really our fight (since we are one of the greatest democracies) that we are losing the ability to see ourselves as others see us. How often do we hear people in this country, who will not take up the burden of the League of Nations and its Collective Security, blame America for staying out of the League? It never occurs to them that if we had put our best efforts into trying to make a success of the League, into trying to make it an instrument both of collective security and of peaceful change, America might have felt more attracted to it. Why should America fight our battles for us when we are too lazy to fight them ourselves? This angle which is to be commended to League defeatists is amusingly suggested in the title of a book which recently appeared in America: *England expects that every American will do his Duty.*

One could digress along these lines but perhaps just one other thing should be said. When Mr. Chamberlain pours cold water on the idea of collective security, when faint hearts regretfully agree with him, let them not forget that the idea of collective security has been going downhill ever since this present Government came into power. It is *they* who started the chute and made the world safe for the Dictators. When Sir John Simon washed his hands of far-off China it was bad enough. But when Mr. Neville Chamberlain began his fateful work of shutting up the British Empire behind a tariff wall, he more than anyone or anything else destroyed the whole psychological back-ground for collective security or for any kind of collective action. Self-sufficiency and collective security—how can the two grow together?

But to return to Europe and to what is going to happen. Is there any hope at all for us? Not any if the present Government and present counsels prevail. There are a few men in Parliament who understand the way things are going. But for the present at any rate it seems that there is little hope of their combining and putting themselves forward as an alternative Government. A week ago it was canvassed as a likelihood. Prominent people in the Labour Party expressed themselves willing to join with the Liberals, and with any others who shared their views on foreign policy, in a new Popular Front. But alas, for the time being, this is out of the question because the Trade Union element in the Labour Party have rejected it. All the same there remains one man whose speeches have caught the popular imagination—which have even influenced the present Government as appears from Mr. Chamberlain's latest retreat from his retreat from the League idea!—and that man is Mr. Winston Churchill. He above all, with his genius for history and especially military history can assess the state of affairs and of peoples in Europe. And perhaps he may yet find a way of getting Europe out of the mess.

People these days have allowed themselves to get confused by the competing ideas of Fascism and Communism. It is an inadequate way to look at men, to see only their labels. Mr. Churchill sees them as different countries—and as countries which can maintain their identities when given their place and their use in a general system of collective security. For instance, with regard to Austria, Germany pretends that this is an "internal" affair which concerns only the German Reich. And the isolationists of course would have it thought so also. But, as Mr. Churchill pointed out in his speech in the House on 14th March, the fact is that mastery of Vienna gives to Nazi Germany military and economic control of the whole of the communications of South-Eastern Europe, by road, by river, and by rail. As a result "a wedge has been driven into the heart of what is called the Little Entente (Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia), this group of countries which have as much right to live in Europe unmolested as any of us have the right to live unmolested in our native land." And "it is not too much to say that Nazi Germany, in its present mood, if matters are left as they are, is in a position to dominate the whole of South-East Europe. Over an area inhabited perhaps by 200,000,000 people, Nazidom and all that it involves is moving on to absolute control."

(So that is what we are up against. No wonder the Dictators think we are pusillanimous to seek friendship on *their* terms. Dictators do not make friends: they make use of people.)

Mr. Churchill would go all out for a thorough-going defensive alliance with France. He would have France and England concert action to preserve the independence of Czecho-Slovakia. The Nazification of the Danube States is a danger of capital magnitude to the British Empire. To prevent this France and Britain should set themselves to unite the States of South-East Europe. To unite in their own interests Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece. All of these have powerful armies and immense resources. Together they would form an immense resisting power. All of these wish for nothing but to be allowed to dwell in peace with one another.

Are we going to leave them to their doom? Is Mr. Churchill a voice crying in the wilderness and is there no one in the Government with the courage and energy to initiate this positive programme of peace? If we shrink from it, if we allow the Nazi system to extend and envelop this vast area of Europe, can we doubt that it will one day turn on us? In that day mortal catastrophe will overtake the British nation and Empire—friendless we shall go to our doom, because while there was yet time we did nothing to save our friends in Europe.

29th March, 1938.

ESCAPE

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Haripura Congress was over. The wonder city of bamboo that had risen on the banks of the Tapti was looking deserted. Only a day or two before its streets had been full of an animated jostling crowd, grave and gay, talking, discussing, laughing, and feeling that they were taking part in the shaping of India's destiny. But those scores of thousands had suddenly departed for their distant homes and a sense of emptiness hung in the still air. Even the dust storm had abated. Having a little leisure for the first time since I came, I wandered by the Tapti bank and, in the darkness of the approaching night, went up to the edge of the flowing water. I felt a little sad when I thought that this magnificent city and camp, that had risen over the fields and waste lands, would vanish soon, leaving hardly a trace behind. Only the memory would endure.

But the sadness passed, and the desire that I had long nursed, the wish to go away to some far-off place, became strong and possessed me. It was not physical tiredness, but a weariness of the mind which hungered for change and refreshment. Political life was an exhausting business and I had had enough of it for a while. Long habit and routine held me fast but distaste for this daily round grew, and while I answered questions and spoke as amiably as I could to comrades and friends, my mind was elsewhere. It was wandering over the mountains of the north with their deep valleys and snowy peaks, and precipices and gentle slopes covered by pine-trees and deodars. It panted for escape from the troubles and problems that encompassed us, for peace and quiet and the gentle sigh of the wind.

At last I was going to have my way, to pander to my secret and long-cherished desire. How could I trouble myself with ministries coming or going, or the melting pot of international affairs, when the door of escape lay open before me?

I hastened north to my city of Allahabad and found to my dismay that some trouble was brewing. I grew irritated and angry with myself. Was I going to be thwarted and prevented from going to the mountains because fools and bigots wanted to create communal trouble? I reasoned with myself and said that nothing much could happen, the situation would improve and there were plenty of sensible people about. So I argued with and deluded myself possessed by the desire to go away and escape. Like a coward I crept away when my work lay in Allahabad.

But soon I had forgotten Allahabad and its troubles and even the problems of India receded into some corner of my brain. The intoxication of the mountain air filled me as we climbed up the winding road to Almora in the Kumaon Hills. From Almora we went further up to Khali, riding on sturdy hill ponies for the last part of our journey.

I was in Khali where I had longed to go for the past two years, and it was pleasant to be there. The sun was setting and there was a glow on the hill sides and a hush in the valleys. My eyes searched for Nanda Devi and her companion peaks of the snowy range, but they were hidden by light clouds.

Day succeeded day and I drank deep of the mountain air and took my fill of the sight of the snows and the valleys. How beautiful and full of peace they were, and the world's ills seemed far away and unreal. Towards the west and the south-east deep valleys, two or three thousand feet below us, curved away into the distance. Towards the north towered Nanda Devi and her white-clad companions. Fierce precipices, almost straight cut, sometimes led to the depths below, but more often the curves of the hill sides were soft and rounded, like a woman's breast. Or they would be cut up in terraces where green fields witnessed to the industry of man.

In the early morning I lay bare-bodied in the open and the gentle-eyed sun of the mountains took me into his warm embrace. The cold wind from the snows made me shiver a little but the sun would come to my rescue and fill me with warmth and well-being.

Sometimes I would lie under the pine-trees and listen to the voice of the wandering wind, whispering many strange things into my ears and lulling my senses, and cooling the fever in my brain. Finding me unguarded and open to attack, it would cunningly point out the folly of men's ways in the world below, their unceasing strife, their passions and hatred, their bigotry in the name of religion, the corruption of their politics, the degradation of their ideals. Was it worthwhile going back to them and wasting one's life's effort in dealings with them? Here there was peace and quiet and well-being, and for companions we had the snows and the mountains and the hill-sides covered with a multitude and a variety of trees and flowers, and the singing of birds. So whispered the wind, softly and cunningly, and in the enchantment of the spring day. I allowed her to whisper.

It was early spring still in the mountains, though down below summer was already peeping in. On the hill-sides the rhododendron flowers made bright red patches which could be seen from afar. The fruit trees were full of bloom, and millions of tiny leaves were on the point of coming out to cover with their fresh and tender and green beauty the nakedness of many of the trees.

Four miles from Khali, fifteen hundred feet higher up, lay Binsar. We went there and saw a sight which we can never forget. Stretched out in front of us was a six-hundred mile stretch of the Himalayan snowy range, from the mountains of Tibet to those of Nepal, and in the centre towered Nanda Devi. There was Badri Nath and Kedarnath and many another famous place in that wide expanse, and just across them lay Kailas and Manasarovar. What a magnificent sight that was, and I gazed at it spell-bound, awe-stricken with the majesty of it. And I grew a little angry with myself when I thought that I had missed this overwhelming beauty, in a corner of my own province, all these long years, though I had wandered all over India and visited many distant countries. How many people in India had seen it or even heard of it? How many of the tens of thousands who visit annually the cheap and tawdry hill-stations in search of jazz and bridge?

So the days passed and contentment grew in my mind, but also a fear that my brief holiday would soon end. Sometimes a huge bundle of letters and newspapers would come and I viewed them with distaste. The post office was ten miles away and I was half inclined to let my mail rest there, but old habit was too strong and the possibility of finding a letter from some dear one far away made me open the door to these unwelcome intruders from outside.

Suddenly there came a rude shock. Hitler was marching into Austria and I heard the tramp of barbarian feet over the pleasant gardens of Vienna. Was this the prelude to that world catastrophe which had hung over us for so long? Was this war? I forgot Khali and the snows and the mountains and my body became taut and my mind tense. What was I doing here, in a remote corner of the mountains, when the world was on the brink and evil triumphed and had to be countered and checked? Yet what could I do?

Another shock came—communal riots in Allahabad, many heads broken and a few persons killed. A few men dead or alive did not matter much, but what was this disgusting madness and folly that degraded our people from time to time?

There was no peace for me then even in Khali, no escape. How could I escape from the thoughts that tormented my mind, how could I run away from my trembling heart? I realised that we had to face the world's passions and endure the world's anguish, dreaming sometimes, it may be, of the world's deliverance. Was this dream just a phantasy of the dreamer's mind or was it something more? Will it ever take shape?

For a few days more I stayed on in Khali, but a vague disquiet filled my mind. Slowly a measure of peace returned to me as I gazed at those white mountains, calm and inscrutable and untouched by human folly. They would remain there whatever man did, and even if the present generation committed suicide or went to oblivion by some slower process, the spring would still come to the hill-sides, and the wind will rustle through the pine-trees, and the birds will sing.

But meanwhile there was no escape whatever of good or ill the future might hold. There was no escape except to some extent in action. No Khali could smother the mind or drug the heart into forgetfulness. And so to Khali I bade good-bye, sixteen days after I had come there, and wistfully I took my last long look at the white peaks of the north and imprinted their noble outline on the canvas of my mind.

April 7, 1938.

INDIAN ART IN TIBET—TUCCI AS EXPLORER AND MYSTIC

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC. POL. (Rome)

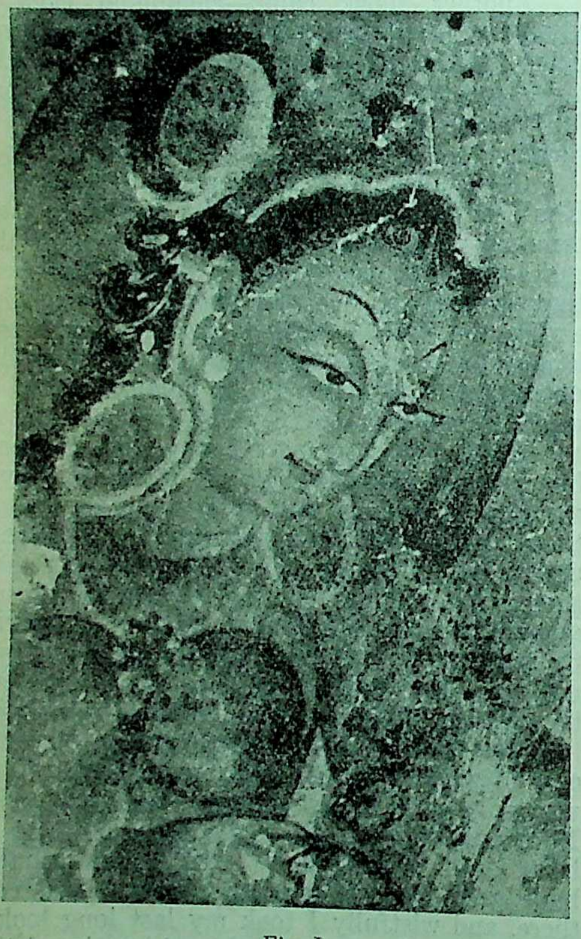


Fig. I
Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the chapels of Mangnang

ON THE 14th January, 1938, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci made certain statements in the course of a lecture delivered at the Royal Academy of Italy in Rome on his last scientific expedition in Tibet (June to October, 1937), which are destined to acquire far-reaching importance not only for Tibetan studies but also for researches on Indian history in regard to a period about which Tibetan documents resurrected by Tucci are eloquent. He said that during his last expedition in the land of the Lamas, he had come across a huge quantity of manuscripts and inscriptions which would throw a flood of light on certain periods of Indian history—particularly the 13th and 14th centuries. Interpretation these manuscripts which are now in the lib of the Middle and Far East Institute at R will be published in due course in the monume work of Prof. Tucci, the *Indo-Tibetica*, of wh the first four volumes have already b published by the Royal Academy.

By far the most important announceme from the point of view of Indian culture, t Prof. Tucci made on this occasion refers to finding from records preserved in the monaster of Ghianzè and Eastern Tibet evidences of t fact that Tibetan art is merely a special provi of Indian art—a fact that was revealed to h by the relics in the monasteries of Western Ti several years ago. The infiltration of Indian into Western Tibet was associated by Tucci w the enlightened liberality of the Kings of G who invited from India the most illustri masters of their time that transplanted i Tibet the doctrines and practices of Mahayan Tucci has very definitely illustrated, as we sha see later on in this article, that it was not onl the inspiration of Indian art that was responsib for the beautiful frescoes adorning the wall though now in ruins, of Western Tibetan mon teries, but Indian artists themselves migrat into that country and settled there. As ear as 1935, Tucci wrote :

> "The sources of information speak not onl pundits and doctors invited to the court of the kings Guge or having taken refuge there, in a period wh marks the decline of fortune for Buddhism in India, also of artists, especially from Kashmir, who introdu there the Indian traditions. One had to seek in t valleys of the Himalayas the confirmation of this infor tion, preserved in manuscripts as literary tradition connect together the links of the chain of thought wh stretching from Mille, united India and Tibet."[1]

Prof. Tucci has explained this emigration Indian artists to Tibet partly also as a mean their escaping from Moslem iconoclasticism India. Thus, he declared :

> "The Mussalman torment which was in its full at this time, the hostility of new sects, the rebirth of orthodox schools, already gave signs of the declin Buddhism on the plain of Hindusthan. The monks saints, the painters and sculptors, from the convent universities, burnt, sacked and menaced by

---

[1] Tucci and Ghersi : *Secrets of Tibet* (Lo 1935), p. *ix*.

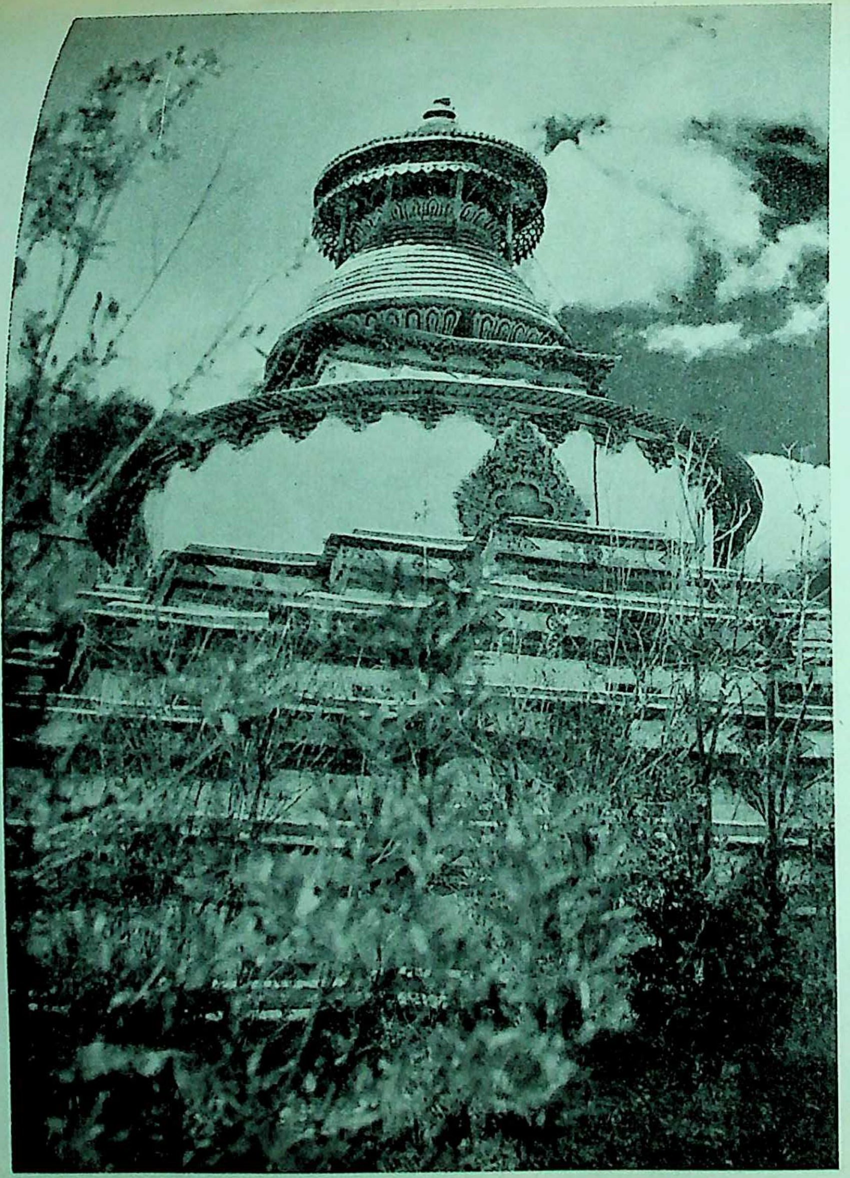


Fig. 13. The Kumbum or the Great Stupa of Ghianze

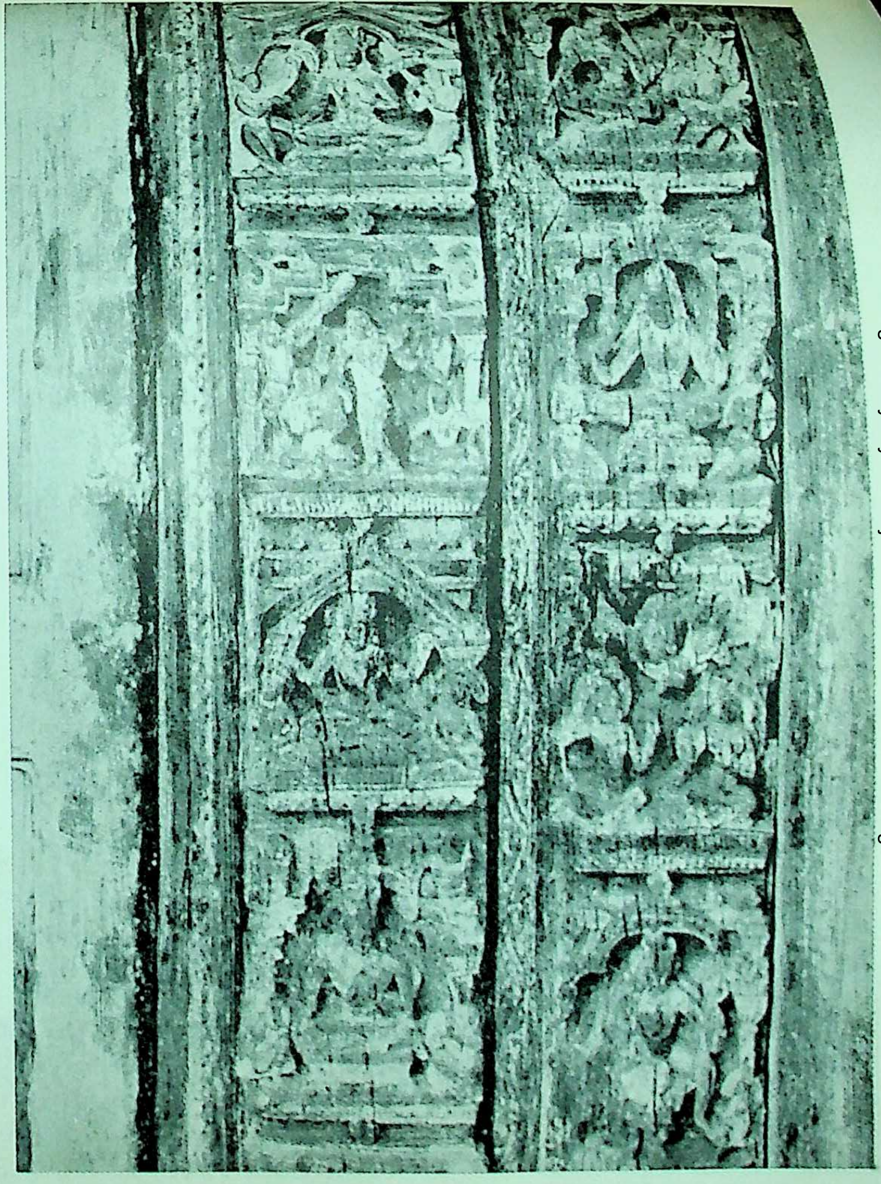


Fig. 6. Sculptured wooden doors : Toling

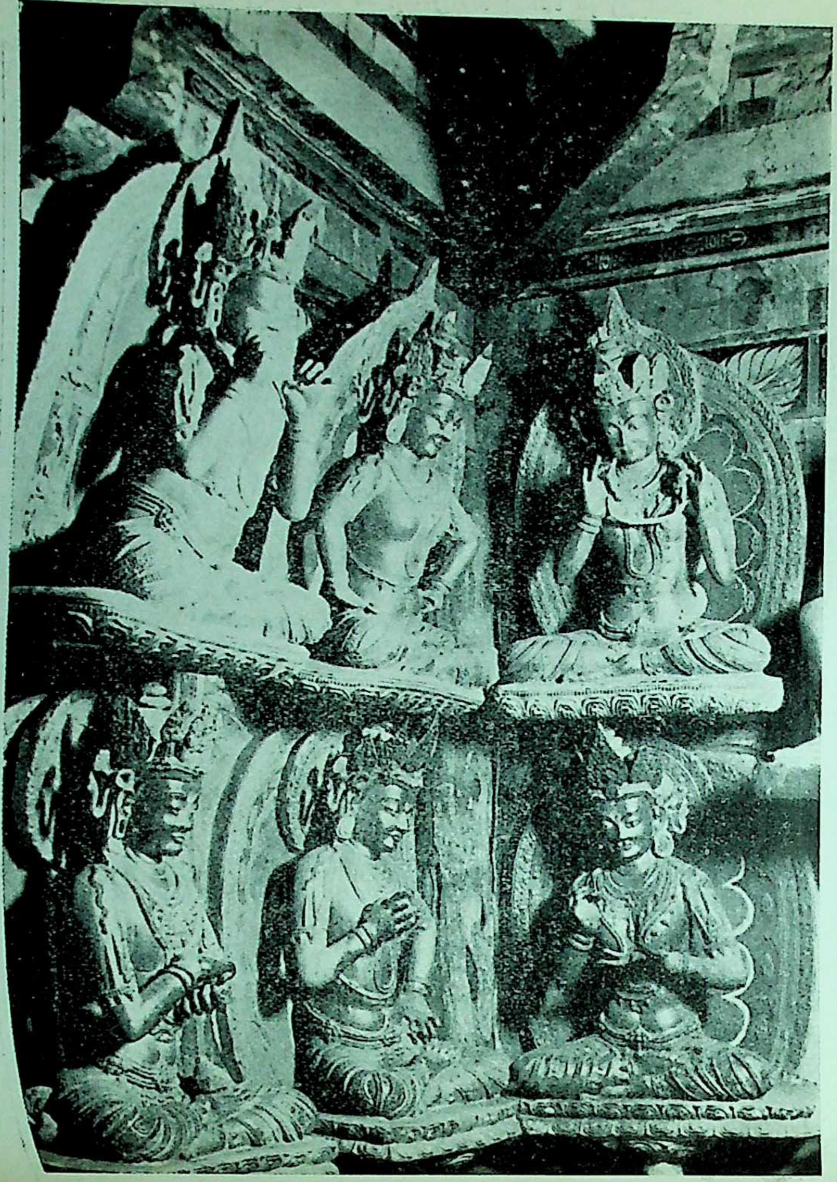


Fig. 10. The Cycle of Vairocana, Ghianze

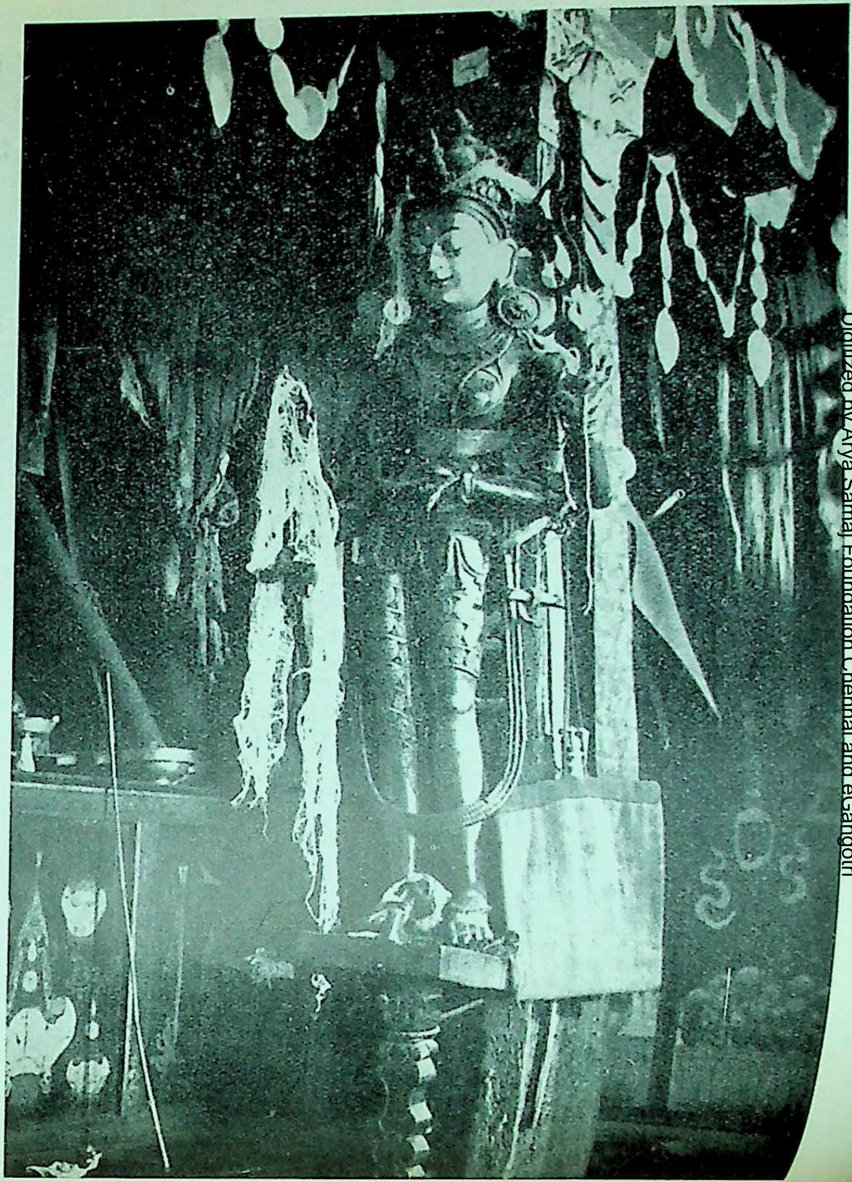


Fig. 12. A bronze statue of the 14th century, Ghianze

Mussalmans, were gradually drawn into the Himalayan valleys, and were rescued by the munificent piety of the kings of Guge. Here on this immense desolation (speaking of today) reigned an unusual fervour of life, cities and temples, monasteries and markets. The artistic genius of India left there its admirable traces which the course of time and carelessness of man are going to obliterate."[2]

This he wrote about Mangnang which he visited during his 1935 expedition. But already before that time, when he visited Toling he was drawn to this conclusion, an evidence of which will be found in the following observation :

> "It is not improbable that some of the illuminated sheets, which may very well rival ours of the Renascence, are the work of Indian artists, refugees whom Muhammadan persecution drove forth from the profaned Indian universities towards this land where Buddhism was prospering with renewed fervour."[3]

It is neither within the limits of the scope of this article nor those of my competence on the subject to make an attempt at determining to what extent Tucci's expeditions and researches have contributed to the reconstruction of the political and religious history of Tibet, particularly on account of the fact that this rewriting of Tibetan history is still in the process of completion. Complexities may arise from the enormous amount of materials that have been brought home by Tucci which may require a lifetime to read and arrange so that he may leave a perfectly chronological history of Tibet beginning from the early Bon-po times. But competent authorities recognize that Tucci has already enlarged the field of Tibetan research and has contributed immensely to the stimulation of that vast interest which exists today among Indologists and Buddhistic scholars. Tucci has begun where Francke stopped, has avoided those pitfalls over which Sven Hedin stumbled, has carried to their destination those treks that had been given up by Young and Wessels in despair, although he acknowledges his debt to each one of them.

> "One cannot deny to Francke the credit for having directed the attention of scholars to many aspects, hitherto ignored, of Tibetan history and archæology; he was an enthusiastic and tireless worker to whom we owe works which will remain, for a long time, fundamental. But unfortunately he was deficient in that intimate comprehension of *realia*, without which it is difficult to understand fully the significance of Tibetan literature and art; he had neither the means nor the time to acquire that Buddhist culture and that profound and direct knowledge of India and its civilization without which it becomes difficult to understand and assess many of the cultural and historical manifestations of Tibet."[4]

Be that as it may, what belongs absolutely to the originality of Tucci's research and interpretation is the establishment of a marked relation between Indian art and Tibetan art. He claims this remarkable discovery in one of his recent books, and says :

> "Thus for the first time, the world of scholars will hear about some of these temples lost in the Himalayan valleys in which were transplanted in all their glory of light and colour the artistic traditions of the Northern Indian school of painting. No one, so far as I know, has yet spoken of Mangnang which for its frescoes of the eleventh century can stand comparison with the chapels of Ajanta and Ellora."[5]

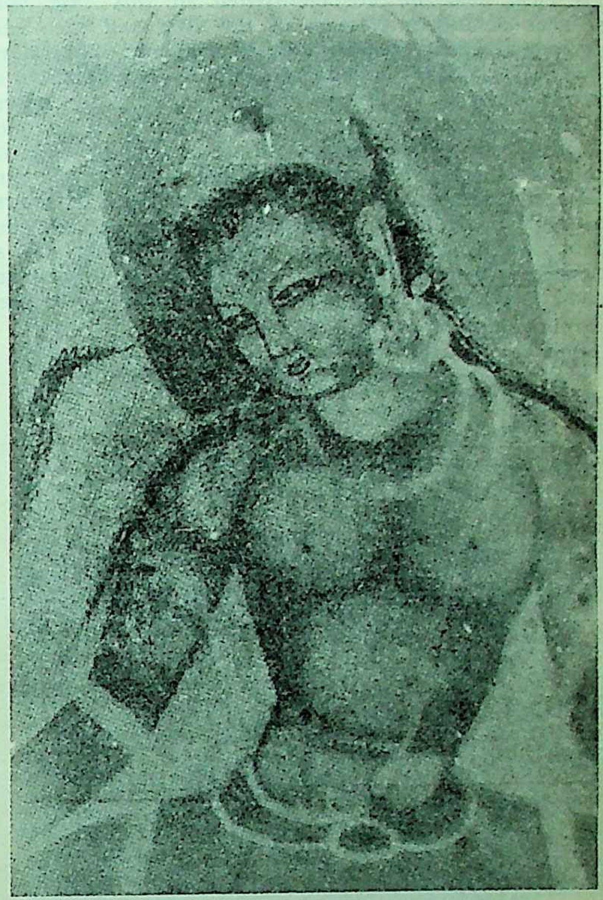


Fig. II
Fresco representing the image of a goddess in the chapels of Mangnang

A glance at the first four figures reproduced here which were discovered by Tucci in the chapels of Mangnang in Western Tibet would convince anybody of his theory. I cannot do better than quote Prof. Tucci's own remarks in connection with these frescoes which are very illuminating as to the dependency of Tibetan art on Indian. He writes :

---

[2] *Cf.* M. Moulik : *New Light on Indian Civilization in the Researches of Tucci* (Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 19, 1936).

[3] Tucci and Ghersi : *Secrets of Tibet*, p. 161.

[4] *Ibid.* p. *viii.*

[5] Giuseppe Tucci : *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet Ignoto* (Milan, 1937). P. *xiv.*

"At present there are in lower Mangnang two chapels, but neither has a name. The name, if there was any, is now lost. I could enter without difficulty into the chapels and then I was amazed at seeing that the walls were completely covered with the most splendid frescoes. These frescoes have no relation whatever with the usual Tibetan paintings. They betray the same artistic inspiration and the same pictorial method as evidenced by the ancient Indian paintings: the design, the chiaroscuro, the type itself of the figures portrayed is quite Indian. It is clear that we are confronted in this case with specimens of Indian frescoes of the 10th and 11th centuries which are related with those of Ajanta and Ellora. Of course, I do not state that there is any relation of direct dependency between the frescoes of those places and the frescoes of Mangnang, but that even these must be considered as the offshoot of those Indian pictorial traditions of which Ajanta and Ellora were up till now considered as the unique specimens surviving. Of course we know nothing of Kashmirian schools of art, but there is hardly any doubt that this place which was so famous as a center of learning was also a very important center of art. This fact is in a certain way evidenced by the imposing remains of the old Kashmirian temples and by the Kashmirian sculptures which escaped destruction, and also by the literary traditions. In fact there could have been no reason for Rin c'en bzan po to go to Kashmir to bring from there back to his native country about 32 artists had not been that place a great center of art. I have shown in *Indo-Tibetica* that the literary evidence to be found in the biography Rin c'en bzan po is supported by the archaeolog discoveries which I made in Western Tibet and w unmistakably point to a very strong artistic influence Kashmir upon the beginning of the art of Guge. U to now this influence could only be traced upon t wood carvings of some temples like those of T Toling, Tsaparang, which are certainly due to th Kashmirian artists. The temple of Mangnang is cert another document of this cultural relation betw Kashmir and Western Tibet. It is a pity that we h not been able to take coloured photos of the en frescoes, but this much can be said that these fig are painted in that dark brown which is so peculiar the old specimens of Indian mural paintings . . . O course we do not find here the same huge groups a crowds of people as in the big Ajanta caves. Th was no space for this, the chapel being rather sm Moreover the subjects are quite different; at Mangna there is no attempt at representing the stories of th Jatakas. Through these Jatakas an echo, as it were, o life could enliven the paintings and make us have glimpse of royal palaces, dances and wars; but here i Mangnang the atmosphere is exclusively mystical. Th who built the chapels were specially interested i Mantrayana esoterism; we are therefore confronted w symbols of mystic experiences rather than with aspe of reality. Either we find independent figures of deiti protected and encircled by the halo or complete gr of gods which are meant to represent *mandalas*, v graphic expressions of certain truths to be prop understood and experienced."[6]

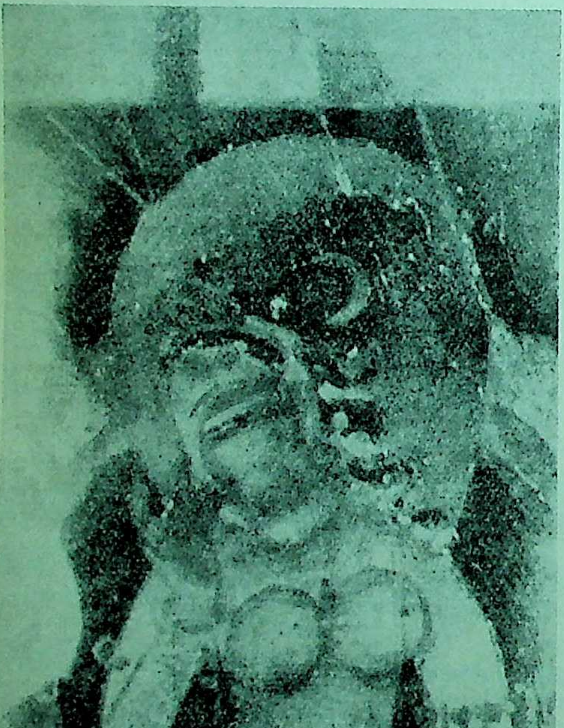


Fig. III
Another Fresco figure

Commenting on the frescoes reproduced her Tucci goes on to say:

"From the artistic point of view I cannot fail to emphasise the great significance of some frescoes representing images of goddesses (figs. 1-2 which are perhaps the best specimens of Mangnang paintings. Of course the artists followed their Indian traditions; the new atmosphere in which they happened to work does not influence them in any way. Th hairdress, ornaments, earrings are quite Indian and hav their counterpart in the extant Indian paintings. Th comparison of figures 1-2 with figure 3 shows that th paintings are not at all by the same hand: there is i fact hardly any doubt that the fig. 3 is in design a grace far below the other frescoes reproduced in fi 1-2. *Even in the chapel of Mangnang there was therefo more than one Indian artist and they were of differen capacities.* (italics mine). Not less important a beautiful are the figures of flying goddesses on th corners on the either side of the central wall (fig. 4 I may refer, for instance, to Ajanta Cave nr. ii (ii. T x.) where there are couples of flying deities which lack th softness and grace of our frescoes."[7]

This is so far as frescoes are concerned Tucci discovered in Mangnang by sheer ventu and good luck a very rare object of Indi craftsmanship, since there were only two of the ivory images that he saw in entire Tibet. Th temples in Mangnang are completely empty neither images nor objects of worship were foun in them. In addition, the fury of the Dog

---

6. Giuseppe Tucci: *Indian Paintings in Wester Tibetan Temples*, in "Artibus Asiae," Vol. VII (Leip 1937). Pages 191-204.
7. *Ibid.* Pp. 199-200.

wars passed over them. Thus it is almost a miracle that such a rare object survived all these vicissitudes till today. This ivory image (fig. 5) is ascribed to Indian workmanship by Tucci for the reasons given in his words below :

> "It is in a slight *tribhanga* pose. Unfortunately it is damaged : both hands are missing and therefore even the symbols which they held. The diadem which most probably covered the head of the image as one can perceive from the fittings still visible, is also missing. Traces of colours on the body, the hair and the eyes are quite evident. There is hardly any doubt that we are confronted with an image of Avalokitesvara though the fact that the symbols are missing prevents us from a better determination. Probably it is Padmapani Lokesvara. In this case the right hand should be in the *abhayamudra* and the left should hold the stalk of a lotus. Anyhow it is certain that the workmanship is Indian; as one can judge not only from the agility of the figure, but also from the arrangement of the *dhoti*. The *dhoti* does not cover completely the legs but rather goes round them being longer on the right than on the left; the undulation of the border is clearly marked as very often it is done in the Pala images. I refer, for instance, to those discovered in Kurkihar."[8]

Objects of Indian art as discovered in Tibet are profusely illustrated in Tucci's works. Mention might be made, for example, of the *terra-cotta* of Tsaparang which Tucci considers as a fine specimen of Indian art of the post-Gupta period.[9] A specimen of Kashmiri wood carving found on the door-panels of a Toling monastery is also reproduced here (fig. 6. *See* Plates).

The 1937 expedition of Tucci in Eastern Tibet has revealed to him further evidences of the part that Indians played not only in the development of Western Tibetan art but also in that of Eastern Tibetan art. Tucci has got hold of many manuscripts and documented evidences of this fact in the monasteries of Ghianzè, which show that it was not only the Kashmiri painters that filtered into the kingdom of Guge but also Central Indian artists and even Bengali painters crossed into Tibet probably through Nepal and enriched the medieval artistic traditions of Tibet. The photographs taken by Prof. Tucci's companion, Fosco Maraini, during the last expedition are not yet available, nor are the manuscripts exhausted of their contents, voluminous as they are. Nevertheless I have been able to get hold of several photographs of Ghianzé for which I am indebted to Mr. Maraini. One of them (fig. 7. *See* Plates), a fresco depicting a worshipping goddess and adorning the walls of the *Kumbum* (great *stupa*) at Ghianzè contains an inscription which reveals the name of one Sakya Muni, which is not a Tibetan name at all. Prof. Tucci is of opinion that Sakya Muni was either the founder of the monastery or was the painter of the fresco. In any case, he hopes to throw further light on this particular theme when he will have examined all the manuscripts relating to Ghianzè. Thus, in respect of Tucci's researches the sphere of Indian influence on and participation in the development of the Buddhistic art of Tibet is growing larger, and what one day was merely a logical speculation for this Italian scholar is today borne out and illustrated by historical facts based on documents, literary and artistic.

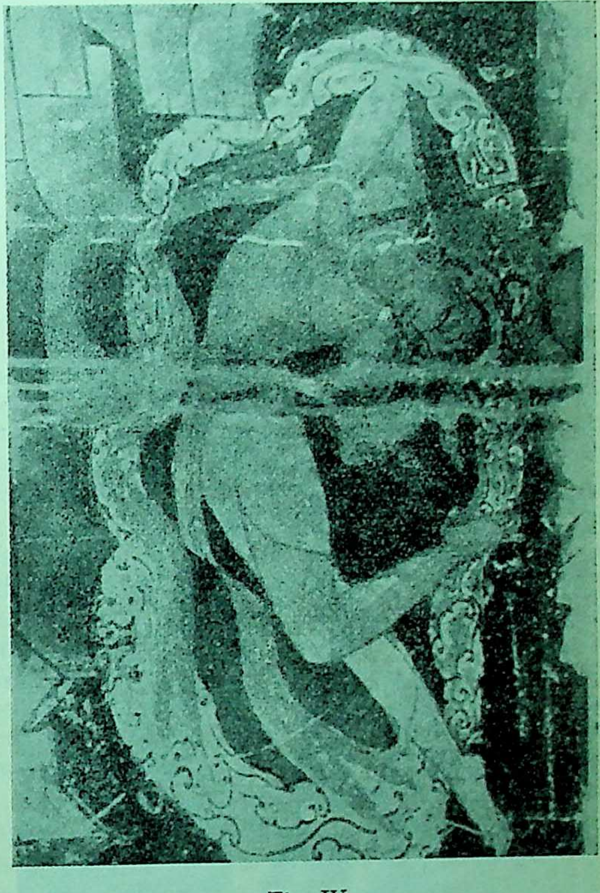


Fig. IV

The figure of a flying goddess in the Mangnang Chapel

But Tucci is not merely an explorer. He is a poet and a mystic. Tucci was early attracted by that great humanistic tradition of Indian civilization which conquered entire Asia and gave rise to what we call today "Greater India". He devoted years of patient industry to the study of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy, visiting the great centres of learning in India as a humble student, and he has been able to penetrate deeply into the mysteries of Indian philosophical thought, not by means of logic and rationalistic processes alone but by means of that excess of sensibility and intuition which distinguish the mystic from the scholar. Long before he had set his foot upon the soil of Tibet it was suggested to him that the great heritage of Buddhist thought must have left its ineffaceable marks on the history of Tibetan mysticism and religious art. He saw in the diverse systems of Indian metaphysics an all-pervading unity. In a recent article, Prof. Tucci wrote :

---

[8] *Ibid.* Pp. 202.

[9] G. Tucci : *Indo-Tibetica* (Rome, 1936). Vol. III. Part II. P. 74.

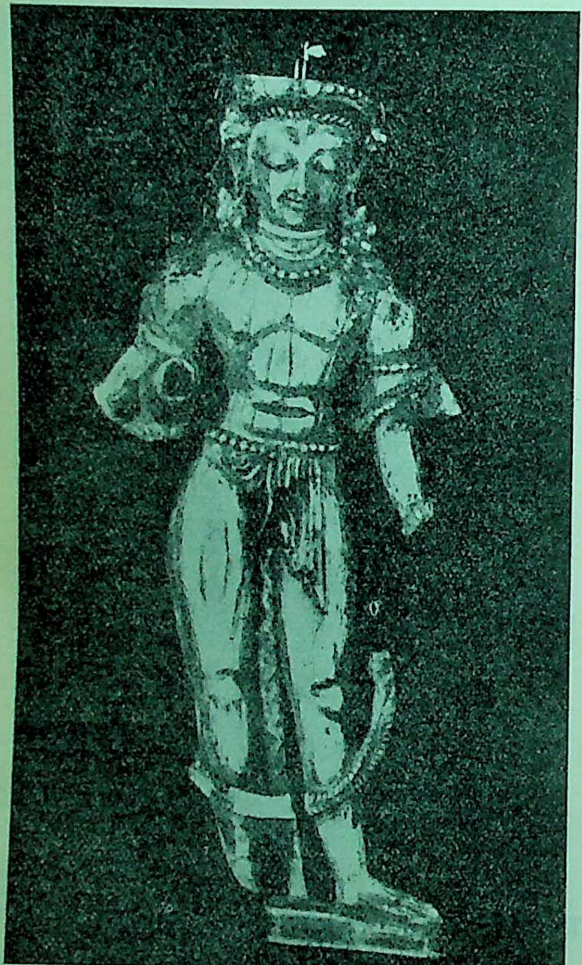


Fig. V
An ivory image found in Tibet

> "If India is a unity, this unity does not consist in uniformity, but in synthesis, in continuous development and transformation."[10]

In a review of his latest book, *Santi Briganti* (op. cit.), it was mentioned that it was remarkable that being a Christian he knelt down before Mount Kailas in its eternal snow and peace, the abode of Siva. When it was brought to his notice, he protested that he was not a Christian in the ordinary sense of the term, and on being asked by me to what particular religion his spiritual convictions are more akin, Prof. Tucci unhesitatingly declared "Buddhism". Anybody who has seen his house at Rome will understand the significance of this statement. It is an entire monastery by itself. Images of gods and goddesses, those of Radha and Krishna as well as those of Tantric esoterism, votive lamps burning day and night at their altars, and incense redolent of distant monasteries across the seas, and the smell of ancient and worm-eaten manuscripts lying about on his table perhaps prepare for Tucci that atmosphere which is essential for meditation. On me his Rome residence has made the impression that it has been conceived as a means of escape from the usual environments of a metropolitan city, to relieve the anguish and desperation which the restlessness of modern European life imposes on a good citizen. In moments of leisure, he stretches himself in the suggestive atmosphere of his monastic home, generally lighted by dim votive lamps, and listens to *Kirtan* and *Bhairabi* smoothly played on a gramophone. Tucci has an all-embracing spirit uncorrupted by politics and his spiritual experience is permeated by that great comprehension which is the essence of humanism. The unity of the universe which alone gives a meaning to cosmic reality is a realizable vision before his intimate consciousness where the I and the not-I are merged into one. Love of India which was the passion of his youthful days continues to be the most influential background of his spiritual experience. For Tucci it is a thing of the spirit, above politics and above self-interest. I have often heard him say to his friends, though apparently in jest, that if re-birth is possible he would undoubtedly be born in India in his next life.

---

[10] G. Tucci : "L'Umanesimo Indiano" in *Asiatica*, Vol. III, No. 6. Page 418.

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

The Claim of Bengali

A Literary Symposium at the "Rabi Basar"

By Prof. KHAGENDRA N. SEN, M.A., *Member of the "Rabi Basar"*

Prologue

If THE subject-matter of the symposium shocks anyone, it only points to a hypnotism of the mind induced by constant propaganda, supported by considerable financial resources, in favour of Hindi as the National Language of India. The object of the symposium, conducted by a representative literary association of Bengal—the *Rabi Basar*—has been to break this hypnotism and to argue the rightful claim of Bengali.

In this connection, it would not be amiss if we sought briefly to introduce the *Rabi Basar* to those readers of *The Modern Review* who may not have heard of it. Briefly speaking, the *Rabi Basar* is an association of some notables in the field of Bengali literature and its culture. Its membership is limited to fifty only. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore is its *Adhinayaka* and Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur, Editor of the *Bharatvarsa*, its President. The late Sarat Chandra Chatterjee was a member of the Association, while its present members include Srijuts Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *The Modern Review and Prabasi*, Upendra Nath Ganguli, Editor, *Vichitra*, Jogendra Nath Gupta, Editor, *Sishu Bharati*, Principal S. N. Maitra, M.A. (Cantab), I.E.S. (Retd.), Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, Rai Bahadur Khagendra Nath Mitra, Head of the Department of Indian Vernaculars, Universiity of Calcutta, and other distinguished votaries of the Bengali literature. Sj. Narendra Nath Basu, ex-Editor, *Bansari*, is the Secretary.

If we were allowed to anticipate the discussions, the results of which are summarized in this article, the point of view of one of the participants in the symposium might here be noted lest a sense of realism might desert us when discussing this extremely interesting and engrossing issue. It is that neither does the conception of a State nor that of a nation require a unity in language. Canada, the Union of South Africa, Switzerland, . . . do not have *one* national language. Besides, since it does not appear that the British people are particularly keen to leave us to a purely indigenous form of Swaraj and since the naming of a particular language of India as her national language would not mean that the remaining 224 languages of India should at once cease to be written or spoken, the question of a national language is inevitably attended with the more serious problem of *trilingualism,* which it would require a stout heart to face.

The symposium organized by the *Rabi Basar,* in a series of meetings, resulted in a vigorous plea for Bengali as the national language of India. Though the arguments were all directed in that behalf, the Association finally adopted the following resolutions, *viz.,*

1. That the *Rabi Basar* records a strong protest against the attempts by the Indian National Congress and by the Hindi-speaking communities to make Hindi the national language of India and requests the sympathy and active assistance of all Bengali-speaking communities in India and outside, whether Hindus, Mussalmans or Christians, in resisting the move.
2. That till Hindi or any other provincial language fully and completely attains the status deserving of a national language and is understood at least by an appreciable number of the educated men and women of the world outside India, English should continue to be the common medium for expression throughout India.
3. That the discussions at the Congress sessions should be conducted in the English language or in the principal language spoken in the province where the session is held.

The resolutions were moved by Sj. Upendra Nath Ganguli.

There were two main trends of argument followed by the speakers who participated in the symposium. One was that the claims of Hindi were not superior to those of Bengali to be treated as the national language of India, though by persistent propaganda and publicity, that was the impression that was created in the minds of the public; while on the contrary the reverse was the case. Both Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan and Sj. Jogendra Nath Gupta pointed to the effects of the Hindi Prachar propaganda and lack of the same to push the claims of Bengali. One speaker, Sj. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, put it down to the inferiority complex of the Bengali community.

Another line of argument on which the symposium concluded, as the second and third resolutions suggested, was that it was time neither for Hindi nor for Bengali to be accepted as the national language of India. As a working arrangement, English should continue to be the common language of India until either Hindi or any other language becomes sufficiently important to justify its claim to be treated as the national language of India.

The symposium revealed the following specific reasons why the claim of Hindi to be treated as the national language of India cannot be allowed :—

Sj. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* :

Both on account of the respective numbers of those who used or understood the two languages as well as from the point of view of literary excellence and expressiveness, Bengali has a claim superior to that of Hindi. Bengali is spoken by 8 crores of people while the claim that Hindi is spoken by 11 crores *is without justification.* Many a patois and dialect have been dubbed Hindi. The same latitude should be extended to Bengali. If that is done, it will be found that Bengali-speaking peoples are more numerous than Hindi-speaking peoples. The "Hindi" spoken in Bihar and the "Hindi" spoken in Rajputana are quite different. As for South India, if Hindi can be intelligible to them, Bengali can be no less so. He referred also to the move to introduce "Hindusthani" in the place of Hindi to placate Muslim opposition. "Hindusthani" is a cross between Hindi and Urdu. It is a new idea, but it has got powerful sponsors, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and even Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji! This patronage of a nondescript language that has no literature of its own and has no adequate power of expression is something very strange. In this connection, Srijut Sarkar referred to Dr. C. R. Reddy's remarks, which are given below :

> "They say that it is this "in-betweens" (between Hindi and Urdu) called 'Hindusthani' that they will make compulsory so as to obviate Muslim opposition. I wonder if this 'Hindusthani' which is neither Hindi nor Urdu, has a literature of its own, or if it is that happiest of all human developments, a language without lite like "Tulu," which causes youngsters no trouble, a has no books to inflict on them.
>
> "Bengali has a far more highly developed litera throbbing with the modern spirit and great aspira than 'Hindi.' And perhaps next to Bengali is Mara Why should these be placed at a serious disadva for Hindi?"

The national language of a country is a matter of compulsion, it has never been The claim of that language to be considered the national language is highest which can spoken, written and read easily. The Beng alphabet is more convenient to learn than Hi —it has only one script, while Hindi (or Hind thani) has at least three different scripts, cluding Nagari. Hindi grammar is also m difficult than Bengali. Actually, what we c Hindi is not a single well-defined language.

Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan, C Editor of "Bangiya Mahakosha" or *The Encyclop Bengalensis* :

Pandit Vidyabhushan recognized that b Hindi and Bengali could lay claim to the sta of a national language, but a comparati estimate of the merits of the two languag pointed to the greater usefulness of Beng Moreover, Bengali is more akin to Marat Gujarati, Sindhi, Punjabi and Eastern Hind than what is called Hindi. So far as the facilit of learning a language is concerned, thos communities of South India who now understan neither Hindi nor Bengali would learn Beng quicker than Hindi. Further, it must be note that the Bengali language has more words Sanskrit origin than any other language, wh in the construction of sentences, Bengali has similarity with that of the languages spoken the Northern, Western and Eastern India. for the claims of Hindi from the point of view its numerical following, it was pointed out th the languages spoken, say, in Darbhanga, Del Lucknow, Bareilly, Meerut and Agra were f removed from what was commonly supposed be Hindi. Hindi is absolutely strange Hyderabad and to communities speaking Dravidian languages.

Sj. Upendra Nath Ganguli :

Sj. Ganguli referred to the classification Bengali as second to Western Hindi in Census Report of 1931 and pointed out Western Hindi was not a homogeneous group consisted of several divisions with lingu differences as well as differences in script. Census Report did not discuss the question script. If Bengali with its allied languages compared with Hindi with its allied languages, the claim of Bengali would be found to be a superior one. It was also pointed out that while Bengali had only one script, Hindusthani was written in two or three scripts. If the literary excellence of any language were any criterion, Bengali stood foremost among all the languages of India. It would also be inadvisable to replace the English language by Hindi (or by any other language), as it would mean a severance of our contact with Western culture, a retrogression instead of progress. Sj. Ganguli also exposed the hollowness of the claim that the recognition of Hindi as the national language of India would make for the unity of the Indian people. It was wrong to say that Hindi-speaking peoples were very widely distributed throughout India, for in Assam, Orissa, Bombay, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan, Madras, Baroda, Cochin, Hyderabad, North-Western Frontier Province, the Punjab, Kashmir, Mysore, Rajputana, Gujarat, Travancore and several other Provinces, Hindi was either not understood or spoken as a subsidiary tongue.

Sj. Sailendrakrishna Law, of *The Modern Review* editorial staff :

Neither the racial homogeneity of the population nor identity of language is regarded as an essential mark of Statehood. Even if India had been independent, the heterogeneity of her population or of her languages need not have prevented the evolution of a common nationhood. What is wanted is unity on the psychological plane. The cry for a common language is thus a misleading cry. There is also ambiguity behind this movement for making Hindi the national language of India. Is Hindi intended to be the State language or the language of the common people? In this connection the speaker, emphasizing the claim of Bengali, spoke of the cultural unity of ancient India. Sanskrit, which was the language of culture, was the State language, while common people talked in different forms of Prakrit. Language and literature are indissolubly bound together. Modern Bengali which has, more than any other Indian language, inherited the treasures of Sanskrit, has a literature which is undeniably the greatest in India. In any case, we in Bangal have to learn Bengali and we cannot avoid learning English. The movement in favour of Hindi would impose a third language on us. This effort at the introduction of *trilingualism* is a move without precedent. But why bother at all about a national language when the nation is still far from independence? It is like putting the cart before the horse. Any way, a language that has attained a high level of literary excellence can very well stand the strain of being the national language of India.

With this, the symposium concluded. It has been found possible to give only an abbreviated (in some cases, let me add, unduly abbreviated) version of the main speeches only, leaving out the discussions that were provoked by the speeches. The discussions reached a high level. Considerations of space have also prevented the incorporation of the statistical materials on which some of the speeches were based.

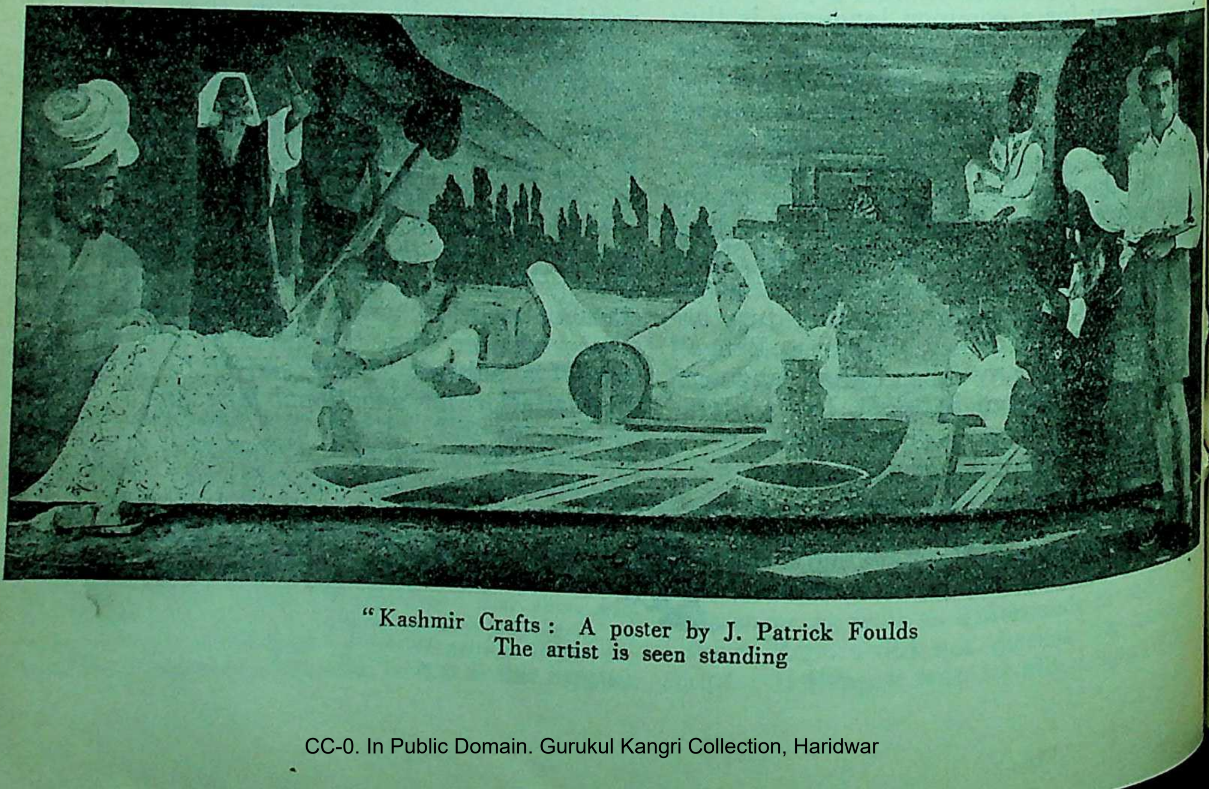
EPILOGUE

It is through the courtesy of the Editor of *The Modern Review* that we have been able to present the view of a small but reputed body of litterateurs to the rest of India on a matter of deep cultural significance. The publicity thus secured is a little belated; but as the adage goes, better late than never. Bengal has often in the past fought shy of even legitimate publicity, and has not unoften paid dearly for it. In this particular case, the *Rabi Basar* considers it important that Bengal's point of view should not go unrepresented and we are sure that in this view the intelligentsia of Bengal would fully stand by us. It is interesting to note that the Bengal Hindu Sabha has also recently urged the claim of Bengali. Opposition has been voiced in Madras also. It is a pity that the question of a national language should be treated as a political question to be solved by politicians on political grounds. There could be no greater danger than the artificial superimposition of a culture. There should be a halt to this agitation for a national language.

—AND BUDDHA SMILED

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

I sought and found an aged tree
To sit beneath and meditate
And delve beyond the mystic veils
Surrounding birth and life and fate.
Then Buddha-wise I searched within
My secret introspective mind
To contemplate the spiral planes
Reincarnations . . . trends in kind.
I dropped a strand of consciousness
Into subconscious depths as well;
Though straining every faculty
To trace it as it slowly fell.
I never knew that hours could seem
So timeless....turning on and on,
Like opalescent looms of thought
That idled in the cosmic dawn.
Somewhere I lost perspectives clear;
My transient mind refused to pause
With one idea long enough
To comprehend effect and cause.
Then, too, there were diversions small,
The mottled Paisley of the leaves
That moved and dappled over me
In oriental filigrees . . . .
I marked the rank and file of ants....
And ants....like coolies in the sun
Climb up the crenelated hills
Of ancient earth. I watched them r
And marvelled where nature's labored pl
Endowing, with such strange results,
Ants with an overwhelming urge
To toil....while men considered cu
My occidental restlessness
Would not permit me seven years
Nor days, to sit and contemplate.
I found myself assailed by fears
That never could I fathom depths
Of thought, if I were so beguiled....
So easily misled by ants....
And sensed that Buddha knew....
and smiled.



"Kashmir Crafts: A poster by J. Patrick Foulds
The artist is seen standing

PREMATURE RETIREMENT OF THE INDIAN SERVICES

By BOOL CHAND, M.A.

In an article on Bureaucracy Professor Harold J. Laski states that:

> 'The characteristics of such a regime are a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions, and a refusal to embark upon experiment. In extreme cases the members of a bureaucracy may become more or less a hereditary caste manipulating government to their own advantage.'[1]

Such manipulation of government to their own advantage seems to have become a basic characteristic of the British bureaucracy in India. An example of how institutions arise in India, lose their original meaning and purpose in the course of their working, and end ultimately by becoming so many additions to the long list of 'traditional' privileges and rights of the bureaucracy, may be found in the recent developments of the principle of premature retirement of the Indian Services.

II

The principle of premature retirement is not one of the 'ancient' privileges of the Civil Service. Its genesis may be traced to a recommendation of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1918 :

> 'The Committee think that every precaution should be taken to secure to the public servants the career in life to which they looked forward when they were recruited, and they have introduced fresh provisions in this clause (*i.e.*, 96B) to that end. If friction occurs, a readjustment of persons or places may often get over the difficulty, and the Governor must always regard it as one of his most important duties to establish a complete understanding between his Ministers and the officers through whom they will have to work. But if there are members of the Service whose doubts as to the changes to be made are so deeply rooted that they feel they cannot usefully endeavour to take part in them, then the Committee think it would be only fair to those officers that they should be offered an equivalent career elsewhere if it is in the power of His Majesty's Government to do so, or, in the last resort, that they should be allowed to retire on such pension as the Secretary of State in Council may consider suitable to their period of service.'[2]

It need hardly be stressed that the purpose of the Joint Committee was not to add to the rights and privileges of the Civil Service. On the contrary, the recommendation of the Joint Committee seems, by implication, to point out the extreme absurdity of the existing claims of British officers in India and as it were, to hint that since India had now started on the road to responsible government, it was time that this absurdity were once for all rectified. The manifest object of the recommendation was to get rid of those useless civil servants who might feel 'unable to serve the Government of India with advantage to the state, by reason of the introduction of the reformed constitution,'[3] and whose continuance in office could do nothing but harm to the chances of the success of the new constitution.

It was in this spirit that the Secretary of State in Council formulated the scheme for premature retirement which was issued (as *Cmd.* 1727) in the year 1922. Under this scheme All-India Officers selected for appointment bebefore 1st January, 1920, and not permanently employed under the Government of India, were allowed to retire before they had completed the normal full service, on a pension proportionate to their length of service. It was assumed that those who entered service after 1st January, 1920, had informed themselves of the nature of the constitutional change which had taken place and its probable effect upon their work and prospects. The permanent employees of the Government of India were excluded from the benefits of the scheme, because 'the Central Government was still an official government, responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament, and there had been no such alteration in the conditions of service of officers employed under it as would justify a relaxation of the rules governing retirement and pension'.[4]

The terms embodied in the Orders were rather unduly liberal. The pension available to the prematurely retiring officers was computed on the basis that the maximum pension of £1,000 was obtainable after 21 years' active service,[5] so that the officers were allowed as pension such proportion of £1,000 a year as the period of their service bore to 21 years. And in addition, the retiring officers were allowed to secure all the benefits of Civil Service Family Pensions Scheme etc. fully if they would continue to make contributions upto the age of 54 according to the scheduled rates, or proportionately to their period of service if they should choose to stop future contributions at once. It was no wonder that 'by 1922, 200 All-India officers had retired under these special terms, and by 1924 the number had risen to 345'.[6]

---

[1] *Encyclopædia of Social Sciences*, III, p. 70.

[2] Report of the Joint Select Committee, 1918 (H. C., 203), pp. 11-12.

[3] *Cmd.* 1727, p. 3.

[4] *Cmd.* 1727, p. 3.

[5] The maximum pension of £1,000 is really for certain special appointments 'carrying additional pensions.' All prematurely retiring officers were given the advantage of these special posts.

In view, however, of the very nature and necessity of their inception, these Orders had definitely stipulated two conditions : (*i*) that all applications for permission to retire prematurely in consequence of the reforms must reach the Local Government before the 31st March, 1924, 'by which date officers will have had ample opportunity to appreciate the effects of the recent constitutional changes and to arrive at a considered decision'[7], and (*ii*) that any officers who did not apply before that date would not be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional developments that may subsequently take place. These two conditions were in reality of the very essence and purpose of the new scheme. But bureaucrats cannot be expected to take any such limitations upon their 'privileges' in spirit of resignation. True to their tradition of 'manupulating government to their own advantage', they set about to secure a modification of these conditions, till by means of gradual and steady changes in the rules they have succeeded in transforming what was meant to be a limitation upon their choice into a far-reaching and valuable addition to their already abundant store of privileges.

How they have managed to do so, it is the purpose of this essay to analyse.

III

The first step in the process was taken in 1923. On 15th June of that year, there had been appointed the Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India[8], to enquire among other things into 'the organization and general conditions of service, financial or otherwise, of those Services.'[9] To this Commission, 'numerous representations'[10] were made by British officers of the Indian Services, complaining against the *harshness* of the rules governing the grant of proportionate retiring pensions. The modifications asked for were : (*i*) that compensation for loss of career should be given in addition to proportionate pension in cases other than of compulsory retirement.

(*ii*) that the privileges of retirement on proportionate pension should be extended to members of the Central Services.

(*iii*) that the right to retire on proportionate pension should be extended indefinitely.

The Commission rejected the first demand because 'in its view the present rules governing the grant of proportionate pensions were sufficiently generous already.[11] The second demand which was urged upon it 'with great insistence,'[11] it found more difficult to wholly reject. Although it was 'unable to support' the extension of the privilege to members of the Central Services, it nevertheless recommended that any British officers who were employed in the reserved field should be free to retire on a proportionate pension, if at any time the department in which they were employed should be transferred to the control of Ministers responsible to the legislature, the option to retire remaining open for one year from the date of such transfer. This recommendation had the result nullifying the effect of the rules of 1922, which had definitely provided that after 31st March, 1924, no officer would be eligible for a pension on premature retirement in consequence of any constitutional development that may subsequently take place. In another way also, the Commission destroyed the whole effect of the Orders of 1922, for it completely accepted the third demand of the Services that the right to retire on proportionate pension be extended indefinitely, and recommended that in the case of all future British recruits to the All-India Services this rule should be made and a clause inserted in their contracts to that effect.

IV

The activities of British bureaucrats, however, do not seem to have been solely confined to making representations to the Royal Commission on Civil Services in India. Their influence was presumably working all this time in another direction also, and here comparatively freer from the gaze of the Indian public, and therefore perhaps with surer chances of success. Indeed, the effect did become visible in this quarter even before the publication of the Report of Lee Commission.[12] The Report of the Lee Commission was presented on 27th March, 1924; but exactly two months and eleven days before the Secretary of State in Council had already issued detailed rules for premature retirement, with 'amplifications and clarifications.'[13] These rules were 'in the main a reproduction in the form of statutory rules of existing orders';[13] but the time limit specified in the original Orders of 1922 as to the last date for applications was cleverly omitted in these detailed rules. Equally well was the other condition ignored that officers who failed to avail of the concession of premature retirement now would lose all such right in consequence of any future constitutional development.

---

[6] Simon Commission Report, Vol. I (*Cmd.* 3568), p. 267.

[7] *Cmd.* 1727, p. 3.

[8] Under the chairmanship of Viscount Lee of Fareham.

[9] Terms of Reference, *Cmd.* 2128, p. 2.

[10] *Cmd.* 2128, p. 43.

[11] *Cmd.* 2128, p. 44.

About these rules of 1924, the Simon Commission said thus:

> 'In 1924, when the Lee Commission reported, the concession of premature retirement extended only to All-India officers who had entered the service before 1920, and it was to continue in force until the action proposed to be taken on the Report of the Statutory Commission was known. The position then would necessarily be reviewed.'[14]

How the time-limit of four years had suddenly got extended to ten and odd years (for the Statutory Commission was to be appointed only ten years after the operation of the Government of India Act, 1919), one fails to understand and better had not seek to enquire, for the methods of bureaucracy are not alwaws simple and straightforward.

These rules of 1924 were further amended in minor details on the 12th of May and 5th of August, 1925, and were then reprinted in an amended form. From this reprint even the ineffective sentence that these rules were in the main a reproduction of existing orders had vanished. That sentence had been a mere meaningless tautology even when it was first used in the rules of 1924, as the interpretation later put on those rules by the Simon Commission shows; its disappearance from the rules of 1925 served to pave the ground for further changes in the terms governing premature retirement, for now it was possible to invoke the authority of the 1925 rules in the future.

V

It may not be entirely irrelevant to refer to the recommendations of the discredited Simon Commission in relation to the principle of premature retirement, for these recommendations form the real basis of the recent legislation on the subject. The Simon Commission said:

> 'Under the present rules, whatever right an officer has to retire prematurely may lapse twelve months after action has been taken upon our Report. If no extension is given, we are apprehensive that a considerable number of able and experienced officers will retire while they can, rather than take the risk of continuing their service under the new conditions without any right of pension until they have completed the full term of service. This would be disastrous not only to administration at the moment but to recruitment for the future; for it is certain that premature retirements would seriously affect the willingness of young men to join the service. We recommend, therefore, that retirement on proportionate pension should remain open without limit of time to any officer who might under the present rules have so retired upon the coming into force of the constitutional changes which we have proposed.'[15]

The Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1933, took its cue from these recommendations of the Simon Commission. After enumerating the various general rights and safeguards, like protection against dismissal or reduction, indemnity for past acts etc., common to all members of the Public Services, the Report of the Joint Committee goes on to mention a 'special right' of the officers appointed by the Secretary of State to 'such compensation for the loss of any existing right as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable.'[16] Among these existing rights, the Joint Committee includes the right to premature retirement on proportionate pension,[17] although when exactly this right come to 'exist' and on exactly what grounds, it becomes on analysis a little difficult to understand.

These existing service rights of officers appointed by the Secretary of State, the Report goes on to point out, proceed from two sources, some of them being conferred by the Government of India Act itself, and others 'embodied in statutory rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.'[18] Normally, that distinction in the source of origin would cause a fundamental technical difference in the validity and force of the two types of service rights; for while the rights which are conferred by the Government of India Act could be modified and abolished only by an amending Act of Parliament, those conferred by the

---

[12] *Cmd.* 2128.

[13] Statutory Rules and Orders, No. 61 of 1924.

[14] Simon Commission Report, Vol. I (*Cmd.* 3568), p. 273.

[15] Report, Vol. II (*Cmd.* 3569), p. 291-2.

[16] Report of the J. P. C., H. C. 5 (Vol. 1 Part I), p. 176.

[17] *Ibid*, p. 374.

Secretary of State in Council could be taken away or modified by that authority without any reference to Parliament at all. Yet, in practice, the force of that distinction has been greatly diminished by the suggestion of the Joint Committee that:

> 'The whole body of service rights, from whatever source derived, may properly be regarded as forming a single code, which the members of the All-India services now serving may equitably claim should not be varied (at least without a right of compensation) to their disadvantage.'[18]

VI

In pursuance of these recommendations of the Joint Committee, the Secretary of State with the concurrence of his Advisers has recently issued new Orders to regulate premature retirement on proportionate pensions.[19] These rules cut new ground altogether. Firstly, cancelling all previous rules regarding premature retirement, these Orders lay down that the right of premature retirement shall accrue to all officers of All-India Services selected or appointed before the 1st of April, 1937, and to all officers of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police to be selected or appointed thereafter, whose domicile at the time of such selection or appointment is non-Asiatic. Secondly, these Orders render any declaration, to the effect that retirement on proportionate pension is sought on account of the introduction of reformed constitution, unnecessary and needless.

These new Orders, thus, have changed the whole view and meaning of the institution of premature retirement. Premature retirement was initiated as a temporary measure to meet temporary exigencies. The principle had been on the whole coolly received by the Indian public (even though it meant a wholly unjustifiable burden upon the Indian exchequer), because it was clearly meant to be operative only for three or four years in order to get rid of unwilling and therefore undesirable British officers. On the pretence of a continuous series of short leases, the right of premature retirement was kept operative throughout the period of last eighteen years. And now it has been imposed upon India, in a new form, as a permanent right of non-Asiatic members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police, to be perpetually operative in the future, and to be modified or abolished only in barter for 'such compensation as the Secretary of State may consider just and equitable.' Is there any m sordid example of manipulation by the ru bureaucracy of the institutions of law a government to its own advantage?

VII

For look at it from whatever point of vi one might, the principle of premature retirem fails to appear even of the slightest a remotest advantage to the country wherein is designed to operate. Its benefits acc completely to British bureaucracy: its cons quences for India—political, financial, a administrative—are wholly unsavoury.

The political necessity for the institutio of premature retirement, as admitted by t Simon Commission, consists in the Briti Government's desire to attract more Briti recruits for the Indian services. Whatever mig be the validity of such desire to the Briti Government—for, the provision of well-paid jo for British young men in India does in a ver real sense help to lessen the competition f higher jobs at home, and contributes incidentall to the strengthening of British grip over India— from India's point of view, any attempt popularise recruitment for the Indian servic in England by artificial baits and indirec increase of emoluments cannot but be highly unwelcome a venture, for its effect can merely be to impede the progress of the Indianisatio of Indian services and Indianisation of th tone of Indian government generally.

From the economic standpoint, the cons quences of the free operation of the principle premature retirement might well be disastro to India. Already the amount of annu payments to England by India is enormou the operation of the principle of prematu retirement can result only in adding to greatly. Under the Orders now in force, should be possible for an officer of the Indi Civil Service or the Indian Police to retire af the service of ten and a half years, that is say, at the age of 32 or 33 years, and cl from India a lifelong pension of £500 a y with a large number of other highly valu benefits. Speaking theoretically, would not existence of such possibility lead to a growin large number of British civilians seek premature retirement from a country, ser in which is at best *distasteful* to them, in or to look for a less hazardous, even if comp tively less remunerative, job at home? In eff then, under the scheme of premature retirem the role of the Indian tax-payer would be me to maintain, throughout their long life, an a of British young men, who may have chosen in the earlier part of their life to take a short holiday of ten years or so in India.

---

[18] Report of the J. S. C., H. C. 5 (Vol. 1 Part I), p. 176.

[19] Statutory Rules and Orders, No. 481 of 1937.

Looked at from the administrative point of view, the first few years of service in an administrative position are hardly different from a holiday; or at best but a period of training. So that the result of the operation of the principle of premature retirement would really be this, that the British young man would learn his job at India's expense, and as soon as he has learnt it, he would return home or go to some other part of the British Empire or the world, where he would utilise his training and knowledge, and still continue to live largely upon India's head.

Is it not desirable that a principle or an institution, which is capable of producing such harmful results, should be brought to an end at once ?

TRIBAL POPULATION AND CHRISTIANITY

A Plea for Organised Mission Work Among the Tribal People by the Hindus

By D. N. MAJUMDAR, *Lucknow University*

CHRISTIANITY in the United Provinces has suffered a set back as will appear from the figures of percentage variation since 1901. From 1891 to 1901, the percentage increase in the number of Christians in these Provinces was +75, in the decade 1901-1911, it was +13 and in 1921 to 31, +2. While during the decade 1921-1931, the Muslims increased by +10·8, the Hindus by +5·7 (from a decrease of —4·2 in the last decade) and the Aryas by +54·7. Evidently this decrease in the ranks of Christianity is to be traced not to a defect in enumeration as Christians show a higher literacy and are more organised than other communities, but to a defection. The Census Superintendent of the U. P. explains this defection as due to the fact that many who returned themselves as Indian Christians were imperfectly converted. They were found in small groups in towns and the larger villages and the permanence of their conversion was not assured. Missionary efforts for economic and other reasons were very much restricted, so that many of the borderline converts have gone back to Hinduism, orthodox or reformed. The sweepers and Chamars who in the Meerut district returned themselves as Indian Christians in 1921, returned themselves as Aryas in 1931. But the most important cause of this decline, I should think, is the comparative difficulty of providing economic assistance by the missionaries, and thus groups which embraced Christianity from secular rather than spiritual benefits, retraced their steps and are swelling the ranks of the Aryas.

The total number of Indian Christians in the Province of Bihar and Orissa (the two have separated and have formed independent units), enumerated at the Census of 1931 is about 403,700. Of this number, 261,776 or 65% are found in one single district, *viz.*, Ranchi. 96% of the Indian Christians in the Province are to be traced in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. The primitive tribes furnish the most fruitful source for Christian missionaries. The Oraons, the Mundas, the Kharias and the Sonthals have between them contributed 88% of Christians in the Province. In areas where the tribal people are dominant, there has been little defection in number, but in those areas where they live in association with other communities, who are numerically much stronger than themselves, they have either identified themselves with the Hindus or have adopted Christianity. The Sonthals who live mostly in the Sonthal Pergannahs show an increase from 670,535 in 1901 to 754,804 in 1931. The increase in the number of those who follow tribal religions is from 589,590 in 1901 to 744,418 in 1931. The Christian Sonthals show an increase from 7,064 in 1901 to 9,963 in 1931. The Hindu Sonthals record a decrease from 73,881 in 1901 to 423 in 1931. This shows that where the Sonthals are dominant, even the Hinduised Sonthals take a pride in their tribal culture today, but in areas where they are in a minority, they have either accepted Christianity or listed themselves in the ranks of Hinduism. Similarly the Ho-s who live in a compact area and enjoy a protective form of administration have not provided a fruitful field for Christianity while the

Mundas, the Kharias and the Oraons of the Ranchi district have made the largest contribution to Christianity.

Before the British rule was consolidated in Chota Nagpur, the Mundas and cognate tribes appear to have lived by hunting, by Jhum cultivation, and by the collection of jungle produce. They used to clear a patch of land, by felling the forest trees and setting fire to them and when the field was burnt down, they planted seeds in the ground with the help of the digging stick. It is a wasteful method of agriculture no doubt but the virgin forests of the Chota Nagpur Plateau allowed such expansion for a time.

Soon after the British Government came on the scene, Hindu farmers began to immigrate into the asylum of the Mundas in large numbers. As S. C. Roy puts it:

> "With foreigners from Bengal and Bihar unacquainted with the customs, the land tenures and the languages of the people, in all the subordinate government posts, and with alien landlords, the Mundas had indeed a very trying time of it."[1]

Signs of unrest among the aboringinal population all over Chota Nagpur proper was abundantly in evidence. Now and again, serious riots broke out. There was an insurrection in Tamar which was not quelled until Lieutenant Cooper made an expedition against the insurgents and reduced them.[2]

For a time the Government helped the cause of the landlords, as it meant increased revenue from them. Everywhere the Zemindars have been giving grants to the new-comers Hindus, Sikhs and Mussalmans, who were fast ousting the original holders of the soil. The oppressive conduct of the new Jagirdars led to great hardship to the Mundas and Oraons and they deserted their villages to escape the turbulance of the landlords. The insurrection of 1831 was only "the bursting of a fire that had long been smouldering." In the words of Mr. Blunt, who was at the time (1832) a member of the Governor-General's Council, the insurrection originated in the dispossession of the Mankis and Mundas of a number of important Pergannahs, from their hereditary lands and leadership of the people, countenanced, if not instigated, by some influential person or persons in the area. The quelling of the insurrection ushered in a new epoch in the administration of the country and Chota Nagpur was constituted as a Non-Regulation Province. The change in administration, however, did not mend the situation. The fight between the Hindus and the aborigines of Chota Nagpur took another form. With the help of the law courts and the police who were recruited from Bihar, the Hindus again became masters of the field, and considerable oppression and hardship were meted out to the aborigines. In spite of the best efforts of the administration things did not improve much and the advent of the missionary in Chota Nagpur was hailed by the aboriginal people as an accession of strength to their cause. Towards the end of the 19th century the denudation of the forests and the reckless husbandry of them as customary among the primitive tribes led to stringent forest laws with reservation and protection of a considerable part of the forest in Chota Nagpur and thus the Mundas were faced by famine. The little land they had was incapable of supporting the pressure of population, nor did they prove skilful farmers like the Hindus. Besides, much of their country by this time passed into the hands of the Hindu owners.

The Christian missionaries came on the scene, promised to assist the Mundas, in their fight against the Hindu landlords,

> "They helped them with loans which were to be transmuted into gifts in case of conversion, while some of them through a misguided zeal even held out hopes of new grants of land to the famishing people."[3]

The Mundas felt a great relief and saw in Christian culture an escape from imminent danger. This led to a large scale conversion of the Mundas into Christianity and a tightening of reins by the alien landlords. For a time the converts were persecuted and became martyrs. This gave a filip to the movement for conversion with the result that the number of converts began to increase by thousands. The economic benefits to the converts, the arrangement for their education, and grants for their families and the consequent improvement of their standard of living, helped to consolidate the position of Christianity among the aboriginal elements.

As S. C. Roy wrote in his monograph on the Mundas :

> "From the very commencement of their work in Chota Nagpur, the Catholic Fathers perceived that unless effective means were devised to improve the material condition of the converts, religion will have little hold on their minds."

The Catholic Mission Industrial School was opened at Ranchi in the year 1894, with a view to the amelioration of the economic condition of the Christian converts of the Mission

---

1. *The Mundas and their Country* by S. C. Roy.
2. Dalton : *Ethnology of Bengal.*
3. *Mundas and their Country* by S. C. Roy.

The school was intended to turn out carpenters and masons. This school was discontinued after some time and another large industrial school was started at Khunti which lies in the heart of Munda country. A large Tile factory was opened by the Rev. Father Hoffman in the year 1908, which now trains a number of Mundas and Oraon boys and young men in the manufacture of roofing and flooring tiles with cement and sand. The Chota Nagpur Catholic Co-operative Credit Society was registered under Act X of 1904 on the 2nd December, 1909. It is a large centralised society embracing the whole Roman Catholic population of Ranchi and formed with the object of enabling the members of the Mission to constitute themselves into a system of federated and autonomous societies with the central institution. This society which was organised on the Raiffeisen system, has done wonderful service for the aboriginal converts. Thus the success of Christianity in Chota Nagpur is to be traced to the splendidly organised educational and benevolent institutions of the Catholic Mission, while the self-sacrificing zeal with which the missionaries have worked and the picturesque forms and ceremonies connected with Catholic worship have naturally appealed to the aboriginal mind and the fruits of such organized activities are to be seen in the following figures :4

Tribe	Year	Actual Strength	Number per Mille		
			Hindu	Tribal	Christian
Ho	1911	420,179	143	854	3
	1921	441,424	112	884	3
	1931	523,158	248	748	4
Kharia	1911	133,657	283	505	212
	1921	124,531	364	362	274
	1931	146,037	353	211	436
Khond	1911	302,829	448	552	—
	1921	287,355	453	547	—
	1931	315,709	531	469	—
Munda	1911	490,948	181	655	164
	1921	460.319	274	522	204
	1931	549,764	298	459	243
Oraon	1911	587,411	89	719	192
	1921	566.383	170	619	211
	1931	637,111	349	423	228

Though with Christianity has come economic advantages, an appreciation of the rights of the tribal people as original clearers of the soil, an appreciation of the benefits of a higher standard of living, and many other temporal benefits, yet conversion to Christianity has not solved the social problems of the converts. Conversion to Christianity has not eradicated the primitive habits of thought and action. Christianity has helped only to supplement the tribal pantheon without seriously challenging or dispossessing their indigenous gods and spirits. Nor has Christianity succeeded in eliminating the caste system in India. As Risley put it, caste is in the air and Islam and Christianity even are not free from it. The social distance in India between the higher and lower groups has led to conversion to the Sikh faith, to Islam or to Christianity,

> "But even after conversion the social stigma attached to the untouchables or depressed groups has not altogether disappeared."[5]

The southern Indian Christians distinguish between the castes of the converts in the seating accommodation in Churches.

The following extracts from the *Statesman* of the 30th December, 1936 will explain this :

> "The difference between Catholic Harijans and caste Catholics over the matter of seating accommodation in St. Mary's Cathedral, Kumbakonam, reached a climax on Christmas Day when, it is reported the front door of the Church was closed and two other side gates opened for the admission of caste Christians and Harijans separately.
>
> "Some Harijans while attempting to effect an entrance through the caste door, were, it is stated, ill-treated by rowdies hired for the occasion. Those who managed to enter were not allowed to worship. The caste Catholics stood in front and obstructed the view of the altar.
>
> "The Harijans convened a mass meeting yesterday and condemned the attitude of the Indian Bishop who it was alleged, had been siding with the caste Catholics. The meeting also took exception to the Bishop's conduct in forcing Harijan women attending Church Services along with caste women to confine themselves to the segregated portion of the Church. A resolution was passed requesting the Bishop to accord equal treatment, failing which another conference would be convened to settle their future relationship with the Catholic Church."

The Mazhbi Sikhs are looked down upon by the Sikhs who are not Mazhbi while the dislike of the exterior castes remain even when they turn Muslim.[6]

In the matter of cultural progress also, the aboriginal converts do not show a very high standard compared to their erstwhile brethren. Child marriage exists among the Christians of Bihar and Orissa. Between the ages of 5 to 10, 47 per thousand Christian girls are married or widowed, the figures of girl wives among the tribal population in the same

---

[4] *The Census Report of Bihar and Orissa*, 1931.

[5] *Census Report of India*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 1931.

[6] *Census Report of India*, Vol. I, Part 1, 1933.

age period being 97, while that for Hindus are 290 and Muslims 342. Late marriage is customary among the tribal population, compared with 564 among Christians (the figures for Hindus being 909 and Muslims 937), so that in the matter of postponement of marriage, the Christian converts do not show a wide divergence from tribal practices. The number of unmarried per thousand males among the tribal population between the ages of 25 to 30, is 136, while the figure among the Christians is 110. The figures for women are 62 and 70 respectively. Whereas there are 63 unmarried girls between the ages of 15 and 20 among Muslims, there are 91 among Hindus, 436 among Christians and 313 tribal.

The religious life of Christian converts does not appear to be fundamentally different from that of the aboriginal tribes. Primitive tribes are by nature singularly tenacious of purpose and cling to old traditions. Even where the tribes have been assimilated into the ranks of Hinduism, tribal deities have only been supplemented by others introduced from the popular Hindu pantheon. When a Munda lies in the district hospital and undergoes a systematic treatment for illness, his wife and mother offer prayers and sacrifices to the tribal deities at home, so that medicine and propitiation together bring about the desired cure. When epidemics sweep away the aborigines and the tribal deity presiding over such calamities, is propitiated by the village medicinemen by offerings of hen, pig and goat, the tribal officers receive adequate support and assistance from the Christian converts as well as Hinduised members of the tribes concerned.

The conception of a mysterious power, *viz.*, "bonga" is at the basis of primitive religious life in Chota Nagpur and this power is believed to give effectiveness to all beings and things.[7] This power conception is also a feature of the religious beliefs of the Christian converts and Christ is given the role of a power, a seer, a healer and a preacher just as Singbonga or Marangburu of the Munda-speaking tri very reputed authority on primitive cul this area has shown how animistic hab thought have not been eradicated by Chr ity and the basic ideas and fundamental t of the Christian converts and the followe tribal religion are largely similar.

Whether Christianity has succeede transforming the mental and moral life converts is an open question, but it is un able that the material advancement br about by the Missions has more than com sated any lapse in this respect. If Hin wants to reclaim the aboriginal tribes, it only be possible by a liberal scheme of econ uplift. The lines of activities introduced the Christian Missions will have to be ad to offer material assistance to the back communities and for this purpose, I propose following scheme which may be adjusted to local conditions.

(1) A Central Institute for organizing Mission in different areas should be inaugurated.

(2) This Institute should train missionaries or centres under its direction should be established. young missionaries must be prepared to sacrifice comforts but they will be maintained by the Ce Organization on a scale of subsistence allowance.

(3) The training of the missionaries should in a study of the languages of the area where the missio will be required to work, and a course on cultural an pology which will enable him to understand and inter the cultural life of the people, a course in ge economics including co-operation and a thorough of the eternal tenets of the Hindu faith. They be above sectarianism.

(4) Collecting funds and providing for ind and technical training of the backward communities assisting them in their struggle for economic exis

(5) Introducing reforms among the backward munities and reducing the social distance betwee different social groups.

(6) Removing disabilities by education and p sion.

(7) Organization of sports, recreation, fairs festivities and to encourage the people to give up prejudicial to their family, such as the habit of etc., and to adopt practices from neighbouring which are beneficial and have been proved to be

(8) Above all the missionaries will be requi work with self-sacrificing zeal, to devote heart an to the work entrusted to them. They should c as far as practicable to simple and ascetic habits of

---

[7] *A Tribe in Transition*—Longmans Green & Co., 1937.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B. GREGG

I

MONEY has so many functions that you cannot be sure just what will happen when you use it. Its manifold abilities are as if we were somehow to assemble a piece of gold, a quart measure, a push cart, a refrigerator, a national flag, and a barometer, blend and mix them all into one thing able to perform all or any of the functions of those different articles, and give this thing a name, X, without any marks to distinguish the separate functions. Nor have we any way to control which one of these functions will act on any given occasion. I start to use it as a quart measure but find that its properties as a refrigerator are interfering with the measuring I want to do. Or, I start to trade it as a piece of gold, but the emotions roused in my customer by its being a flag spoil the result I had expected and incidentally stop the action of the barometer. Or, the push cart runs away with the refrigerator and leaves me empty handed and lamenting. What is the matter with money?

Let us see what different things money does. It is complex and performs many kinds of actions, the economists tell us. They say that money is

(1) a medium of exchange;
(2) a measure of value, usually for the purpose of exchange;
(3) a means of transferring value from place to place;
(4) a store of value, *i.e.*, a means of transferring value from one time to a later time;
(5) a symbol of credit (trust); and
(6) a standard for estimating the present value of a future act or obligation, though this function may be only a variant of the measure-of-value function.

Thus it has what for shortness' sake we may call an exchange function, a measure function, a transfer function, a storage function, a symbol function, and an estimating function.

This tool, money, with its many uses, is not like any of the multi-functioned machines such as some of the complex metal-working lathes, or the grain combine which reaps, thrashes, winnows and puts the wheat into sacks. In such machines the different operations are always performed in the same order or are at least completely controllable, and the result is uniform. This is not the case with money.

Doing so many things, money has many meanings. That is to say, a dollar, regarded as a word in the language of economics, is ambiguous. I may intend to use it only as a medium of exchange, but the man to whom I hand it may take it primarily as a store of value, and proceed to hoard it. Or, he may use it in any of the possible permutations and combinations of its functions, of which by algebraic rule there are a great many. Hence, people cannot tell surely what a given use of money will do. The confused and differing opinions of bankers and economists is one example of this uncertainty. If in talking you used words which each had five or six different meanings, you could be sure of only one thing, that your auditors would misunderstand you and be confused. So the use of money confuses men's minds and emotions and motives. In dealing with thoughts and emotions, even more than when dealing with things, it is important to be clear. This confusion in the money tool creates greater difficulties than would a many-functioned purely material tool. This confusion makes the abuse of money easy, and its control difficult. In regard to the social problems of money the common man is bewildered and helpless.

The wisest historians tell us that man learns very, very slowly or perhaps not at all from his past history. Yet he has made great advances. The advances have come when he has invented a new tool, or a new discipline, or discovered and stated a law of Nature or of spirit, or when he has made improvements in any of these tools, disciplines or statements. Many of his tools are material, such as the wheel or the telephone, enabling him to use more effectively the external forces of Nature. Some of the tools are intangible, such as intellectual concepts; or partly intangible and partly tangible, such as symbols, enabling him to use more effectively his inner forces of mind and emotion. Indeed, disciplines and statements of the laws of Nature or of spirit are also in the nature of tools. So we may say that man has progressed by inventing tools, external or internal.

Money is one of these tools, in its modern forms partly tangible and partly intangible. Its immense importance we all know. I believe that an improvement in this tool and symbol would enable the human race to take a great step forward.

Money is a commonplace of our environment. Being an artificial thing it is not used instinctively and unconsciously as we breathe air, but always consciously and for deliberate purposes. Yet such thought as we give to it is rather mechanical, exterior and descriptive. We talk about what we do or should do with it, overlooking usually what it may be doing with us. We have learned that physical environment influences man; we can appreciate how intangible forces of history and customs have shaped men, especially those of other nations than our own. We ourselves have been moulded by the tools we use, but it is not so easy to realize clearly in what way and to what extent. We tend to forget that any means which we constantly use not only determines the character of the end actually achieved but also modifies our character in the process. Money is such a tool, such a means, and such an element of our environment. How have we adapted ourselves to it? Has its effect upon us been wholly desirable? If not, can we, as in other well-known instances, alter this part of our environment to our advantage?

To understand this effect of money let us examine in more detail the different things it does.

As a Medium of Exchange

Solely as a medium of exchange, money has been an immense boon to man. It has given him freedom to a degree that probably none of his other inventions have done. Without it he was chained to certain areas and very narrowly circumscribed in what he could eat, wear, possess, do, and learn. Before money was invented life was appallingly monotonous, meagre and oppressive. This function in itself seems to be wholly beneficial, with no drawbacks.[1]

As a Measure of Value

When we come, however, to the fun of measuring value, though that, too, is imm sely important and useful, we begin to m trouble. It is well known that in relation the things which it will buy, money is a v unstable unit. In 1919 a dollar bought, on average, only half as much goods as it bou in 1913. By 1927 it had again changed so to buy about 70% of what it bought in 19 Smaller ups and downs are going on every d We refer to this phenomenon as change prices or fluctuations in the cost of living, b it is just as true to say that the change tak place in the dollar. A loaf of bread has much physiological value to me now as it h a year ago, but I pay 11 cents for it now compared with only 10 cents a year ago. If dollar is a measure of value it ought to st steady all the time, just as a yardstick or pound weight does, and measure me out same quantity of the thing it is designed measure. In reality it is as if I were using rubber yardstick, 36 inches long yesterday, inches long today, 41 inches long next wee If shops use false weights and measures, shopkeepers are heavily fined or put in pris but the variations in the measure of the val of what we constantly buy and sell do not brin punishment to anyone except the poor o citizens themselves. For purposes of exchang variations in the value of money are equival to variations in every standard of weight a measure. The hardships and injustices th caused have at present no redress.

Money is intended to measure values, t is to say, what people desire, and peopl desires change from time to time. But regard to quantities of personally consuma goods people's desires usually change graduall —much more slowly than variations in pric

Could carpenters build decent houses their foot rules varied in length from day day? Could engineers build safe bridges dams if their measuring chains were elast Could scientists or mechanics get valid and l ing results if they used variable units measurement? Then how can we expect have a secure and satisfactory economic str ture while we use so erratic a unit value as money? This difficulty is not so thing that anybody can escape, for this zig- measure of value is at the same time our medium of exchange, so we all have to us nearly every day and often many times a da

There is another aspect of this mea function of money. Exchange of goods is important characteristic of our civilization. Science has strongly impressed upon us the uses and benefits of measurement, and has taught us how to measure a great many things which formerly were unmeasurable,—*e.g.*, electricity, the distance of stars, the velocity of light. We combine our ideas of exchange and of measurement and we think that almost everything can be measured, and even measured in terms of money. But it is not so. You cannot measure the beauty of the statue of the Buddha at Sarnath with a yardstick; there is no means of measuring goodness or wisdom or personality. All you can do is to appreciate such things. True, people pay large sums for works of art, and assert that they "are worth" so-and-so many thousand rupees but that is not a true measure. Nor can you even accurately measure personal service or work. Certain qualities cannot be expressed in terms of quantity, and certain intangibles cannot adequately or accurately be expressed by tangibles. To apply a money measurement to such things is at best only a rough metaphor.

---

[1] See *Money Power and Human Life* by Fred Henderson, John Day Co., New York and London, 1933.
Move the Goods (pamphlet) by Stuart Chase, *Ibid.*, 1934.
The Story of Money by Norman Angell, F. A. Stokes Co., New York, 1929, also London.

As a Store of Value

When we come to money as a store of value we find another set of difficulties as well as a great advantage. This storage function resulted from the historical origin of money. The first kind of money was not metallic coins or stamped pieces of paper, but cattle or ornaments such as cowrie shells. Later, iron, copper, silver and gold were used as money. In each case the thing chosen had value in men's eyes and was a commodity of trade. Hence for many centuries money has been itself a commodity. We all trade with it, exchanging it for the other things we want. All commodities have their price, of course. The thing exchanged for money, when money is sold, has to be other commodities, though the values of the other commodities are *measured* in money unit terms. Ever since bartering or exchange in kind was abandoned, all prices have been in terms of money.

The money commodity is rented more than any other form of personal property. This rental of money we call loaning or borrowing. The rent price of money is called interest. Those who specialize in the storing and renting of money are called bankers.

Since money is a tangible store of value and hence a commodity, its price, like that of all commodities, fluctuates somewhat according to supply and demand. Probably this cannot be wholly prevented. Fluctuations in the price of money are the same as fluctuations in the standard measure of value. If we could separate the storage function from the measure and exchange functions, we could greatly reduce these fluctuations in the price of money and prevent immense losses and hardships.

While money is highly useful as a tangible, measurable store of value, nevertheless we need some sort of restraint laid upon it, so that it would not be regarded as the ultimate, absolute value. The state of the arts and sciences constitutes a big slice of real economic value and security for both the individual and community. Yet prior to the arts and sciences and aside from them, a constant and regularly active mutual trust and its manifestation in many forms are the source of economic value and security. This trust in turn rests upon a strong common purpose, and interest and liking of people for one another, and non-violent modes of solving conflict. Such conditions are summarized in the word *peace*. These conditions consist of a combination of inner attitudes and outer activities consistent with the inner feelings. But a money economy makes security depend on individual selfish acquisitiveness instead of on trust. Trust grows when men serve first and foremost the community and the common purpose. There has sometimes been an element of service and community purpose in the making of private fortunes, but it has not often been predominant. Money splits up community security and plays upon men's fears,—fears of the future and of each other's motives, fears that compel them to compete with one another to a harmful degree. Money has worked on us so long that it is now hampering the further development of science, art and technology.[2]

Since exchange plays a great part in our life, and since money combines the three functions of exchange, measure and storage, we tend to think of money not only as a symbol or a store of value but as itself the supreme value. This idea that money is the supreme value developed into that ancient delusion called Mercantilism, the idea that money is the only real wealth. This in turn is probably responsible for our harmful tariffs, the common reluctance to import as much or more than we export, the fear of "an adverse balance of trade."

In former days economic security depended much more upon the mutual support afforded by the institutions of family, community, clan, tribe, caste, or church. Those institutions constituted the store of social and economic value for the individual as well as for society as a whole. Religion supplied the deeper moral and spiritual values. Now that all those institutions have weakened, we have tried to fill the need for a store of value by means of money. It is quite likely, however, that the actual process was the other way around,—that the use of money for this purpose did not come about because the old securities and values had decayed, but that the use of money was one of the important causes of the breakdown of those institutional forms of security and value.

---

[2] See *The Frustration of Science* by Sir Daniel Hall and others, Allen & Unwin, London, 1935.

Nowadays we have to possess and use money in order to exist. Since it is the store of value and seems to be the one sure means to economic security and to the survival of human life, people rank it above all other prizes. For example, people will risk their health in order to make money because money will buy the services of doctors, nurses and hospitals. Again, men will sometimes commit crimes and breaches of trust in order to win money. With money they can acquire prestige, high social position and always the services of skilled lawyers. It has even been suggested that sometimes police, district attorneys, or juries can be purchased and judges influenced by the power and prestige of money. So the attainment of money wealth seems to some worth the risk of honour and character. Money seems the supreme value. In a civilization based on exchange, money is the primary means to power.

As Simmel[3] pointed out money makes possible great secrecy. By means of it one can hide vast wealth in very small space. This secrecy of money disguises many of its harmful aspects.

Because money is a store of value it becomes a symbol with emotional content. For purely rational purposes, this emotional content is a disadvantage and confuses thought, just as it would confuse science if the terminology of science were poetic and emotional.

MONEY AS A TOOL

About this stage in the discussion some critic might say, "You are making an absurd mistake. You are ascribing all sorts of moral evils to money. Since money is a tool, it can be and is, like other tools, used for both good and evil purposes. The wrong lies not in the inanimate tool, but in the motives of those who use it. You should not criticise the tool, but the evils for which the tool is sometimes used."

To such an argument I would reply that money, because it is a store of value, is a very special kind of tool, not wholly outside men's minds and desires. It is so dependent on understanding and convention that it is partly intangible, partly almost living. Economic values are closely intertwined with physical existence and with the higher ranges of human life, and so become moral as well as economic values. The function of storage of values is inherently moral. Exchange, saving, credit, economic power and security are moral as well as economic affairs. Although the a-morality of Nature may be maintained as a logical proposition, man's tools and symbols cannot be wholly divested of moral quality and moral effect, because they are his own creation and used for his purposes. They partake of his nature.

The economic and moral realms, like any other two levels of reality, are not wholly separate. For intellectual convenience we distinguish between them, just as we distinguish between the front and back of a man's head but they are not wholly unrelated. Life recognizes connections and wholes which intellectual analysis may for certain purposes want to keep distinct. The connections between morality and economics may be so subtle that they are not always immediately apparent. Nevertheless, the different levels are organically connected, and the connections do operate in the long run, and often fairly soon. Money as a part of our environment and as a part of our thoughts does affect our moral relationships. And because money in its present forms has inherent defects, bad moral results of its use are inevitable. If a defective semi-automatic telegraph machine transmitted words different from those which were intended, misunderstandings and confusion at the receiving end must result.

AS TRANSFERER OF VALUE

The ability of money to transfer value from place to place, together with the fact that money is a symbol for trust has made possible the extension of trade, modern industry, modern agriculture and modern mining into almost all parts of the world. Money has increased the external energies of mankind. Money is largely responsible for the immense growth of cities and of urban population over rural population, also for the development of the modern business corporation. It is one of the chief means and perhaps one of the chief causes of the modern wages system. In that system the owners of apital, for their pecuniary profit, have organized nto factories, transport systems, etc. the wage-arners, who are legally free but economically ound. Together with machinery, money has reated the so-called triumph of European ivilization.

---

[3] In his *Philosophie des Geldes*.

The power of money reaches farther than ily personal contact and common understand-g of men can do. Hence finance is definitely esponsible. For example, the managing irector of a Malayan rubber plantation, living London, may be the kindest of men. Yet ecause he cannot know the daily events and rcumstances of the lives of the Chinese workers that plantation he can hardly avoid doing em grave injustice by his executive orders.

We know how much trouble it makes for man to put him in a position of responsibility nd yet not give him powers commensurate ith his responsibilities. Very soon he gets verely criticised for something which happens ithin his jurisdiction, but as he is powerless o correct the situation, he resents the injustice ne him. Responsibility without correspond-g power results in moral wrong. So does ower without corresponding responsibility. Money sooner or later always creates a situa-ion of partly irresponsible power.

As a Symbol of Trust

Money, especially in its modern paper rms, has become a symbol of credit, that is to y, of human trust, belief and faith. In the ourse of centuries of the use of symbols their eaning seems often to wear away, leaving nly the shell devoid of almost all its original gnificance. When the meaning is lost, people hink and act as if the concrete symbol were ore important than the intangible reality hich the symbol originally represented. For xample, with some Christian church members hat has happened to the symbol of the cross. They act as if a cross placed on a building anctifies that building, forgetting that holiness is a quality built on far different and intangible actors. When a symbol has lost its signi-ficance, a means has become an end.

That has happened to money. Nowadays a young man begins life with the thought that he must earn money. If he were wiser he ould try always to conduct himself so as to arn people's trust,—trust in his industry, onesty, and skill. He could be sure that aving earned the reality—trust—, the symbol of that reality would automatically and inevit-ably express itself to him. Usually that expres-sion would be in the form of money, but it might be also in the form of opportunities for work, offers of other positions, etc. Usually, that expression would be fairly direct and prompt, but it might find full expression only years later, or come in roundabout form as a favour to a relative or a friend. I may be watching some boys at play and see one of them do a fine and honorable thing. May be ten years afterward I shall express the trust which his act created in me by recommending him for a job somewhere. Sometimes trust springs into being instantly, but more often it is a plant of slow growth.

If I keep a shop and cheat a customer, I may get his money on that one occasion, but I lose his trust. That means the loss of all his future trade and perhaps that of some of his friends, which would be likely to amount to much more than what I won by the single dishonest transaction. The intangible reality of trust is more important than the concrete symbol of money.

People have made prolonged and careful study of all the details of accounting and finance, and practise them with utmost scrupulousness. Consider such items as allowances for interest, depreciation, obsolescence, repairs, insurance of all sorts, vouchers, receipts, day books, ledgers, profit and loss statements, balancing of accounts, etc. If people were as careful and eager about the details and fineness of creating human feelings of trust and belief as they are about the manipulation of financial symbols, what a happy world we might build!

All these contrasts between the symbol of trust and trust itself do not mean that an honest man can absolve himself from all responsibility and go ahead using money and thinking about it in the same old way. His trustworthiness does not put an end to the defects of money and their moral consequences. Nor does simply trying to be a trustee of one's money for the general welfare take care of many of the difficulties. We must do something more than that about it.

Money can express only a small part of either the quality or extent of human faith and trust. Trust is a sensitive, subtle affair,—a living thing. No man can state in money the quality of his trust in his wife or the extent of his faith in his son. You can of course bet a certain sum that Jones will accomplish a certain project, but that is no accurate or adequate expression of your belief in him. And when people try to express trust or recognition of human service entirely by means of money, the money gravely injures the trust. Like an axe it cuts the trust from its roots; like a flood it washes away the finer feelings underlying the trust, which give it quality and sustain its existence. This fact is one of the sources of the bitterness among employees which so often distils out of the wage relationship. To express only in terms of money the values of human work and service often humiliates and insults, even though most of us have grown calloused to the affront. And the attempt to express all kinds of trust in terms of money saps the energy of other sorts of trust and wastes them.

SOME RESULTS OF MINGLING OF FUNCTIONS

Out of the association in money of the functions of a symbol of trust, a store of value, and a measure of value comes a quaint bit of incongruity. In no other instance do I store up a great quantity of symbols in order to gain a great amount of the intangible reality which the symbol is supposed to represent, nor do I accumulate many measuring instruments in order to get a great quantity of the thing to be measured. For instance, I do not amass great numbers of national flags in an effort to increase my patriotism; nor do I pile up myriads of crucifixes in a yearning to become holy; nor, again, do I accumulate a great many weighing scales in order to get much weight. Yet that is the sort of thing we do with dollars.

Because the symbol for trust is also a store of value, a financial loan as an expression of trust is also a debt to be paid by the person to whom the trust was expressed. And so the modern expansion of credit is also an expansion of debt. The expansion of credit is not all just pleasure and profit, but gives rise to many troubles and some doubts. Since the functions of store of value and symbol of trust are mingled, there is almost inevitable confusion between wealth and debt, a confusion most useful to the bankers.[4]

Since money was a store of value before modern forms of credit developed, that function is stronger and more persistent and more widely felt than its function of being a symbol of trust. And so when confidence breaks down and we have an economic depression, people begin in a panic to hoard money and retrench and postpone new ventures. That withdraws money from circulation and slows down the circulation of the remainder. Soon there is so little m in circulation that millions of people are and presently they are on the brink of st tion. They did not stop for a vacation. T wanted to work. Their work was useful, a of it necessary to society. Yet it must If the medium of exchange were separate the store of value, this grave evil of unem ment need not happen, or at least it woul far less.

The combination of money as an inte bearing commodity and money as a symb credit has made other vast difficulties, dram ally illustrated during the last twenty ye In so-called "good" times men's industrial commercial enthusiasm runs high and readily borrow to start and operate great en prises. Or governments in time of war, w men's patriotism is strong, borrow vast Then comes the depression and there is wherewithal to pay interest on the large de So private businesses go bankrupt and und what they call "reorganizations"; while gove ments declare a moratorium or compound their creditors or flatly repudiate their de Or they devalue their currencies in order lighten the burden of debt and interest p ments. There has been so much of that in last twenty years that now almost all intere payments have been scaled down to a half a third of what was formerly customary. E the rate of interest is considerably lowe This means that capitalism, founded on sanctity of contracts, is weakening pa because people cannot live up to their contr to pay money; and they cannot live up to th money contracts partly because of the institu of interest. Here again is an instance of tro because of the mixture of functions of mo A suitable reform of money might save muc the superstructure of society.

HOW MONEY MAKES BANKERS POWERFUL

I have mentioned bankers as being sto and renters of the money commodity. Bec money is much more than a necessary com dity, and because they have become so ski in operating this symbol, bankers are m more than its lessors and storage wareh keepers. Being in a position of great po they announce whether they do or do not be in a certain enterprise. If they believe i they issue to its promoters the symbols of t belief. Thus bankers create money and m pulate it. This creation and issue of c money is indeed the chief business of bank As inventors and nurses of the newer form money they have arbitrarily established some of the rules of its operation. But not all these rules were made by the bankers. Most of the modes of operation of symbols grow inevitably and necessarily out of the inner nature of the symbols or the assumptions upon which they are based. In algebra there are a few basic assumptions or rules about x, y, and z, and the whole body of algebra grows inevitably out of the logic of those initial assumptions or characteristics of the symbols. And in checkers or chess there are certain initial rules as to how the pieces shall move and as to the purpose of the game. All the complex game follows automatically. So it is with money. I believe that a number of so-called "economic laws" are merely the result of the particular logic of this set of symbols and counters called money. But the multiplicity of functions of money makes the basic assumptions very complex, so the resulting "economic laws" are not only very limited statements of probability but also are often mutually contradictory and confused in operation.

---

[4] See *Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt* by Frederick Soddy, Allen & Unwin, London, 1926.
Money Versus Man, London, and E. P. Dutton, New York, 1933.
Money, Power and Human Life by Fred Henderson, John Day, New York, 1933, also London.

One of the inherent characteristics of man, a characteristic which separates him from all other animals, is his use of symbols. He has used symbols from pre-historic times. Gestures, dances, pictures, signs, words, numbers, flags, emblems, dress, architecture,—all are symbols as well as having other functions. Without symbols of some sort, probably man could not think or at least his thinking could be only rudimentary, his emotions would be scanty, and his actions but few and simple. Symbols are our chief and probably earliest intellectual and emotional tools. The psychologists tell us that symbols are stimulators and carriers of energy. The use of national flags in war time is a vivid example. Or you may say that symbols are not merely understood. They are believed in. And so, because belief always results in action or influences it, symbols cause action. Symbols also organize unawares our feeling, thinking and action. We readily perceive that machines and material tools organize our action and establish many of our habits. Symbols, as emotional and intellectual tools, act in the same way, though more subtly. We cannot do without symbols, but to use them safely and make progress we should frequently examine and criticize them, and occasionally correct and revise.

As a symbol money stimulates and carries energy. See how creative financial credit has been. And as an organizer of certain forms of thought, sentiment and action, money has played a special formative part in the development of industrial production, commerce, transport, communications and of government itself. It has strongly influenced men's minds and inner attitudes, even their appearance. In an illustrated supplement of a Sunday *New York Times* the photographs of about a dozen Japanese business-men and financiers showed expressions not typically Japanese at all, but just like the expressions on the faces of a dozen American or British men of the same occupation.

Because of the immense importance of symbols in the conscious and unconscious life of man, it is clear that those who are skilled in the manipulation of our symbols control our thinking, emotions, sentiments, our actions, our whole lives. Of this we are not clearly and vividly aware, and so those who thus control are not usually held responsible. Money is our prime economic symbol, and those who have superior skill in its manipulation control our lives and all our institutions. A sign of the power of money is the grandeur of bank buildings and offices. They are as ornate for this age as the cathedrals were in the middle ages. Money is one of the most powerful social controls in modern western civilization, ranking with private property in land and organized State violence in the form of armies and police. It might be argued that money has perverted the whole principle and operation of private property, and has been an important cause of evil results from machinery. Because of the stimulating and habit-forming power of conscious daily use, money is perhaps now the most powerful of these social controls. But unless a powerful social control is intrinsically accurate and unambiguous, and ethical in its very operation, its continued use will gravely injure and perhaps destroy society.

Perhaps one reason why our economic-social system is so tough and tenacious, despite the immense shocks and dislocations of wars, depressions and revolutions, is that man has to use symbols and to have some medium of exchange.

Many economic authorities state that we have solved the main problems of production, and that the great task now is to solve the problems of distribution. Money as the common medium of exchange plays a big part here, and a correction of its defects would be of great assistance.

MONEY HARMS ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

Because money is both an impersonal tool and a necessary medium of exchange, it has caused our economic relationships to become impersonal. We trade with people of whom we may not approve morally, or of whom we are perfectly ignorant, or to whom we are personally wholly indifferent. This fact, together with the great scale of modern industry, has deprived the relation of employer and employee of most of its human element. The relationship has in great measure become mechanical and impersonal. Adding to that fact the driving power and speed of modern machinery, the time-table scheduling of productive processes and transportation, plus the pressure for money profits, we find we have created an industrial discipline as severe and rigid as that of the army. The employee must obey order strictly and be quick about it or he loses his job. He feels himself to be, and in fact is, only a cog in the vast machine. He is only a means to an end. That fact is a humiliation and insult to his personality. Some are too callous to feel it, but the rise of labour unions is evidence of the depth and strength of employees' resentment. Money must bear its due share of responsibility for this feeling and the ensuing conflicts.

Inasmuch as money, because of its mingling of functions, has come to be regarded by most people as the supreme value, we must not be surprised that employers under pressure of keen competition set money above human values. We must not even resent it. If we rig our economic system so that, in order to keep going, a business has to show a profit on the books in terms of our present kind of money, inevitably employers will in time of stress cut wages rather than profits. They *must* do so, and can hardly be blamed for it. Some few employers, by exceptional efficiency and unusual wisdom, can postpone this step, but not permanently. In the long run, if we retain our present form and mingled functions of money, this sort of exploitation probably cannot be prevented by governmental or socialistic controls of any sort. By those means exploitation may be delayed a few years, but the in character of money, acting upon human *must* work out in spite of exterior restri Since the Soviet Republic has not alter internal structure and functions of money shall, in course of time, I believe, see results come there also. The use of this of money tool determines the eventual of the economic system.

MAN IS GOVERNED BY IDEAS

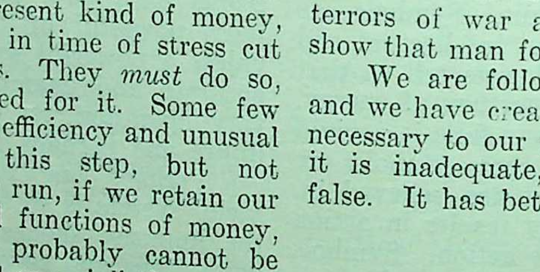
Man lives by truth as he sees it always has done so and always will. sentiments and even his emotions are al coloured or moulded by a thought element is the only animal whose action is contr by thought, whose nervous system is organized that discriminative movemen initiated not from the lower nerve gangl nor from even the thalamus or striatum, from the cortex, the forebrain, the part of brain where thinking is done. Because this anatomical fact, man is governed by ideas and necessarily seeks the truth. W he makes big intellectual mistakes, the re in conduct is gravely harmful. The viol and disillusionment of the present day probably due to the gaps and misconcepti of Darwinism and earlier physics.5 Because the usual time lag, the great majority of peo have not absorbed the implications of rec biology, paleontology and physics, and so concepts of Darwinism still prevail. M conceived Darwinism justified war. So even terrors of war and breakdown of civiliza show that man follows the truth as he sees it

We are following our vision of the tr and we have created money, an intellectual necessary to our present mode of existence, it is inadequate, inaccurate, ambiguous, false. It has betrayed us.

(To be concluded.)

---

5. See Gerald Heard : *The Third Morality*—Ca London, and Morrow, New York, 1937.



DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC OPINION

By Rai Bahadur BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

Mr. H. G. Wells in his dissertation on the failure of democracy has come to the conclusion that democracy can only function and function efficiently if it is worked by intellectual people animated by the sole motive of service and pure zeal for public welfare. For a democracy to function we need dedicated souls. It has not been possible for many States and social organisms to evolve such a type. Much of the discredit which democracy has had to shoulder originates in the perversity of the agents employed. The true type can only be evolved, however, by educated public sense and watchful public opinion with strenuous efforts to raise standards in private as well as in public life. Though it can hardly be questioned that democracy is the best system that raises the spiritual and the intellectual stature of the people, unfortunately it is a fact that in most of the States a group arises which exploits the general helplessness of the people and in the name of democracy satisfies personal ambition. It is either the individual or the caucus that monopolises power, monopolises the Press, advertises itself before the public and uses the machinery for personal aggrandisement. India has voted for democracy and rightly so. But it has to be perpetually on its guard if it is to see that democracy functions really for the good of all and not for the personal aggrandisement of one or a few. Unfortunately many things seem to be contributing here to corrupt the public *morale* and set up in public life a very low standard of morality. If democracy is not to be a fraud, if political evolution is not to be a make-believe, it is time that public sense should be organised to .work against the corruption of public *morale* and the weakening of the standard of public morality.

It is unfortunately the experience of history that if principles are permitted to be lowered and corruption be permitted to creep in, it is a tremendous task to raise the standard again. The cancer infects the tissues. It is difficult to eradicate. The disease of moral tissues is still more dangerous—it infects the very air we breathe. Here as elsewhere prevention is better than cure. There are portents that we see all about. It is time that public sense should be roused against these insidious tendencies and carry on a relentless, uncompromising fight with all that tends to lower the standard of public morality and graft in public institutions.

In every country the danger exists. If however, its growth is to be thwarted, the country must develop within it the power to fight against the growth of immoral or non-democratic tendencies in public life. It can hardly be denied that in the course of 50 years the standard of public morality in this country has gone down. Civic and political powers on the other hand have increased. It is useless for me to trace the causes or analyse the reasons, but I note the fact and I trust the public will agree with me that it is a fact. As noted, the tendency exists in every country. Self-interest is inherent in human nature. This self-interest does function and it is functioning. When Lord Birkenhead in his rectoral speech said that "the motive of self-interest was, is and must be always the main-spring of human action," he invited attacks from various platforms. But in the interest of truth, it must be stated that, though the statement was not wholly true, yet it was largely true. Social organism bent upon evolution must accept the contention that self-interest plays a great part in human affairs, but attempts must continue to be made to sublimate this self-interest and harness it to better and better purposes till it loses itself in greater and still greater self. It seems to me that it is high-time that public opinion in this country should be on its guard, organise itself and be ruthless in its campaign against all these tendencies discussed above.

Public life has its idealistic as well as its realistic side. It is easy to form ideals. It is difficult to practise them in the real or in the concrete forms. It is essential, therefore, to standardise certain principles of business and make them into rules of conduct so far as particular institutions of the public are concerned. In a recent visit to England I interested myself in looking into the Metropolitan Borough Council election that was going on at the time. The Labour Party, which today in the main represents the democratic attitude more than most others, carried the polls. After the election was over the London Labour Party drew up a Memorandum for the guidance of the Metropolitan Borough Council Labour Parties and individual Aldermen and Councillors. Through the goodness of the Labour Party I was favoured with a copy of the memorandum. I quote that here to show the principles which the Party seems to be insisting upon. Party organisations are being formed in this country. They need to know that other people bent on the betterment of their institutions to make them function for the greatest good and for the greatest number, are evolving sets of principles they must adhere to in the discharge of their public duties.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE GUIDANCE OF METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCIL LAROUR PARTIES AND INDIVIDUAL LABOUR ALDERMEN AND COUNCILLORS

FOLLOWING the precedent of 1934, the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party considers it desirable to circulate guidance to Labour members of Metropolitan Borough Councils as soon as practicable after the elections of November 1. In doing so, it desires to extend its hearty congratulations to all those members of the Party who will participate in the administration of the Powers and duties of the Metropolitan Boroughs. Part of the advice we tender will only be applicable to Boroughs with a Labour majority.

BUSINESS OF THE FIRST PARTY MEETING

Immediate steps will no doubt be taken by the acting Chief Whip or Leader of the Borough Council Labour Party to convene a meeting of Labour Borough Councillors. The Business of this meeting will, we imagine, be on the lines of the following Agenda.

1. ELECTION OF PARTY OFFICERS :

(*a*) Chairman and Leaders;
(*b*) Chief Whip;
(*c*) Junior Whips (if any) according to the size of the Party.

2. ELECTION OF POLICY COMMITTEE (IF ANY)

It is a matter for consideration, partly influenced by the size of the Party on the Council, whether a Policy Committee should be appointed, the function of which would be to initiate, work out, and advise the Party as to the policy to be pursued on the Council, and to consider references from the Party on the Council. If the Party has a majority, the Committee would probably consist of the Chairman of Committees, together with Party Officers; if the Party is in a minority, perhaps the most convenient thing would be for it to be constituted by the Labour members of the General Purposes Committee, who would be subject to election by the Party; or for the Party to elect the Policy Committee as such. In any case, the officers of the Party on the Council should be included in its membership.

3. LABOUR REPRESENTATION ON COMMITTEES AND, IF IN A MAJORITY, DECISIONS AS TO CHAIRMEN AND VICE-CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES

There is much to be said for decisions as to Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of committees being arrived at by the Party on the recommendation of the Officers or the Policy Committee rather than by the Party proceeding at once to what might be the accidental results of nomination in the ordinary way. In any case, care sh be taken not to appoint as Chairmen or Vice-Chai of committees, members who have interests or associa which might appear to influence them wrongly in c ing out their public duties.

4. TO CONSIDER AS TO THE DATE AND TIME O REGULAR PARTY MEETINGS

These should take place at a generally conve time between the issue of the Council Agenda and meeting of the Council. It is important that meetings should be regularly held so that all mem can have a voice in considering the business of Council, otherwise it may be difficult for discipline be enforced. Ordinarily, members of the Party sh abide by Party decisions but where matters of consci are involved (for example, temperance, religion, etc. or where the Council is acting in a quasi-ju capacity, the Party should consider allowing mem to abstain from voting, or decide that the Whips sh be taken off.

Members should not take individual action in Council outside Party decisions without consulting Party or one or more of its officers.

5. DECISIONS AS TO MAYOR AND DEPUTY MAYOR (IF ANY) AND ALDERMEN

If the Party is in a majority, these matters will ha to be considered; and even if it is in a minority it w no doubt seek to obtain a proportion of the Alderm in relation to its elected strength on the Cou Wherever possible, it is desirable to establish tradition that in ordinary circumstances there should a proportionate relationship between the strength of groups of elected Councillors and the total number Borough Aldermen.

The aim of the Party should be to secure t services of the most appropriate people as May Deputy Mayor, or Aldermen, so that the duties may well discharged, and so that Aldermen may be a sou of additional strength, in ability as well as numbe to the Party on the Council. The effectiveness of work of the Party and the best possible service to public are the big considerations to have in mind.

GRIEVANCES OF STAFF AND EMPLOYEES

It is wise to agree upon and to observe a strict r that, except in the case of Chief Officers and o special cases, grievances on the part of staff employees and general conditions of labour shall o be dealt with on the representation of the appropr national or London District official of the Trade U or other representative organization concerned, or s other machinery as exists with the concurrence of responsible Trade Union organizations, which repres tion should ordinarily be addressed to the approp Chief Officer of the Council. Individuals ma complaints to members of the Council should accord be referred to this decision, or to the relevant Sta Orders of the Council. Any other policy encou back-stairs action and weakens the status of the t unions.

With regard to general labour conditions it wi found that there are in existence Joint Ind Councils and other forms of negotiating mach between the local authorities and the trade unio is desirable for this machinery to be used.

APPOINTMENTS AND PROMOTIONS

Every endeavour should be made to see tha procedure of the Council and its committees in d with the appointment and promotion of staff employees should be calculated to serve the interest and :promote the efficiency of the Council's administration.

The Party should agree, and members should be required most strictly to abide by the decision, that persons making an application to members of the Council for employment should be informed that their application must be aldressed to the appropriate Chief Officer of the Council, and that it is contrary to good policy for members of the Council to intervene to secure appointments for individuals. Should any members disregard this rule, they would be imperilling the good name of the Labour Party, and would be deserving of the strictest censure and even the withdrawal of the Whip.

Should applicants make efforts, when the Council or any committee is considering applications for office or employment, to secure a preference by approaching Councillors, they should be disqualified, and any indirect influence by friends sternly discouraged. No consideration, other than the suitability of candidates for posts should influence appointments.

It is strongly recommended that the Party Leader and the Chief Whip should meet the Chief Officers and impress upon them that, in these and other matters, members have been asked to act accordingly, and that any Chief or other officer who considers representations from members, other than official discussions at Council or committee meetings, in favour of the appointment or promotion of particular persons, will be guilty of action disloyal to the Council and to the citizens, and will be dealt with accordingly. The answer of Chief or other officers to such representations from members should be that they cannot receive or consider them, and that if the member wishes to complain he can raise the matter at the appropriate committee of the Council.

The appointment of relatives of members of the Council to positions under the Council, even though justified on merits in particular cases, is open to grave misunderstanding. In the case of large authorities, where entry to the service is by competitive examination and appointments are adequately safeguarded from political or personal influence, the objection may not hold within proper limits. Otherwise, there is much to be said for the adoption of an appropriate standing order on the matter. Following is text of a standing order enforced at Deptford for some years, which we are advised has worked satisfactorily in that Borough :

"No person who has been a member of the Council shall be eligible for any office in the gift or under the appointment of the Council until three Calender months after such person shall have ceased to be a member. No father, son, or daughter, of any member of the Council shall be eligible for any office or situation in the gift or appointment of the Council, or for entering into any contract with or doing any kind of work directly or indirectly for the Council."

If such a Standing Order be adopted, it is very doubtful whether the three months so mentioned is sufficient. It should also be laid down that canvassing for any appointment should be a disqualification.

In all these matters it is essential that a Labour Council's administration shall not only be above-board, but shall be fully recognized as such by the public at large.

RELATIONS WITH OFFICERS AND STAFF

The relationship of members of the Council with officers (including Chief Officers) staff and employees, in connection with the Council's business should be one of mutual respect, but not of personal intimacy. Every municipal officer has his defined executive responsibilities; members of the Council have theirs and they are collectively (not individually) supreme in the control of the Council. For these respective responsibilities there should be mutual respect, but the relationship should be on a strictly business footing. Members should not accept from or give to officers, staff and employees of the Council, hospitality or favours. The place for decisions as to the Council's business is the Town Hall.

RELATIONS WITH CONTRACTORS

Members should be particularly careful to be absolutely independent of any contractors who have or may have business with the Council. They should be kept beyond arm's length, and the officers should be expected to maintain a similarly correct relationship with contractors.

MEMBERS "INTERESTED" IN COUNCIL BUSINESS

In so far as members of a Borough Council have a personal (*e.g.*, pecuniary) interest in matters dealt with by the Council or its committees it is desirable that they should declare their interest to the committee concerned or the Town Clerk, and should not participate in the proceedings of the Council or its committees on such matters.

It is undesirable for members of the Council in their private or professional capacities to act in any matter in opposition to the Council, and in any case the Town Clerk should be notified by the member concerned if he or she is so involved.

GENERALLY

The London Labour Party Executive desires to state that the foregoing advice is issued with a sincere desire to help the new Borough Council Labour Parties to commence their duties in the best possible circumstances. The Labour Movement generally has earned honourable respect for the rectitude of its public work; that tradition must be scrupulously maintained. If errors have occurred in the past, or wrong things have been done under preceding Tory Councils, a clean start must at once be made to keep things right for the future.

The Executive Committee could in no case defend improper practices or influences in public administration; indeed, if wrong practices were proved, it would not feel able to refrain from joining in exposure and public condemnation, and it reserves the right to take whatever action it may deem appropriate.

The Executive desires to add, that the machinery of the London Labour Party is always available for the collective consideration of the problems of the Borough Council Labour Parties, and that the office or Executive is at all times willing to give advice or counsel to members or Parties in any problem that may arise. Indeed it is desirable for consultation to take place on policy which is particularly difficult or of exceptional importance.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the London Labour Party.

HAROLD CLAY,
Chairman.
ALFRED SALTER,
Treasurer.
HERBERT MORRISON,
Secretary.

I would draw the particular attention of people interested in civic affairs to the principles laid down under the head of grievances of staff and employees, appointments and promotion, relations with officers and staff, relations with contractors and people interested in Council business. Each one of these points has come in for public discussion in this country. It is right and proper that we should see how others seem to look at these points. Institutions in this country are unfortunately drifting into the hands of groups of individuals and caucuses by whom in the name of democracy most autocratic and ruthless powers are being exercised. People anxious to do service are rigidly kept out. The caucus would not admit either its powers being shared by others or its proceedings being analysed by disinterested people. There is always something hidden in the cupboard. It is time that public organisations should be exposed to the public gaze by being made to work in the open, and they should function for the greatest good and the greatest number. I would submit ag and submit with respect that if nefar practices are permitted to take root it will all up with democracy, however much we m shout its name or dangle its form to dec the people. The constituents of the institutio the electors in the main, can bring ab changes, if they will. It is to their own intere that they should. Vested interests will all up against reform. They die but to live ag Courage, honesty, unflinching devotion to pub causes must, however, win their way. Dem cratic Institutions on modern lines are in th infancy in India today. They need zeal watch, if they are not to die before they gr or get diseased before they advance. Pub opinion and public sense need to be organis and stirred.

ADVANTAGES OF TUBE-WELL IRRIGATION WHERE FACILITIES OF FLOW-IRRIGATION ARE NOT AVAILABLE

By BIDHU BHUSAN GHOSH, B.E., C.E. (Cal.), A.M.I.E.T. (London)

1. GENERAL OUTLOOK OF INDIA'S ECONOMIC LIFE

AMONGST the civilized countries of the world India has the highest percentage of people dependent on agriculture. The outstanding peculiarity of Indian economic life is that 75% of her total population obtain their livelihood from agriculture and allied occupations. She is predominantly an agricultural country rich in soil, mineral products, forests and various other natural resources, with 89% of her population as rural.

The economics of a country dependent to so great an extent as India on agriculture mean dependence on rains; and if the rains fail there is widespread distress, involving the majority of the people. At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risks to which they are exposed lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the masses of the population. The reason behind this is that though the agriculture forms the mainstay of the Indians, yet it is in India that we find agriculture in its worst state of development, suffering from serious drawbacks. Illiteracy of the agriculturists, want of scientific knowledge and latest development in machineries suited for agriculture, extreme dependence in the vagaries of nature, especially on rainfall, un-economic holding in the nature of sub-division and fragmentation of land and necessarily not susceptible of large-scale operations—all these (to mention only a few of many factors) characterize Indian agriculture which is antiquarian in its methods and undeveloped in many respects. Rainfall however, is the chief factor which accounts for the success or failure of crops every year.

Speaking of Indian peasants it has been said that out of every three year that passes one is uncertain, another is characterized by excessive rainfall resulting in flood with all its shocking incidents, and the other suffering from drought. Indian peasants are oftentimes rendered helpless victims to the onslaughts of famine and flood and these natural calamities both resulting from the uncertainties of rainfall raise a heavy toll on human lives.

2. Factors Determining the Value and Use of Irrigation

The main factor determining the value and use of Irrigation in any part of India, whether from a purely productive or famine protective point of view, are the rainfall, the soil and the class of crops suited to the soil, climate and other local conditions. The rainfall may be abundant and assured as to render irrigation superfluous and even injurious, or though ordinarily sufficient it may be so liable to periodical failure or unreasonable incidence as to call for irrigation as protective against its uncertainties; or it may in all years be so scanty as to make cultivation impossible without artificial waterings.

3. Different Types of Irrigation and their Limits of Extent

Irrigation, briefly speaking, means artificial waterings through some constructions. These are called "Works of Irrigation" or briefly "Irrigation Works." The term includes works of many varieties and magnitudes, ranging from the crude contrivance which enables the cultivator by swinging a basket to raise water from a pond to the huge embankments of earth or masonry holding behind it a lake or river of many square miles; or from the small temporary wells, a mere hole in the ground lined with brushwood, to the great canal which carrying for some hundreds of miles a volume of water equal to that of large-sized river, delivers it into a network of smaller channels for the irrigation of over a million acres.

The irrigation works of India may be divided into three main classes: (*i*) canals (*ii*) tank and (*iii*) wells.

The main conditions imposing a limit to the extent of irrigation by the first two classes are:

(1) The geographical and seasonal distribution of rainfall.

(2) The physical configuration of the country.

(3) The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of abundant rainfall as a provision against a year of drought.

(4) The large number of different states and territories into which the country is divided and sub-divided.

In its geographical distribution rainfall displays a diversity which is said to be without parallel in any other country in the world. Leaving mere questions of distance and cost out of consideration, the general contour levels of the country will frequently offer an insuperable obstacle to the transfer of water from regions of copious and assured rainfall to those where it is scanty and capricious. The seasonal character of rainfall also prevents its economical storage and use.

The general conformation of the surface adds still further difficulty and cost of storage. On the flat surface of the alluvial plains of Northern India, storage on any considerable scale is almost impossible. If we allow for evaporation and percolation, it involves generally the submission of an area at least as large as that which would receive benefit from the water.

There are no means of predicting a year of drought, and any attempt to hold up over water, even from one year to the next, would entail the loss of an enormous proportion of the supply by 'evaporation' and 'percolation.'

The numberless territorial divisions of the country and the manner in which various states and territories are intermingled have also been a material obstacle in the past to the development of irrigation. The only suitable site for storage work may lie in a territory whose people would not only derive no benefit but might even be put to considerable loss and inconvenience by the construction of the work; or the full utilization of an available supply may only be possible by the co-operation of two or more states which are unwilling to combine.

All these factors have urged the irrigation engineers to welcome and take recourse to the last one *i. e.*, well irrigation, as the most efficient means for irrigation.

4. Advantages and Progress of Irrigation from Sub-soil Water by means of Tube-wells

The extraction of water from the sub-soil for irrigation is not of course a new departure. In the early records of the peoples of India dating back to many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, there are frequent references to this practice of Irrigation. Wells have been in use from time immemorial and most of the almost innumerable wells which are found in Southern India have been in existence for many generations; two, in the Chingleput district of Madras, which still irrigate a considerable area are reffered to in the inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries.

The great importance of wells as sources of irrigation may be gathered from the fact that they supply water to more than 25% of the total irrigated area and to nearly one-half of the total area irrigated by private works;

and their immense value in years of drought, from the fact that in the famine year of 1896-97, the area under well irrigation rose at once by nearly two-and-a-half million acres, while that under tanks fell by nearly one-and-a-half million. And again in 1899-1900, notwithstanding that in many parts the well supply had begun to fail owing to succession of dry years, well irrigation rose by more than a million acres, while from tanks diminished. Some of the most interesting statistical facts relating to well irrigation are summarised in the table given below :

Province	Number of wells used for Irrigation			Gross area irrigated in a normal year in acres		% of gross cropped area under well-irrigation
	Permanent	Temporary	Total	Total	Average Per wel	
Punjab	275,000	74,000	349,000	3,750,000	10·7	13
United Provinces	500,000	830,000	1,330,000	5,731,000	4·3	14
Madras	626,280	—	626,280	2,000,000	3·2	5
Bombay	254,000	—	254,000	650,000	2·6	2²/₃
Central Provinces	14,000	42,000	56,000	77,000	1·4	¹/₂

The above figures relating to the distribution of well irrigation are exceedingly striking. Out of a total of 13 million acres irrigated from wells in British Territory, no less than 9½ millions are found in the two Northern Provinces. In the Central Provinces there is next to no well irrigation. South of this there are some 2¾ million acres, of which roughly ¾ are in Madras and ¼ in Bombay. This distribution of well irrigation is of course, far from accidental. The most favourable conditions are found in the alluvial plains of Northern India, the sub-soil of which contains an inexhaustible supply of water.

In the Punjab, where the great bulk of irrigation is carried on from permanent wells, the area irrigated by a well averages as much as 11 acres while in some districts double that area is watered from a single well. There are individual wells which water as much as 50 acres. In the United Provinces also large areas are watered from permanent wells.

With regard to Bengal, although the statistical information is partial and meagre, it has been assertained that, except in the west of Bihar there is little or no well irrigation. Eastern Bengal is a vast sheet of unfailing rice crops, and despite the teeming population, there is no need for intensive cultivation for irrigation of any kind.

In the rice districts of Bihar the crops a subject to failure occasionally extremely wi spread and severe. Wells, nevertheless, w formerly little appreciated.

Owing to the great utility of well irrig tion the Agricultural Engineering Sections Provincial Departments of Agriculture have the last decade chiefly been occupied with t branch of agricultural engineering—mainly w the better utilization of underground wa supplies and the improvements of 'lift irrig tion.' The enormous scope of such work i obvious from the fact that of the 50 millio acres or so irrigated annually in British Indi only about 25 million acres is irrigated fro canals, the remainder being watered from wel tanks and other sources; moreover, the are under irrigated cultivation is only about on fifth of the total area sown.

There are however several comparati advantages of irrigation from tube-wells to th from ordinary masonry wells and these hav led the Agricultural and Irrigation Enginee to adopt the former means of irrigation as improvement of the latter.

An ordinary masonry well cannot be su to a very great depth and if so done, it w entail a heavy expenditure. Moreover, where an ordinary masonry well will usually o yield from 2,000 to 4,000 gallons of water p hour, as much as 71,000 gallons per hour ha been obtained from a tube-well.

The reasons for this are as follows :

(*a*) The sub-soil is not one homogene mass but is composed of layers of materi such as alternating strata of sand and cl with occasional beds of *kanker*, and wh they effectively prevent the vertical flow water through the sand they have little effect upon the horizontal flow.

The bottom of a masonry well can only be presented to one stratum of sand, whereas a tube-well penetrating more deeply into the ground, passes through and taps several water-yielding strata.

(*b*) The velocity of inflow depends on the Infiltration Head. This can be made much greater in a tube-well because, in a tube-well, a perforated screen is provided to prevent the displacement of the surrounding sand, and the critical velocity of inflow and consequently the yield can be increased.

In an ordinary masonry well no such mechanical device is provided, and, if the volume of water drawn off is such as to cause an excessive Infiltration Head, the critical velocity of inflow will be exceeded, with the result that the sand will boil or blow in with the water, causing cavitation, with consequent danger to the structure of the well.

The maximum Infiltration Head for an ordinary well, is coarse sand 7 to 8 feet, normal sand 6 feet, fine sand still less. An Infiltration Head of 26 feet, has been applied to a tube-well without harmful results.

The advantages of irrigation from tube-wells as compared with the ordinary method of irrigation from canals are that an area could be developed in accordance with the demand, that there is no large initial outlay, that the capital outlay per cusec of water used for irrigation is less than under weir control system and that water is available as and when required. The cultivator has to pay on volumetric basis.

Thus the better utilization of the smaller local sources of irrigation by the improvement of wells *i.e.*, by the construction of more efficient types of tube-wells and the improvements of water-lifting appliances for wells and tanks, has occupied the attention of agricultural and irrigation engineers in most provinces and the utility has been considerably increased by the subartesian bores and the installation of power pumps of standardized pattern and the latest departure consists in the fact that it is being undertaken by means of electrically operated tube-wells on a large scale.

As is natural, most progress in the better use of underground water supplies has been made in the Indo-Gangetic plain.

The largest scheme of this nature is the Ganges Hydroelectric Scheme in the United Provinces. That scheme would command an area of 1,300 square miles of agricultural country and would supply electric power at cheap rates primarily for irrigation and agricultural purposes.

In the United Provinces where strainer tube-wells construction has been in progress on a large scale for a number of years and where over 200 large tube-wells suitable for power pumping plant and over 200 small ones had been installed for private individuals up to the year 1929 the position has since been carefully reviewed and a considerable reorganization of the agricultural engineering sections undertaken. In addition to the preparation of the detailed projects which include estimates of running charges as well as of capital cost, actual tests of each strainer are now undertaken before the pumping plant is selected. These tests include the accurate measurement of discharge of the tube and of the depression in water level during pumping, so that suitable pumping machinery may be selected which will utilize the water-supply fully but will not permit of an undue depression of the water level and would endanger the future stability of the well. From these tests a schedule of running charges is prepared so that the owner is in a position to know what his water will cost him per acre and to plan his agricultural operations accordingly.

The results of tests on 60 of the 71 tube-wells which were completed and tested during the year 1928-29 and of the more detailed tests and schedules of running charges for 21 of the larger installations show that the best discharge obtained was 35,640 gallons per hour excluding three quite small installations, running costs (including 15% on capital for interest and depreciation and based on a working year of 1,800 hours) ranged from 12 annas to about Rs. 2-8 per acre-inch of water. These figures clearly bring out the fact that even when the lift is not small such installations are profitable when an extensive system of agriculture, including valuable crops like sugarcane and tobacco, etc., are adopted. Of the 71 tube-wells referred to above, 44 were of small size for use with bullock power, the installation cost varying from Rs. 39 to Rs. 884 and the discharges from 400 to 3,700 gallons per hour. Many of these were very profitable to their owners.

During the recent years the system of tube-well irrigation naturally received more considerable attention in most provinces and several Indian States.

The use of large tube-wells, of 10″ and 12″ diameter for irrigation purposes is practically confined to the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa and in these provinces considerable advances have been made in the better utilization of underground water-supplies.

In the United Provinces, 223 tube-wells were installed in the year 1932, in 35 of which strainers of 5″ to 10″ diameter were fitted and in 188 strainers of 3⅜″ diameter. In 1933, 327 projects were completed comprising 47 tube-wells of 5″ to 10″ diameter and 280 tubes of the smaller size. Two 10″ tube-wells installed in the Moradabad district by the Department of Agriculture, United Provinces, were handed over to the Irrigation Department for use in the determination of the economics of tube-well-fed canals.

In the Punjab, 519 tube-wells of various sizes, fitted with stone-ware and composite strainers were installed in 1928-29 and 276 in the year 1932. The special advantages of the stone-ware strainer are that its cost is only half of that of the next cheapest type on the market, and it is immune from electro-chemical deposits of the silica, which by choking up the interstices has rendered many metallic strainers ineffective in certain areas. The usual size of stone-ware strainer is 3½″ diameter and it is mainly used for wells to be worked by Persian Wheels or other forms of bullock power water-lift.

In addition to the above numbers two 12″ tube-wells were installed in 1932 which were fitted with the cadmium-plated slotted strainers designed by the agricultural engineers; from the latter yields of 2.1 cusec and 2.13 cusec respectively under working head of 10′ to 12′ were obtained. In the year 1933, 173 tube-wells of 5″ and under were installed in the Punjab.

In Bihar and Orissa, there has been a marked improvement in recent years in the demand for tube-wells. In the year 1932, 29 projects consisting of ten tube-wells of 5″ to 10″ diameter were completed. In the following year, 43 installations consisting of 8 tube-wells of 5″ to 12″ diameter were undertaken. In the majority of these tube-wells the "Sabour" type of strainer designed to suit the local conditions were used. In 1932 the most successful tube gave an yield of 933 gallons per minute from 88 feet of 12″ "Sabour" strainer. In the following year, an yield of 1,000 gallons per minute with a pumping depression of under 10 feet were obtained from a 12″ tube-well.

The number of large-sized tube-wells increases in the demand for smaller installations, especially in the hydro-electric grid areas of the United Provinces and those parts of the Punjab where the advent of cheap electr has increased the demand for electr installations for irrigation purposes.

In the autumn of 1933, the U Provinces Government decided to appoint Ganges Hydro-electric Enquiry Committe renew the "Hydel" projects and *inter ali* advise what action should be taken to m heavy demands for power for rural deve ment, both in the grid area proper and adj ing areas, which had sprung up during 1931- One of the results of the Committee's work the introduction of a project, which will carried out by the Hydro-electric branch of Irrigation Department and was expected to completed in 1938; this includes the constru tion of 1,353 state-owned tube-wells at a c of about 105 lakhs to command 1,400,000 acr and irrigate annually about 350,000 acres wheat and 150,000 acres of sugarcane. interesting part of these operations is th substitution to the extent of 300 cusecs canal water by tube-well water in Meer district and the utilization of the water released in the arid parts of Muttra and Ag districts where, for geological reasons, tub wells cannot be successfully constructed.

To facilitate the successful construction tube-wells in most provinces the Agricultura Department is maintaining a staff for th improvement of wells by boring. In the Unite Provinces, the number of borings made in th year 1932 was 1,499 and in the following yea 1,714, the percentage of successful borings bein seventy-one (71%).

In the Punjab 163 borings were made the year 1932 and 236 in the following year. Bihar and Orissa, 218 borings were sunk 1932 of which 192 were successful, whilst the year 1933, 157 borings were made of whic 118 were successful.

There has been very recently heavy dema for borings from the tract lying between Cho Nagpur plateau and the alluvial tracts Shahabad, Gaya and Bhagalpur, where roc is usually met with.

In Madras 524 successful borings we made during the year 1932, of which 13 we yielding Artesian supplies discharging from to 250 gallons per minute to an average hei of 15 feet above ground-level. In the followi year 652 successful borings were undertak An Artesian yield of 2,500 gallons per minu to a height of 9¼ feet in the South Arcot distri was obtained, whereas from another boring yield of 1,250 gallons per minute at 7½ feet abov ground-level was obtained.

The more recent figures conclusively prove the increasing demand for water from tube-wells and the number of projects completed in 1934 in the United Provinces was 330 and in the following year the number was 458 consisting of 204 tube-wells of 5″ and over in diameter and 254 of 3⅜″ diameter.

The preponderance of 5″ and 6″ tube-wells was particularly noted, and appears to be due to the fact that such sizes are being commonly adopted in the hydro-electric grid area. In 1934, there was further development of tube-wells in the electric-grid system where the Irrigation Department, in close co-operation with the Agricultural Department, have started a five-year scheme of tube-well construction.

In the Punjab 118 tube-wells of 5″ and under in diameter were installed during the year 1934. In the following year (1935) the number of projects rose to 169; and the number of tube-wells installed in Bihar in 1934 was 123 and in the following year the number rose to 127.

The number of borings also shows a steady increase and 3,565 borings were done in the year 1935 in the different provinces against 2,404 in 1932 and the percentage of success was nearly seventy-two.

In Bengal sugarcane has established its value as a substitute money crop for jute. It is estimated that improved varieties of sugarcane are now grown on an area of 1¼ lakhs of acres. A survey of sugarcane cultivation has shown that compact areas can be found in various parts of the districts of Rangpur, Bogra, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Malda in the Rajshahi Division; Faridpur, Dacca and Mymensingh in the Dacca Division; Nadia, Jessore, Murshidabad and 24-Paraganas in the Presidency Division and Burdwan in the Burdwan Division where the local supply of cane is sufficient for the establishment of up-to-date sugar factories.

5. CONCLUSION

So the question of tube-well irrigation is by no means a less important problem in this province to increase the yield and cultivated area of the crop; and it is pleasing to note that the appointment of an Agricultural Engineer has enabled the study of irrigation questions to be taken up in this connection, and several tube-well constructions have been undertaken recently.

So long, I have confined my atention to the necessity, suitability and progress of irrigation from tube-wells, but we shall be failing in our scientific observation of the problem if we ignore the difficulties limiting the extension of tube-well irrigation in India.

The estimated volume of water expended on irrigation from wells is at about one billion cubic feet or more than 1½% of that portion of the rainfall which penetrates the soil. As far as supply is concerned, this percentage might no doubt be more than quadrupled; but the quantity of water in the sub-soil can no more be taken as a measure of the possibilities of well irrigation, as the volume of surface flow passing into the sea can be taken as a measure of the possibilities of flow irrigation. And the principal distinctive limitations to the extension of tube-well irrigation consist in the amount and quality of the sub-soil supply, the depth at which it is found below the surface, the conditions of soil and sub-soil favouring or impeding construction and raising of water.

In the alluvial tracts of Northern India, down to the line of the Jumna river, the sub-soil supply of good water is practically inexhaustible and its depth generally favour construction. It is difficult, therefore, here to place any limit to the eventual extension except the requirements of cultivation. There are again some places (*e.g.*, South of the Jumna) where the water lies deeper, and is less abundant; it is also more liable to exhaustion in times of drought; rock has to be penetrated and the expense both of construction and lifting is greater.

Tube-well irrigation in those places will not pay except for a valuable crop. Here extension of irrigation from tube-wells must be exceedingly gradual, and only increase *pari passu* with the development of the general resources of the people. But while this extension cannot be rapid it can and doubtless will continue long. At the same time, there will always remain extensive tracts, such as the black soil plains and stony uplands of the Deccan tract and the crystalline areas where tube-wells or wells of any kind are impossible or will never pay; and which will be protected from famine by means of irrigation, no better than at present, notwithstanding the utmost development which may be effected in the multiplication of tube-wells.

Nevertheless, of the problems of vital importance to India today, not the least important is that of the food for her rapidly increasing population. The present rate of increase of that population is a fact of profound significance, and it is obviously one of the issues which is likely to prove to be of the greatest importance to the future governments of this country. A recent report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, states that the population of India is expected to increase to 400 millions in 1941, and that it is increasing at the rate of about 4 millions per year. The report states further that only about three-fourths of an acre per head of population in British India is under cultivation for food purposes, and that it is impossible to provide a sufficiency of food even for the present population of India. The investigations which are being carried on by the Departments concerned with the Agricultural Research will doubtless result in increased productivity of the land. But if our food resources are to keep pace with the increase in population, me must be found of bringing large tracts country, still unproductive, under frui cultivation, and there is no way in which can so effectively be done as extending facili for irrigation. And it is needless to empha the importance of a development which re in the economic use of water and which is benefit to Government and the cultivator al so it may not be oversanguine to look forw to a period when the area under tube- irrigation throughout India will have increa several times. And with full regard to difficulties, we must still admit that Irrigati from tube-wells holds out a prospective fut of our national life.

DID BUDDHISM CAUSE INDIA'S DOWNFALL?

By V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., M.B.B.S., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

In his speech at the Maharashtra Hindu Dharma Parishad, referred to in the Notes in the January issue of *The Modern Review,* Dr. Moonje is reported to have said that the cult of non-violence spread by Buddhism was the chief cause of India's downfall and that the caste system has justified itself by resisting the proselytising pressure of Islam.

In the first place, let us see if the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha were responsible for the downfall of India. History tells us that the most glorious periods in medieval India were those of the Imperial Mauryas and the Imperial Guptas, when India attained the highest peak of glory and culture. Both these dynasties flourished after Lord Buddha had preached his doctrines in India, and they had been accepted by a large majority of the people. India spread her culture over a large part of the then known world during these periods.

It is wrong to assume that want of physical courage and bravery brought on by the cult of non-violence taught by Buddhism was responsible for the conquest of India by the foreigners. We know from History that the Arabs who conquered practically the whole of the then known world had to ignominously retreat from the mainland of India, on account of the resistance offered by the Rajputs under the famous Bappa Rawal, and had to remain satisfied with only the small frontier provin of Sindh. Thus the Indians kept back th world conquering Arabs from penetrating int the interior of the country for over thre centuries till personal jealousies, treachery superstition and artificial divisions created b the caste system brought on the downfall the Hindus and made them slaves of forei conquerors.

Was not the treachery of Raja Jaich of Kanauj responsible for the defeat Prithwiraj Chauhan at the hands Shahabuddin Ghori? Col. Tod says that wh the Turks invaded Afghanistan then ruled b the Hindu dynasty of Shahis, they managed "pollute" the springs of water belonging to Hindu army by the blood of the sacred ki and thus the Hindus were made to surrender the foreign Mahomedans through sheer star tion. Could blind superstition go any furthe

Buddhism never invented the w "Kalapani," making crossing the ocean ta to the Indians. Attock was declared to be furthest limit of Hindu India long af Buddhism ceased to exist in India as a livi religion. As a result of these silly restricti India got isolated from the rest of the wo the outlook of the people became narrow and the fine Rajput and Jat clans like Awans, Ghakkads, Janjuas and others fr

Afghanistan and the Western Punjab easily accepted Islam, having completely lost contact with the Aryan culture of the Indian mainland. Were the doctrines preached by Lord Buddha responsible for this degeneration?

One is surprised that a leader of the Hindu revival movement, like Dr. Moonje, is found to defend the caste system. If one goes carefully through the history of India it can be easily proved that it is the caste system that was and is responsible for the downfall of India in general and the Hindus in particular. How did the Arabs under Mahomed Kasim conquer Sindh? History tells us that the traitor, Moka Basaya, helped the Arabs against his sovereign the Dahir King of Sindh. The Rajput rulers of Sindh used to look down upon the Jats, and were imposing all sorts of humiliating restrictions about dress, etc., on this brave class, which made them enemies of their own country and created traitors like Moka Basaya among them, who helped the foreigners to conquer Sindh.

After the influence of Buddhism declined in India, many of the people reverted to Pauranic Hinduism, and formed themselves into different castes. People with material power in their hands called themselves higher castes; and relegated the others with no power or influence, into inferior castes. Thus so many castes like Vratya Kshatriyas, Loukik Brahmins and other so-called inferior castes were created who being denied cultural contact with the more fortunate classes were treated practically as untouchables. Thus when the hospitable religion of Islam came into India these castes gladly accepted that religion, thus gaining social status. This state of affairs we are told is responsible for the Islamization of Eastern Bengal. If the rigid rules of caste system had not come in the way of the holy Priests of Puri, in allowing Kalachand to marry the Nawab's daughter, the Hindus of Bengal would have been saved from the atrocities of Kalapahar and perhaps Bengal would not have become a Moslem majority province as it is today.

If one studies carefully the social problems in India it will be found that the rigid caste system is to a large extent responsible for the existence of the so-called depressed classes in the Hindu society. Many of the depressed classes assert that their ancestors were originally high-caste people, and were socially degraded and declared as untouchables by being ostracised from their high-caste because of their breaking certain caste rules. Thus we are told that the Tamil Pariah poet-saint Nanda's great-grand-father was a Brahmin who was made an out-caste because he had tasted some forbidden food to keep his body and soul together during a severe famine. I know the case of an intelligent young scavenger, who, when asked about his family history, told me that his grand-father, who was a high-caste Lingayet, had to leave his home in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency, during a severe famine and come down to a coastal town. Being refused any help from any Hindu caste, he had to join the ranks of the depressed classes. Thus so many cases could be quoted of numerically small and isolated Hindu castes, who have to join the fraternity of the depressed classes or enter another religion as no other Hindu caste would fraternize with them, on account of rigid caste rules.

The Marathas would most probably have been in possession of the imperial throne of Delhi today, but for the internecine dissensions and caste jealousies, which brought on the fall of the Maratha Empire. The following is an extract from the old records of the East India Company:

> "In May, 1772, William Hornby, Governor of Bombay, wrote again to Sir John Colebrooke without touching personal matters. Commenting on political affairs, he remarked "The Maratha chiefs in general begin to be incensed against the usurped government of the Brahmins, so there is a distant prospect of the decline of their empire, from their own dissensions. If a defensive treaty can be concluded with Futtesing on advantageous terms for the Company I shall use my utmost to effect it. The intervention of lucky and unlucky day has prevented my being able to settle with him, while he has been here."

Half of the population of Malabar would not have become Moplah Mahomedans, as is the case at present, if the Hindu Zamorin three centuries ago had not converted his Hindu subjects to Islam, so that they might be able to serve in his navy, as the rigid caste rules prevented the Hindus from taking to sea-faring life. Even at present in the newly formed Royal Indian Navy, the British Government is not recruiting the brave Hindu sea-faring classes, like Bhandaris and Gabits, from the Bombay sea-coast because of the rigid caste rules these classes observe as regards food, etc.

I am sure it will be a pleasant surprise for Dr. Moonje to be told that it can be proved from the records of the Indian army and its magnificent achievements, during the last world war, that the class of Indians who in some form or other follow the doctrines of Lord Buddha—including that of "Ahimsa," and regard him as one of the ten divine incarnations (after all it cannot be denied that the modern Hinduism is to a large extent a modified form of Mahayana

Buddhism), proved themselves in some respects to be more martial than the particular class of Indians who follow the martial doctrines of the Prophet of Arabia.

This can be proved from the following statistics:—

In the first place the Hindus form about two-thirds of the total number in the Indian army of the present day. The proportion being :

	Infantry	Cavalry
Hindus (including Sikhs and Gurkhas) ..	66.954	61.92
Mahomedans	29.974	38.08
Burmans	3.072	—

During the last world war certain regiments were specially selected for conspicuous gallantry on the battle-field and the title 'Royal' was conferred on them. The regiments according to religion are as follows:—

Royal 6th Jats	Wholly Hindu
Royal 32nd Pioneers	Wholly Sikh
Royal 39th Garhwal Rifles	Wholly Hindu
Royal 41st Dogras	Wholly Hindu
Royal 59th Sindh Rifles	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal (?) Punjabis	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal 117th Mahrattas	Three-fourth Hindu and one-fourth Mahomedan
Royal 129th Baluchis	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal 2/5th Gurkhas	Wholly Hindu
Royal 1/9th Gurkhas	Wholly Hindu
Royal 20th Deccan Horse	Half Hindu and half Mahomedan
Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners	Three-fourth-Hindu and one-fourth Mahomedan

Here also it is found that the regimen in the Indian army that were specially mark out for valour on the field of battle were mo Hindu than Mahomedan. Thus no great proofs are necessary to assert that the teaching of Lord Buddha have not in the least destroye the martial qualities of Indians, and that th downfall of India is not due to the doctrin preached by the Enlightened One, whom th great Sankaracharyya described as योगिनां चक्र "the emperor among Yogis."

However the great Hindu leader is appeal ing for the establishment of the Vedic Dharm the motto of which is कृणवन्तो विश्वमार्यम्—"Mak the whole world Arya," an ideal which, i followed, would leave no room for caste, cree or colour.

RATIONALIZATION OF THE STUDY OF ARABIC

By Md. MUJIBUL HUQ, M.A.

Arabic is the only surviving scion of the Semitic family of languages. Other languages of this family have all died their natural death and have bequeathed to their only surviving sister the lands over which they once held their sway. Now, as all know, this transformation of Arabic, from the obscure and crude state of nature in which it had been, into a living force, and her sweeping conquest of some of the sites of oldest civilisation of mankind and her subsequent geographical extension which places her in the fore-rank in the polity of languages of the civilised world, both in consideration of her immensity of wealth and geographical extension, is due to the vigour and stamina imparted to it by Islam.

Arabic has long been the spoken language and vehicle of literature of a large part of the globe's surface. In western Asia from the frontiers of Persia to the shores of the Mediterranean, from the frontiers of moder Turkey down to the strait of Babel Mande Arabic is enjoying an unchallanged supremac In Africa almost the entire part lying to th north of the equator, uses Arabic as its on spoken and literary language with, of cours dialects varying from place to place. I Europe too Spain till today bears the mar of this language in some of her geographic names though distorted at present almost beyo recognition.

Naturally this geographical extent coupl with political predominance of the Ara brought Arabic literature in close contact w some potent world currents of thought wh resulted in the growth of some centres of li and learning which in course of time after th huge catastrophe of Mongolian invasion shift their venues and grew dim but never died altogether. It continued to drag on its mod existence till in the beginning of the last century when it entered into the expanding orbit of European supremacy.

Now, this vast field rich in its ancient wealth and with a brilliant future could not but lure the intellectual free-booters of Europe into a close search for its huge treasure accumulated throughout an age of progress and prosperity covered under the dust of centuries, with fervour and zeal unparalleled in any history. Europe has done that, impelled no less by political necessity and ambition than by intellectual hunger. Indian Muslims, since they came to be called by that name, have done the same but from an entirely different point of view and with a different motive altogether. They have studied classical Arabic language and literature with a view to the fuller understanding of the Quran and its religion and acquiring thereby high merits in the hope of divine recompense on the day of judgment. It is needless to say that all through this phase of study only the branches akin and helpful to Quranic exegesis have exclusively engrossed their entire range of vision and no other aspect of the literature had any appeal to them. It was purely a religious study and consequently it came to be restricted to only the narrow circle of professional and quasi-professional Ulemas—though we may speak of its drawing, even in rare cases, the attention of scholars from other faiths. On the whole, the fact that literature of a people is the reflection of its life and aspirations received little or no attention.

Its introduction, however, as a course of studies for the highest academic degrees in our Universities was expected to give a wholesome turn to the drift of affairs. But one finds to one's disappointment that the primitive outlook is practically unchanged. The courses have been formed on the model prescribed for Indian classics which have long been dead. And consequently, to all intents and purposes Arabic has come to be regarded and treated as a dead language. It has received from Indian Muslims the reverence due to the relics of a hoary past but never the respect and love due to the throbbing present and a brilliant future. But on serious reflection it appears that the course is hardly worth the time and money spent on it and one is sometimes led to doubt the wisdom and justification of its very inclusion in the curricula of Universities. Its embodiment therein pre-supposes that either of the two objects *viz.*: providing a considerably comprehensive course of religious instruction for adavnced scholars as many of the foreign Universities have been doing or a sufficiently extensive study of Arabic language and literature, has been kept in view. Even a most casual observer will readily admit the futility of the first position. It is idle to think that the religious aspirations of the Indian Muslims would have anything to do with the meagre religious instruction, if at all, provided by the courses in question while they have in no small number thoroughly specialized scholars to look up to for dependable instruction and guidance. Again, the fact that in some Universities a separate course of religious studies in fulfilment of Muslim demand for such, is being adopted proves beyond doubt the shallowness of the first position. Here, incidentally though, a question suggests itself about the logic and appropriateness of conferring of unqualified arts degrees on the completion of the courses referred to—inspite of its bearing an unmistakably theological stamp and character, and a suggestion offers itself that these degrees may be more aptly and reasonably substituted by degrees of divinity which will give a truer connotation of the thing and relieve the misnomer. Now, as the discussion of the first object leads to a negative conclusion we must turn to the only alternative for a positive one.

We have therefore to see how far the present courses of study in vogue tends to the realization of the objective. It may not be quite irrelevant here to remind ourselves that no history in its true perspective can be divided into water-tight compartments far less the history of the mind of a people without breaking the chain which binds the unintelligible integral units into an intelligible whole. Literature in its wider sense is the history of a people's mind acting and re-acting upon its environment—moral and physical. This view of the fundamental aspect of literature has altogether been lost sight of in the treatment of Arabic literature in our country.

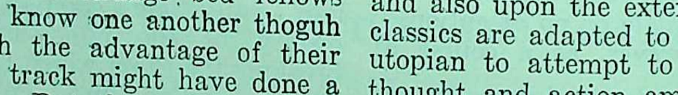
The entire make-up of the syllabus reflects this mistaken outlook. Text books selected for the B.A. & M.A. courses mostly represent the canon-bound classical phase of the language and literature. Post-classical literature and language with their unmistakably distinct characteristics have been scantily represented. Modern literature as such has been altogether shut out. A perusal of the curricula proves that the whole thing has been meant to pave the way to religious studies, the fascination of which has not been out-grown by any other consideration. But this inordinate love has defeated the very object which alone can justify their introduction into Universities as has already been seen. It is therefore in the fitness of things that this so long unfinished fabric should be brought to its natural completion by assigning to modern literature the place it richly deserves. This the modern literature deserves for more than one consideration.

Without facing any fresh difficulty financial or otherwise we can by a mere judicious move make the present materials at our disposal yield the desired result. The proper adjustment made of the existing curricula will constitute a bridge over the Arabian Sea and this bridge may, and one with some imagination feels sure will, constitute a potent source of mutual inspiration, encouragement and material benefit in days to come to the countries at both ends. The most vital problems which have lately been seriously engaging the head and the heart of Arabic speaking countries and India are essentially identical. They have come under the influence of the same star on the western horizon—here it is no place to say evil or lucky—though not exactly through the same process and at the same time, the throes of a political rebirth have become an equally conspicuous feature of the India of today and most of the Arabic speaking countries. It is by a curious coincidence that the stir of regeneration began simultaneously in India and in Egypt, the most important centre of Arabic literature. Having so much of their present in common it is astonishing that these strange bed fellows should do so little to know one another thoguh Indian Muslims, with the advantage of their being already on the track might have done a good deal towards it. But they appear to be loth to take a step forward. Neither can their present stock in trade make for a considerable success in it.

The stock of knowledge of Arabic language with which the most finished products of the University courses come out is in many cases lamentably poor. The fault is not of the products themselvs. It is legitimately imputable to the devisers of the machinery, to its drivers and the machinery itself. So far as the teaching and learning of the language is concerned it is practically restricted to doing some translation work. I am afraid it will be a sacrilege to say that many of the young heroes who manage come out of the fight with the palm in and with flying colours will have recourse hoisting up a white flag if they are ever set grapple with some Arabic texts, unmoved vowel points, beyond the range of their few books.

It is all due to the lack of a comprehensive view of Arabic language and literature and absence of the noble purpose of widening the human sympathy and understanding which must underlie all literary pursuits. It is high time now to take stock of things and to turn the expenditure of nation's time, money and energy to really good account. It needs only a little effort and imagination but it holds promises of nation-wide significance. The present curricula divested of their religious colour and characteristics and modified in the light of the above discussion will form a link of friendship and understanding but what is of far greater significance is that the two major cultural communities of India living for centuries so close to one another in space and yet, on account of mutual ignorance and consequent prejudice so wide apart in spirit, will be taking a definite step forward towards relieving possibly to a very great extent, the highly tense feelings now subsisting between them. The latter achievement of course will depend also upon the extent to which the materials proposed are utilized with a will by both sides and also upon the extent to which other Indian classics are adapted to this object. It is rather utopian to attempt to evolve a uniformity of thought and action among peoples steeped too long and too deep in clearly divergent creeds and cultures unless they are given to drink sufficiently deep at the fountain-head of each other's thought. Our Universities can provide an incentive to it by pulling a premium upon pursuits of this nature. Though, by no means over-night, this great object is as sure to be realized by these means as human child is born free from any cultural tinge.

It will be a noble service to the country if those with whom rests the responsibility of framing and guiding the thought of the nation pay due consideration to the matters discussed here and do the needful.



HINTS TO INDIAN STUDENTS GOING ABROAD

Capt. P. BARDHAN, M.R.C.P. (Edin.), D.P.H. (Eng.), I.M.S.

THERE are very few Indian medical students, under-graduates or post-graduates, in Great Britain who have not at one time or other regretted loss of time, money, and energy through lack of proper guidance both prior to their leaving India and subsequent to arrival in Great Britain. There is a tendency among some of the students returned from Europe to exaggerate the difficulties of life abroad. Questions as to cost of living are not answered directly, admission of cheap living in England is considered derogatory, addresses except in the best residential parts are not given, dress and launrdy bills are shown to be heavy, above all these, there is an inherently malignant attempt on the part of some to draw vivid pictures of the badness of life in England, of the lack of social conventions ; of the pitfalls for the unwary. Such are present in any country and in any community. These are to be avoided and not feared. Instead of giving warnings against negative dangers, rather guidance should be given for positive propositions. The vast majority of Indian students live on £2 £3 a week, and there need be no shame in saying this openly. There are places in London within 3*d*. ride of the city where comfortable lodgings are available at 30 shillings a week.

Indian students travel to Europe loaded with luggage that is far too much. All they need are (1) a pair of flannel trousers and a sports jacket, (2) one tropical suiting, (3) about 4 shirts, (4) personal articles—like tooth brush, shaving tackle etc., a pair of shoes, a pair of slippers. These and a change of clothes for bed should complete the luggage. One light small suit-case is sufficient. If need be, one should use two light small cases rather than a big one. The latter will mean porterage and general encumbrance. It is quite the proper thing even for the "gentlemen" to carry their luggage. Therefore, travel light and carry your luggage.

As regards actual arrangements for study, it is advisable to talk to 3 or 4 people who have been through the courses themselves. They will probably give somewhat dissimilar advice but that is only natural. No students prepare for studies in exactly the same manner. Then, write to various likely places for admission, for information about costs and other relevant matters. Use the B.M.A. Handbook for newly qualified practitioners. It is best to deal directly with the institutions and not through uncles, or the big brother, or a patron. This attitude of direct approach is rather sadly lacking in the average Indian student. The University Professors are generally eminently approachable if you treat them as human beings and not as glorified creatures set up to give additional prestige to the University. Of course it is best to make an appointment before-hand even if you have an introduction letter.

Before leaving India be sure to obtain, among other things :

(*a*) Your birth certificate ; if this is not available, a statutory declaration is wanted.

(*b*) Your academic papers such as graduation certificates, evidences as to your work in hospitals, etc.

(*c*) Certificates as to character and social position. Please let these be brief, direct, and to the point. The usual Indian habit of longwinded testimonials is to be shunned.

(*d*) All correspondence that you may have had with anyone relevant to the subject matters of your study.

Do not take cart-loads of books but only a very few intimate ones. Books are heavy, and medical books get out of date so quickly. There are good lending libraries in Great Britain, and access to these is obtainable at moderate cost.

Before leaving the shores of India please get some one to tell you of the customs, manners, and the peculiarities of the British people, and if possible get a few lessons on handling knives, forks etc. It is very embarassing to have to use them for the first time on board the ship when you are feeling sad, the sea probably rolling and the best taken out of you both literally and metaphorically. The correct use of table implements and reasonably correct manners will add much to your material comforts and poise and will make you more acceptable. These may seem trivial details but are worth noting.

When you are in England, see the school or hospital authorities as soon as you can. It is advisable to write asking for an appointment before you leave India. The reply may be sent to your bank address in London, and you receive the letter immediately you arrive in there. From the school you will also get a list of lodgings. One should get into one of these approved places at first; when the student has felt his pace a little and seen something of the place he may seek other places—which though not on the University or College lists, may yet be good enough *and* cheaper.

Human nature is fundamentally the same all over the world. Do not take one or two rebuffs as meant against you individually or against your race. There are many houses where one or other particular race of lodgers is not entertained. Overlook these. People at these places are generally uncultured or snobbish. It is best to avoid them.

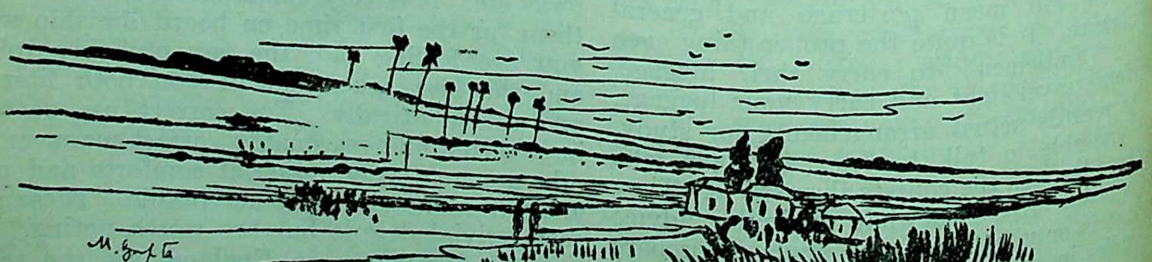
In the matter of study, problems vary widely, and no general hint can be given. There are a few things, however, which are common grounds for all medical (and in fact quite a number of other) students which may be mentioned here.

The newly arrived student from India speaks English badly. Hesitation, lack of confidence, bad pronunciation, too loud a voice, undue rapidity are common faults. A very bad habit is to interrupt and to answer questions in the class when some one else is being asked. If possible speak English before leaving India. Control your voice, and do not shout. Speak slowly, gently and clearly. You make your first impression through your appearance but a good second is created by the way you speak. Your upbringing is exposed here. Some good doctors make a hash of their affairs on account of their crude manners and poor speech. They might be grateful for spending four or five pounds in taking simple lessons in elocution and etiquette. The writer can say from first-hand experience that many residential parts are denied to the Indians not so much because of their co because of their crude manner (crude British eye).

The average British patient does not to be examined by a foreigner. There sometimes, instances where patients do not to be examined by dark-coloured pe Each particular problem has its remedy; correct manners, a pleasant " morning," a hearty hand-shake will long way. It is in this respect that average Indian student has to learn In India he rarely has handled white pati he does not know the British "hospital clas patients" yet; he is naturally shy and ti he hesitates. A patient can sometimes through this timidity, this hesitation; he at shrinks from being examined by such a pers To get over this the student may either adop courteous polite gentlemanly way or the usual cheerful friendly "Hail fellow, well m way. Only a small proportion of stude suffer from this disability, but it is a disability.

Do not trouble others with your p difficulties lest they be too tired to help y when your major difficulties arise. Emin problems are always sympathetically tackled b colleagues and teachers, and genuine work i always appreciated. Earn a reputation, w for it; do not wait to be spoon-fed, no one h the time to do that to you. Move with t crowd. In medical matters it is so essential keep in touch with things.

Finally if you are staying in Great Brit for any length of time join the Royal Soci of Medicine and attend its meetings. It h a vast library. You get the best men of t country giving of their experiences there a you learn medicine far quicker. The majori of the Indian students fail to utilize this exce lent organization.



THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE IN INDIA

BY R. L. MOORE, *Assistant Professor of Physics*

AND

BENI CHARAN MAHENDRA, *Lecturer in Zoology*

I

EDUCATION in India seems to have been exploited in every age. For years the aim of our educational system was to serve a bureaucratic government by turning out clerks of an unimaginative efficiency, seldom excelled anywhere in the world. If the proposed educational organisation of the United Provinces and the report by Messrs. Abbott and Wood[1] is any criterion, we are in for a further spell of exploitation, for now education is to be the means of producing vast armies of fitters, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, leather-workers, and the like. One wonders what the primary aim of education should be: to fit people for a job, or to make citizens endowed with effective critical faculties.[2] Perhaps a sound education should aim at both, with especial emphasis on the latter of the two; still, as long as the educational code remains so sacrosanct and unimaginative, it seems that only by some happy fluke can we produce the thinking citizen.

If criticism can be levelled at the educational system in general, how much more so can it be directed against our prevalent methods of teaching science! Here an extremely rigid syllabus, forced on the teacher by authorities hardly ever in touch with the classes of students taught, stifles all the originality, initiative and spontaneity which are so essential for *vital* teaching. A ludicrously great reverence for theoretical knowledge almost wholly eclipses the practical aspects of the subjects. A general feeling on the part of educational authorities that science is as expensive as unnecessary, leads to much discouragement. Above all, examination questions[3] remain the one constant quantity in a world of changing fact and theory. Many of our students are only able to afford the cheapest text-books, cheap in contents as well as in price; and one often comes across students learning, in 1937, only those things which were commonly accepted, say, in 1902. Worse still is the practice of making what one might call 'a literary study' of science. A science text-book is frequently studied as one might study a Shakespearean play. The text is the thing that matters! Can one go through that proof exactly as in the book; can one reproduce what the book says about such and such a thing; has one memorised the diagram on page 59; and so on *ad nauseam*? Every teacher, if he deviates a hair's-breadth from the prescribed curricular path, is confronted with the words: "Is this in the course?"; "Is it important?" (which means, for passing the examination); "What page is this in the text-book?" Just a few years of this type of attitude, and the natural curiosity of the student is effectively curbed. He concentrates almost wholly on passing examinations, and is glad to sell his books when he leaves college.

It may be argued that a similar criticism can be made against the educational systems the world over, as the science syllabuses used in India are practically the same as those used abroad. Herein, perhaps, lies the crux of the whole matter. The background of a boy growing up in India differs considerably from that of one growing up in Europe or America; yet our educational system totally neglects this difference. The whole of a student's scientific study in India, speaking generally, is unrelated to the actual phenomena in the world around him. He may know his electricity text off by heart, but has little idea how to replace a light fuse, or what to do if a fan stops working. He has a vast amount of bookish knowledge about foreign or uncommon plants and animals, but the plants and animals he meets with daily he hardly knows. Science is to him—as, unfortunately, it is also to a considerable number of his teachers—a piece of abstract thought, a theoretical study with an air of unreality about it. Where it should deal with concrete facts and phenomena and thus generalise, it has become a sort of metaphysical affair unrelated to the world it studies. In other words, Science is lost amidst the paraphernalia of Language.

---

[1] Abbott, A., *Report on Vocational Education in India* (Delhi, the Punjab and the United Provinces): with a section on "General Education and Administration" by S. H. Wood. *Delhi*, 1937.

[2] Nunn, T. P., *Education: Its Data and First Principles*, Chapter 1.

[3] For an experimental scrutiny into the value of examinations as a test of ability, see Hartog and Rhodes' *An Examination of Examinations* (Macmillan & Co., London, 1935).

There are many causes for this peculiar kind of attitude. In the first place, the religious and social traditions, coming down from times immemorial and moulding subconsciously the lives of every growing boy or girl, seem to put a discount on the tangible, physical surroundings around us in favour of spiritual and abstract truths. Secondly, the average Indian parent suffers too much from pecuniary embarrassment to provide an all-round education for his children. This may be the case with many schools also. Thirdly, our schools and colleges are governed in most cases by persons reared under the old regime, when pedagogy was in its infancy, and thus the proper methods of education are neither appreciated nor courted. Fourthly, the premium put on the value of examinations as a test for obtaining employment is a handicap to the real scholarly interests, and favours cramming and memorising for the sake of success. Fifthly, India is mainly an agricultural country; while the West is so thoroughly industrialised that the applications of science cannot but force themselves upon the notice of the student. Our students lack the opportunities for observing or studying the applied science in the world around them, while a European or American student is surrounded on all sides by them. As evidence of this, one has only to study the spare-time activities of a scientifically-minded youth in Europe or America. At the age of five he will be found making things of bits of wood and nails. He is soon playing with toy trains, Meccano sets, batteries, telephones, etc. He makes excursions to places near and far, and gets interested in animal and plant life. He is a frequent visitor to museums and exhibitions, and is all curiosity. He has a desire to find out how things work. By the time he is learning science at school, he distresses his family by making foul smells in his tiny chemical laboratory. By the age of sixteen he has a working knowledge, amongst other things, of many of the major gifts of Science to civilization. To a boy with a background like this the study of scientific principles (or 'Science,' as we call it in our prospectuses) is simply the study o principles of well-known appliances.

This background of applied science, w is the heritage of youth in the West, is mi in India. One may watch Indian childre years, yet very rarely find them making th for themselves, or being given tools or me nical toys by their parents. The material books required for the pursuit of scie hobbies are not available in the mofussil to even when available, students are ha encouraged to make use of them. The diffi of obtaining the requisite materials is a v real one, and our educationalists would do w to pay attention to it. We do not intend make out that the Indian youth is deficient mechanical or scientific ability; he has n opportunity to show or develop it.[4] Howe there is absolutely no justification why the n for a proper background of pure or app science should be neglected in our educati system. The development of the scien attitude in the students is educationally f more important than the passing on of t contents of science to them, and yet absur enough, our present system feels satisfied w the lesser of the two aims. Unless we c create in our students the habit of looking a the actual phenomena with a scientific spiri science must remain a bookish and unre study.

This brings us to the question of "theory *versus* "practical." How often one com across persons who regard the so-called "theo lectures" as the essential part of scien teaching! The work of conducting practi classes is relegated all too frequently to juni members of the staff, while the m experienced ones revel in airy, theoreti discourses (How often heirlooms of their o student days!), mostly unaccompanied ev with the essential demonstrations. The id that the conducting of practical classes inferior work as compared to the delivering lectures is so entrenched that it will take so time to dispel it. In some of our universiti the demonstrator is debarred from the ri of vote in elections. What is worse, in so places he is not even given credit for the to amount of work he actually does, as there a unfair regulations equating the periods o "practical work" to those of "theory."[6]

---

[4] Abbott and Wood (*op. cit.*, pp. 21*ff.*) giv good discussion of "manual work, art and phys education" in relation to Indian Education.

[5] *E.g.*, the University of Agra.

[6] In Muslim University, Aligarh, practical wor

A science course is to be valued both as an informative study and as a means of mental and manipulative discipline, and all present-day educators are agreed that the right way of teaching it is by what is called the "laboratory method" or the "heuristic method."7 As Armstrong points out :

> "It must from the outset and ever be remembered that the great object in view in education is to develop the power of initiative and in all respects to form the character of the pupil. The appreciation of this contention is crucial. 'The pious Pestalozzi is filled with measureless remorse when he finds that he has *given* a little boy a conception instead of inducing him to find it himself,' remarks Professor Meiklejohn. So should every teacher be; and if the feeling expressed in this sentence can but be made to rankle in the mind of every teacher the end is achieved. Schools will then become educating institutions; the didactic instruction which poisons our existence at the present day will be properly recognized as a fell disease."[8]

This method has its own limitations,9 but from the educational standpoint no other method of science teaching has so much real, permanent value.

Thus for a science course the method of teaching followed in the practical class is all-important, and our teachers should pay special attention to it. By this we mean just the reverse of what might be expected. It is obvious that in most of our institutions the teacher does far too much for the students in the practical class. The practical work of a student, as far as possible, should be a piece of research for him, and he should be induced to carry it out unaided. If he has forgotten how to connect a Wheatstone's Bridge, he should be made to puzzle it out. If he is not sure about the details of a dissection or a physiological apparatus, he should work out the process by himself. If something wants cleaning or adjusting, he should not be allowed help in doing it. It is not unlikely that a teacher who follows such a method be accused of neglecting his work by persons who are ignorant of modern educational principles, and perhaps his own students may regard him as unsympathetic and indifferent. He is, however, inculcating the spirit of originality and independence amongst his students, while his orthodox colleagues are systematically stunting the mental growth of their pupils by over-much "spoon-feeding." Mental crutches, once given, soon become necessities.

The success of any method of teaching is so intimately connected with the personality of the teacher concerned that we naturally ask ourselves, what are the characteristics of a good Science Teacher? Westaway answers :

> "He knows his own special subject through and through, he is widely read in other branches of science, he knows how to teach, he knows how to teach science, he is able to express himself lucidly, he is skilful in manipulation, he is resourceful both at the demonstration table and in the laboratory, he is a logician to his finger-tips, he is something of a philosopher, and he is so far an historian that he can sit down with a crowd of boys and talk to them about the personal equations, the lives, and the work of such geniuses as Galileo, Newton, Faraday, and Darwin. More than all this, he is an enthusiast, full of faith in his own particular work."[10]

How far a teacher should be a researcher in his subject, we cannot lay down. Surely, a science teacher must have a research mind and should have some first-hand knowledge of the way discoveries in his subject have been made. He should have a mind, keenly observant, capable of sifting the essential from the accidental, resourceful, inventive, manipulative, experimental, inductively-inclined. If he pursues research in his subject he will be able to speak with authority, and his students will imbibe from him (in addition to factual knowledge) the method and spirit of science.

Sometime back, the Vice-Chancellor of an Indian University deplored the fact that "in the world at present, and in India more than elsewhere, teaching and research are being combined in the same man," and regarded this combination of the two functions as a defect in our educational system.11 Whatever may be said in support of such a view, if it be generally accepted, it must surely mark the

---

regarded as equivalent to two-thirds of formal lectures; in Annamalai University, two hours of practical periods are counted equal to one hour of lecture period; and in Agra University, three practical periods are reckoned as equivalent to two lecture periods.

7. "Heuristic methods of teaching are methods which involve our placing students as far as possible in the attitude of the discoverer—methods which involve their *finding out* instead of being merely told about things" (Armstrong, 1910, p. 236). A fine exposition of this method is given by Armstrong in Chapter XV of *The Teaching of Scientific Method and other Papers on Education.*

8. Armstrong, H. E., *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 252.

9. On account of lack of time, laboratory facilities and specialised training, it is impossible for the student to get *all* his scientific facts from his own studies in the laboratory. Lloyd and Bigelow (*The Teaching of Biology in the Secondary School*, 1914), therefore, suggest that the knowledge gained by the laboratory method should be made "the basis on which to build facts acquired from other persons."

10. Westaway, F. W., *Science Teaching: What it Was—What It Is—What It Might Be.* Blackie & Son Ltd., London and Glasgow, 1929, p. 3.

11. Basu, Dr. P., Vice-Chancellor, "Convocation Address at Agra University," 1936.

beginning of the decline of Science Education in the universities of India. A science teacher gains by being a researcher; he is better able to give his students an insight into the method of science. A researcher, on the other hand, is also at an advantage by being a teacher; his tendency to specialise within extremely narrow limits is counter-balanced by the broad perspective of the subject he acquires in teaching. Was it not to the world's gain that men like Faraday, Maxwell, Rutherford, Pasteur, Huxley, Freud, Lankester, and a host of others combined teaching with research?

Finally, the educational value of the proper medium of instruction is too well known to need much emphasis. Early science teaching, like the teaching of all other subjects, must begin in the mothertongue of the students. However, it would be a great educational loss, if our students were unable to read with facility some foreign language like English, German or French, rich in scientific literature.

II

Granted the differences in the mental background of the Indian and the European boy and the general lack of scientific surroundings in the industrial life of the East, what can be done in our schools and colleges to promote the teaching of science? What definite suggestions can be made in this respect?

In the first place, every school or college should organise regularly trips to neighbouring places of scientific interest and thereby stimulate the natural curiosity of the students. Factories and workshops of all sorts, observatories, electric power-houses, water-works, mills and industrial plants, museums, exhibitions and the like can serve to awaken real interest in scientific study and to compensate to a considerable extent for the lack of scientific background in India. Excursions should also be arranged to places full of animal and plant life and the students encouraged to make a first-hand study of their biological environment.

Secondly, the background of science, which is missing in India can be artificially inserted at the High School or College stage by the gradual building up, through the co-operative effort of the teacher and the taught, of a "Science Museum" or "Hall of Science". All branches of science must be represented in it, but applied science in particular must have a prominent place. Sanderson held that:

> "Applied science was complex and apparently difficult; yet it had romance and mystery which appealed to youth. Moreover it was in direct contact with the ordinary the home life of the day."[12]

The purpose of the Hall of Science sh be to present a bird's-eye view of the gifts science to man. The picture must be dyn and in order to ensure this, the building u the Hall should be a continuous, co-opera process carried out regularly from year to y Thus alone will the students gain a li interest and a knowledge of Science in Ac and at the same time develop their crea abilities.[13]

As finances allow, it is suggested that t following sections be built up in the Hall Science:

(1) *The Workshop*. This should con of the usual carpentry and metalwork tools, fretwork outfit, and if possible, a mediu sized lathe, preferably power-driven. T workshop is the key-stone of the whole sche developing as it does the creative faculty a manipulative skill of the students.

(2) *Transport Section*. The aim of t section shoud be to give a dynamic picture the transport activities of the country, the m important activity of applied science. At o end of the room we visualise a model port wi ships loading and unloading and wagons of model railway running along the quayside The raliway track with its singal points, scen effects and stations is carried over bridges the up-country station at the foot of a rang of miniature hills. Here there is again passenger and goods station. The locomoti and rolling stock, although scale models, a of the smallest gauge (00). The track signalled and organised on the system in actu use in Indian railways. At the up-country e there is a model aerodrome with models various types of aeroplanes. To illustrate mo vehicles an old car should be bought; after is thoroughly cleaned—a museum needs sho manship as much as a shop—sections should cut through its cylinder head, valve chamb gear box, clutch, differential, and tyre. T motor can be mounted on blocks and rota by means of the self-starter, and thus t whole working of the machinery made visi to the eye. Explanatory charts should arranged above the various models, showi for example, the principles of aerofoil des the ship related to Archimedes' principle, principle underlying the electric-signall

---

[12] *Sanderson of Oundle*, Chatto & Windus, Lo 1924, p. 64.

[13] Abbott and Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

apparatus of the railway, the use of the lever, etc.

(3) *Power*. The next section should be devoted to working models of various types of engines. It is worthwhile getting two sets of parts (they can be had without much outlay): one for building up whole models of engines; the other for arranging on boards with a description of each part. The charts above this section should relate engines to principles of thermodynamics, conservation of energy, and the like. At the up-country end of the Railway sub-section one might arrange a model hydro-electric power station with a miniature dam and turbines.

(4) *Industry*. This section might include working models of various Indian industries: soap making, sugar refining, tanneries, saw-mills, pottery works, glass works, etc. The accompanying charts would explain the underlying principles and would give information about their regional distribution within the country.

(5) *Wireless*. Plenty of information[14] is available regarding the construction of a wireless museum, which should include models and photographs of historic transmitting and receiving equipment, as well as obsolete receivers of more recent date. As in a window display, strings may be connected from the various parts of a receiver to cards explaining the purpose of each component. Models can be made to illustrate reflection from the ionosphere, radiation from an aerial, and valve characteristics in three dimensions.

(6) *Biology*. In the Biology Section the emphasis should be on the *live* organism, its interaction with the environment, and its relation to man. Far too many teachers feel satisfied with only a detached study of the internal structure of dead organisms, and take no pains to relate their subject with the environment and interests of the students. Morphological study has its own importance, but in no case should it be regarded as the whole, or even the most important part, of Biology. The student must, first of all, become interested in the living activities of the organism and get a broad perspective of the various life-phenomena. Bionomics, Ecology, Phenomena of Reproduction and Development, Evolution and Heredity, Animal and Plant Geography, Palaeontology, Social lives of animal groups, and scores of other branches of the subject can be illustrated by carefully planned sub-sections and charts.

Aquaria and terraria, "breeding-cages, vivaria, insect incubators; gardens, . . . fernery, rose garden—a miniature Kew; an experimental plot; an experimental farm; . . . these will give the means for taking up wide studies, including the life-history of man and the romantic history of Biology itself. Much valuable work can be done for the neighbourhood. Here is a short list: an agricultural survey of the district, where a multiplicity of workers is invaluable; analysis of soil; experimental work on wheat and other crops (this can be done for farms and for neighbouring estates); extraction of fat and sugar; experiments with flour, bread-making; study of . . . woods; the study of diseases and pests; and so on."[15] It will be well to devote a sub-section to local fauna and flora, properly named.

Later on, several other sections might be added. A section on "Public Health and Hygiene" would be of distinct value, illustrating with models and charts the principles of sanitary engineering, drainage, water-supply, mosquito elimination, disease prevention, etc. There could be a section on "Pure Science," with possibilities too numerous to mention: replicas of historic experiments, charts showing the dates of great scientific discoveries, portraits of important scientists, and so on. In order to awaken interest in the personality of scientists, it may be worthwhile to prepare a large volume, consisting of photographs of individual workers, facing one page descriptions of their lives, and to leave it open at a different page each day. Sections on "Geography," "Archæology," "Medicine," and even "History" might prove useful additions, as the scheme is worked out.

The building up of such a Hall of Science in itself would be highly educative and would enable students to appreciate how they fitted in the larger world around them. They would learn to be handy with tools; have that 'feel' for apparatus which is the hall-mark of a successful experimentalist; develop resourcefulness, initiative, originality and creativeness; and acquire a real zest for knowledge. Science to them would no longer be the study of an unreal world, but an enquiry into the principles underlying a world they already knew a great deal about. A somewhat similar scheme has given remarkable results at Oundle School. If it was found useful in England, how much more so should it be in India!

---

[14] O'Dea, W. T., *Handbook of the collections illustrating Electrical Engineering, II. Radio Communication.* London, 1934.

[15] *Sanderson of Oundle*, p. 269.

BIG NICK

The True Story of the Depredations of a North Australian Killer and its Destruction by an Introduced Indian Animal

BY EWEN K. PATTERSON

OUT in the middle of the wide, sluggish, jungle-fringed North Australian river, a broad, blunt, scaly muzzle, that came slowly in from the open sea, showed just above the surface of the water. Moving upstream like a piece of driftwood carried in by the tide, it slowed down and finally halted alongside a clump of reeds that grew from the water at the tip of a long, low peninsula which jutted out into the stream from the thick, dark-green wall of the jungle.

For a moment the muzzle remained motionless, then it turned, and the green patch of reeds parted for a massive, scaly body to come streaming and glistening through; and the crocodile (Big Nick, as he was later called) dragged himself ashore to flop like a log on the soft mud.

Fully twenty-five feet long from the tip of the snout to the end of the tail he was, and easily four feet wide across the middle of the back—one of the ferocious salt-water crocodiles (they are scientifically termed *Crocodilus porosus*), which are the largest living reptiles known.

Tired after his journey out to sea, where he had obtained a stomach full of fish, Big Nick yawned once—his massive jaws opening wide to reveal a fearsome array of huge white teeth, six inches long, terrible weapons that slanted backwards towards the throat and that never lost their grip; and then he settled down to enjoy an after-dinner sleep. But almost immediately he was awakened by a disturbance nearby.

About ten yards from where the crocodile reposed, and in the centre of the peninsula, bathed in vivid sunlight, was a pile of mud, surmounted with twigs and dead leaves—a squat pile, about three feet high and a yard across; and alongside it was a wallow of churned, semiliquid mud, just above the surface of which showed the serrated back of another large crocodile—a monster female guarding her incubator—nest of eggs.

For six weeks, night and day with scarcely a break, her massive twenty-feet long body had lain in that wallow; for six weeks she had been keeping a close watch over her nest—the nest which she had scraped together with her great two-feet long and nine-inch wide fore-paws, and on top of which she had deposited a batch of sixty-odd eggs—glistening white eggs, a little larger than duck eggs.

Cleverly concealed beneath a thin layer of twigs and leaves, those eggs had for six weeks been bathed daily in the fierce heat of the tropical North Australian sun, while the female, formidable and always alert, had remained on guard. She knew only too well the many jungle creatures—wild pigs, snakes, and a score of others—that would quickly play havoc with the eggs if she left them unguarded for any length of time, and so, day after day, night after night, she had lain in her wallow, as motionless as a log, appearing for all the world like a dead beast, except that occasionally she emitted a low moan or grunt.

And now her long vigil was over. The incubation period had expired. Beneath the fierce rays of the midday sun the surface of the nest began to heave. Higher and higher it heaved until finally it broke open, and in an instant became alive with baby crocodiles about six inches long.

No sooner had that happened than the mother began to crawl around the nest wildly, excitedly, while her sixty or more babies, snapping at each other with tiny needle-teeth, jumped, rolled, fell, and ran down the sides of the nest to join their massive parent, scampering along her uneven, broad back, or running about on the soft mud nearby.

All of the babies, except for paler colour and spotted skin, were perfect crocodiles in form and fierceness. Beside the great bulk of their mother it seemed ridiculous that such tiny things could ever attain her size. The entire evil brood could have been packed with ease into an empty four-gallon can.

Each of the babies had a lump of hard egg-yolk attached to the outside of its stomach to serve as food until it could fend for itself and, presently, as the mother moved slowly towards the river, the brood hurried after her, following her clumsily, in a straggling line.

But as they slipped into the water, their parent at once deserted them. Having no further interest in the brood she shot rapidly away, just as Big Nick woke from his doze.

His greedy eyes were at once attracted by the commotion caused in the water by the frolicking brood, and crawling swiftly into the stream he pursued the helpless babies, swallowing them one after another as they scampered and fled in instinctive terror.

Having devoured all of the babies within sight, Big Nick, with a contented grunt, returned to his sun-warmed resting place; and, as he did so, two hunters from the little gold-mining settlement on the neighbouring river a mile to the south (they had witnessed Big Nick's arrival and the subsequent birth and death of the brood), raised their rifles and fired.

The bullets struck the monster's thick, scaly hide, but ricochetted off harmlessly, and, with lightning swiftness, the saurian plunged into the river.

In the weeks that followed the hunters paid innumerable visits to the river, and many bullets were wasted in a vain endeavour to shoot the big crocodile.

Often the saurian was sighted sunning himself on the river bank, but always before the men could get within shooting distance he would slip into the water from his basking-place with scarcely a splash.

And then Big Nick would reveal his cunning in an irritating game of hide and seek. He would cruise slowly along in the water, with only his long snout showing just above the surface, like a floating piece of wood. It looked an easy target, but whenever a gun was raised to shoot, or a hand moved to pull a trigger, the snout would sink, to bob up again a few yards away.

Then, when he grew tired of this, Big Nick would flick his long flattened tail and drive his massive body through the water with powerful, rhythmic sweeps until soon he was lost in the distance.

Then came warm nights when the jungle echoed with hoarse bellowings from the river. It was Big Nick roaring out the strange mating call of his kind. Night after night he kept it up for hours with scarcely a pause, and so startling were the cries that the noises of the night were quietened; and when finally Big Nick did stop, a deathly silence brooded over the jungle.

* * * *

The weeks passed, and then came a Sunday morning when Big Nick left his home river and headed for the stream on the southern bank of which stood the little gold-mining settlement.

What caused the crocodile to make that move will never be known.

At ten o'clock that morning, three men from the settlement, who were out seeking game, came across the saurian suddenly in the jungle only a hundred yards or so from the river at the settlement.

When detected, the massive brute's little eyes gleamed savagely, and then he rose swiftly on his hind legs, and, like a huge goanna, ran madly for the river into which he plunged with a loud splash.

The crocodile was not sighted again for a week, until the next Sunday morning, when most of the people were at church, he dashed ashore amongst a group of little children, who were playing on a patch of white sand a few yards from the edge of the water, seized a screaming little girl in his awful jaws, and then, with a toss of his head, hurled the child into the river, whither he immediately followed.

That taste of human flesh apparently gave Big Nick a craving for such food.

He ignored tempting carcasses of wallabies and other marsupials which the people of the lonely settlement hung from trees along the river for him to take—baits, which were poisoned with enough strychnine to kill a dozen crocodiles his size.

But Big Nick completely ignored them all. The cunning crocodile even refused to approach a live pig which one morning was tethered to a sapling close to the river bank. In vain the hidden hunters waited with their rifles ready for the crocodile to come ashore.

Big Nick claimed his second human victim a few days later, a mile or so upstream from the settlement.

A man on horseback was swimming the river, and was about half-way across the stream, when Big Nick surged forward. His huge jaws closed on the man's left leg, dragged him from the saddle, and swept him beneath the water.

It was the return of the terrified riderless horse, with a wound on its left side, where the crocodile's razor-like teeth had grazed the skin, that told the settlement of the tragedy; and thereafter Big Nick was hunted ceaselessly.

But the crocodile proved too cunning. Traps and poisoned baits remained untouched, and not once did the small army of hunters from the settlement get within shooting distance of him.

* * * *

A week passed, and one evening, five miles up the river from the settlement, two hunters, who had spent the whole day looking for Big Nick, began to wend their way homewards, when suddenly they stopped abruptly as the jungle echoed with awful cries that came from the river.

Together, with their rifles ready, the hunters dashed through the bushes and reached the stream to see on the opposite bank a desperate battle in progress.

Big Nick, his evil body half in and half out of the water, had grabbed a buffalo cow by the left foreleg and was slowly dragging her towards the river.

The animal's cries echoed and re-echoed through the trees.

It appeared as though Big Nick would have an easy victory, and, raising their rifles, the hunters were preparing to shoot, when suddenly a crashing through the bushes heralded the approach of a massive buffalo bull.

Without hesitating a second, the newcomer lowered his great head and charged the crocodile.

The resultant collision partly lifted the saurian out of the water, and, at the same time, dragged the buffalo cow to her knees.

Again the bull charged, and this time, with a lightning movement, he drove the razor-edged point of a six-feet long, corrugated black horn deep into Big Nick's right eye.

Generations of jungle life had given the old bull an instinctive knowledge of the vulnerable parts of his saurian enemy.

Again the horn went deep into the eye socket, and the writhing crocodile loosened his jaws.

With ear-splitting cries the cow dashed madly into the jungle, while Big Nick, bellowing with pain, endeavoured to grasp the bull; but the buffalo, his eyes blazing with rage, side-stepped swiftly and launched a frenzied attack.

A horn gouged deeply into the saurian's left eye, and then gashed the tender part of the creature's thick scaly hide under the forelegs.

Sightless, torn and bleeding, and bellowing hoarsely, Big Nick careered madly round in a circle.

The buffalo charged again, turning the writhing crocodile over and over until the mighty saurian fell with a loud splash into the river; and there, amid a whirl of flying f Big Nick yielded up his cold, malignant so

* * * *

The fight over, the buffalo stood f moment on the river bank with his sides hea He was a magnificent animal, weighing f a ton.

Suddenly he raised his head and sniffed air between short, nervous gasps.

Borne on the faint breeze which dri from where the hunters were watching, ca the dreaded scent of man, and, with a l snort, the buffalo wheeled like a flash, a disappeared into the jungle.

"We missed a good shot there," said o hunter.

"Why did you hesitate then ?" asked t other.

"Well-er—I don't think it would've b fair, do you ?"

"I do not."

* * * *

That buffalo bull, which was respon for the destruction of the killer-crocodile, w one of the many thousands of buffaloes roami the unsettled wilds of Northern Australia, of which are descendants of Indian wi buffaloes. The introduction of these Ind animals into Australia, which was more b accident than by design, represents one of th greatest examples extant of the invasion of wild animal.

Over one hundred years ago when British military settlement was established a lonely part of the coast of Northern Austra it was visited by trading vessels from In and the East Indies, which supplied the milit men with Indian wild buffaloes to be killed f meat. The animals were kept in special p at the settlement, and were slaughtered required.

When the settlement was abandoned af a few years, a number of buffaloes, which h not been killed for food, were released a left to their fate in the wild and lonely cou It was thought that the animals would die o but instead they increased in numbers and fr their progeny has developed a tremendous w buffalo infestation, covering a vast area country. The animals are so plentiful th they are hunted for their skins, which a exported to all parts of the world for use upholstery and other leather-work. S Australian hunters have amassed fortunes hunting the buffaloes; countless thousands the animals have been killed, but they are as plentiful as ever.

DHONDO KESHAV KARVE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

Fame—particularly contemporary fame, is not a sure test of greatness.
Nor is its absence a proof that one is not great.

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve, of whom I am going to speak briefly this evening, on the occasion of his completing 80 years of his beneficient life, is not exactly an unknown man, though he is not one of the celebrities of modern India, like many of our political leaders. But he is really a very great man. He is best known as the founder and life and soul of the Hindu Widows' Home at Hingne Budruk, Poona, and of the Sreemati Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University, of Poona and Bombay.

He was born of poor parents. It was with great difficulty that he could educate himself. One fact alone will suffice to enable us to realize his struggles, and that is that he was in his eighteenth year when he began to learn the English alphabet. Previous to that he had received some education through Marathi, his mother tongue, and, when 17, tramped 110 miles from Murud, his parents' home, on a four days' pilgrimage to appear at a public examination at Satara, and on the third night slept uneasily under the stars in a wind-swept rocky glen where wild beasts might prowl. But all this trouble was useless. The members of the Examination Committee took him to be too young and rejected him. But this did not damp his ardour for education.

Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve

He has said in his autobiography that in his life there have been cycles of ten years at the end of each of which some new outlook, some new idea, some powerful urge seized him and drew him into a new activity without his losing touch with the old. When eighteen, he began to learn the English alphabet and a new vista of life opened before his eyes. At twenty-eight he took up the work of the Murud Fund, a fund to be used for the welfare of Murud and raised mostly from inhabitants of that village who were employed elsewhere, each to contribute a pie for each rupee he earned. It has paid part of the cost of the Marathi school and the English Middle school at Murud and worked for the welfare of that village in other ways. In 1936 its permanent balance was Rs. 12,000 "in face value of 3½ p. c. Government paper."

Ten years after starting the Murud Fund, when he was thirty-eight, the Hindu Widows' Home Association was established, and it has been rendering very useful service to society. When he was forty-eight the ideas of the Mahila Vidyalaya and the Nishkama Karma Matha took possession of him and he enthusiastically took up the corresponding activities. These institutions were merged into the Hindu Widows' Home Association. It was at the age of 58 that, as he says, he "took a leap in the dark to found the Women's University." He thinks, "fortunately no new idea emerged at the age of 68," and he could give undividided attention to the university for 20 years. "Strangely, however," says he, "I was unconsciously drawn towards a new idea and its powerful urge has thrown me into a fresh activity at the age of 78." He wanted to establish a 'Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society' "to start schools of the old indigenous type to teach the three R's in villages in which there are no schools conducted by the District Local Boards or other agencies." In addition to teaching children of school-going age these schools will try to keep up the literacy of adults by attracting them to small libraries attached to the schools. Before approaching others for contributions he conducted one school hims paying Rs. 15 per mensem out of his pension of 70 rupees. He also made collections with the help of friends, th reaching Rs. 2700 on the 8th July, 1936.

Mr. Karve married a widow in having become a widower himself before date, and had in consequence of the m to suffer much bitter persecution.

In 1894 he became profess Mathematics in the Fergusson College, P and also within a year, a life-member o Deccan Education Society. Mr. G. K. G was already a member of the Society a professor of the college. The life-mem had to work for 20 years on Rs. 73 an per month. This meant considerable sa for him; as he was then earning double amount in Bombay by tuition. Prof. K put in this full period and retired in 1914. was a very efficient and successful profess

After taking a practical step in the c of widow marriage, namely, marrying a wi himself, he felt that it had placed an imp

The main building of the Women's College, Poona

Women's College Hostels

tive duty upon him to try to do his utmos the cause of widow marriage which he embraced. He realised at once that i systematic and efficient working out of plan, a responsible body was necessary. with the help of friends started the W Marriage Association. He was its first s tary and Dr. (afterwards Sir) R. G. Bhanda chairman. Only those people could be members of the Association who had married widows or who had the courage to with such people of their own caste. Others had sympathy with the cause, were regis as sympathisers. A member or a sympa had to pay a day's income every yea subscription.

For over two years he worked very

for it. But his experience showed that the question being a religious one, a high degree of moral courage was required on the part of the man who came forward to marry a widow and also on the part of the guardians of widows. It was no easy thing in those days to face excommunication from society. He, therefore, began to think that his energy might be more usefully directed towards the cause of widows' education. The question not being a religious one, would not frighten people away from it. The best way to advance the cause of the widows, he thought, was to educate them and make them self-supporting and able to think for themselves. So, while continuing to keep in touch with the widow marriage movement as a member of the Managing Committee of the Association and taking interest in its work, he founded the Hindu Widows' Home Association. The Widow Marriage Association is still working under an enthusiastic secretary with a fund of nearly Rs. 9,000.

The Hindu Widows' Home Association was not started under the control of the Widow Marriage Association; because, if that had been done, people would have suspected that the object of the Home was more to induce the inmates to get re-married than to educate them. So a separate Association was formally established on the 14th June, 1896. As no funds were at first available, no independent Home was started. Mr. Karve began to collect contributions, and as money became available, a few poor widows were supported in the hostel attached to the Government Girls' High School and the Training College for women and educated there. He set apart all his savings, namely, Rs. 1,000, for the Home, and utilized his long vacations in doing propaganda work and collecting subscriptions.

Prof. D. K. Karve, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, and workers and graduates of the Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women's University

Owing to the existence of the Widow Marriage Association and the Hindu Widows' Home Association, both founded by Prof. Karve and with both of which he has all along been connected, he was between two fires as it were. Orthodox people suspected that the object of the Home was to indirectly promote widow marriage, and reformers of the extreme wing were dissatisfied with his methods of working along the lines of least resistance. But the wisdom and tactfulness of Prof. Karve and his friends overcame all difficulties.

The Home is situated at Hingne Budruk. 4 miles outside the city of Poona. When there was no road to it—not even a foot track, and no conveyance of its own, Prof. Karve had to walk there every day in the evening after his college work, spend the night there for the protection of the girls and again walk back to college in the morning. That meant trudging eight miles every day. "All provisions had to be carried there from the city on the head and shoulders" and so Prof. Karve had himself usually to carry a pretty heavy load of vegetables and other supplies for the Home. He used to teach some of the advanced girls at night and in the early morning. During the long vacations he went away on subscription work and made other arrangements regarding the protection of the inmates of the Home. Greater devotion to a cause no man could show.

The Home is now a colony by itself of about 300 souls, situated in a quiet and extensive site fifteen acres in extent and four miles from the city. Its buildings, to provide residential and school accommodation, are worth Rs. 200,000. There are a High School, a Training College or Normal school and a practising school. The Association has an endowment fund of Rs. 1,00,000, and permanent and other funds of about 70,000 rupees.

The Home has sent out hundreds of educated women in Maharashtra and the Marathi-speaking centres outside Maharashtra.

Prof. Karve has writen in his autobiography:

> "In the matter of widow marriage I followed the path chalked out by Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar of Bengal and Vishnushastri Pandit of Maharashtra, and had made it the fundamental principle of the Widow Marriage Association."

It was on the 4th March, 1907, that he opened the Mahila Vidyalaya for giving secondary education to Hindu girls. It was amalgamated with the Widows' Home school in 1915.

The problem of securing devoted workers for the Widows' Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya constantly engaged his mind. The Nishkama Karma Matha was founded by him with that object. In 1915 it was amalgamated with the Home and the Mahila Vidyalaya.

The first three members of the Matha, of whom he was one, took the following solemn vow:—

> "I offer my life to the Mission (Matha), which is to be founded to conduct the Widows' Home, the Mahila Vidyalaya and such other institutions, realizing the presence of the Supreme Being in my mind. Now I am no longer my own master. I now belong to this new organization. It may use me in the way it thinks fit. Whatever provision the organization makes for me and my family will be accepted by me."

The idea of the Indian Women's University arose in his mind from the perusal of a booklet descriptive of the Japan Women's University sent to him by Babu Sivaprasad Gupta Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar. He fo the Indian Women's University in 1916, th at first he had no funds to back him. M came gradually. In 1920 the Universit what Professor Karve has called a win The late Sir Vithaldas Damodher Thack gave it the sum of Rs. 15,00,000 in the value of 3½ per cent. Government pape certain conditions, the first being that it w be named after his mother Shreemati Na Damodher Thackersey. It has been so n So long as he lived, he continued to take practical and active interest in it. It since then received other important beq though of lesser amounts.

The Indian Women's University is a great achievement, inasmuch as it has made gress and acquired stability in spite of the that it had no recognition from Governmen degrees had not the market value w Government-recognised University deg have, it is entirely unconnected with religious, sectarian or denominational paganda, and its medium of instruction in subjects, up to the highest degree, is Indian language, English being only a com sory second language. Before Sir Vithal endowment and even after it, it has depen greatly upon contributions made by the upp middle, the middle and the lower middle clas

It is for all castes, creeds and religions

Looking to the needs and circumstances the generality of women and to make it wor of the name of Women's University, it has gi Domestic Economy, Domestic Science (inc ing Biology, Anatomy, Human Physiology Elements of Psychology with special study the child mind) and Hygiene an importa place in the scheme of studies. Music, pa ing, needle-work and embroidery also have honourable place in the scheme as reg subjects of examination.

The University has high schools that p pare students for the Entrance Examinatio four languages, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi Telugu. College education is given for present in the first three languages Students are allowed to study privately an appear for the entrance and higher exami tions, and there are now and then students appear in Hindi, Urdu, Kanarese and Ben

Prof. Karve thinks there should b separate Women's University in each lingu area.

When Prof. Karve was seventy-one undertook a tour round the world for popul ing the Women's University movement and for collecting monetary help for it. He had previously visited all parts of India for the same purpose. The foreign countries visited during his world tour were: Great Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Germany, United States of America, Japan, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Zanzibar, South Africa, and Portuguese East Africa.

In his autobiography, entitled *Looking Back*, he has summarised certain opinions of his on religious matters as follows :—

> (1) Religion should be confined to the consideration of the relations of man with the unknown source of all things, or God.
>
> (2) Consideration of the rules of conduct of man towards himself and other beings, including dumb creatures, should be the province of morality.
>
> (3) The dictates of one's own conscience should be the guide in one's religious and moral actions.
>
> (4) No book in the world is a revealed book.
>
> (5) No individual, past or present, is an incarnation of God.

He has not "formed any opinion on the question of rebirth." After stating some arguments against and for belief in it, he observes :

> I am, however, led to think and feel that if there is truth in the idea of rebirth, I would like to be born again and again in India to carry on my work.

He also declares :

> I have had a very sympathetic attitude towards all progressive movements like the Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj; Theosophy and Rationalism.

It was in 1932, when I went to Bombay to deliver the convocation address of the Indian Women's University, that I had the honour of making his acquaintance. After the convocation was over I went to Poona with his son Mr. Bhaskar D. Karve and saw his father's institutions there and at Hingne Budruk.

[Regarding Prof. Karve's 'Maharashtra Village Primary Education Society,' Dr. R. P. Paranjpye writes in *The Hindu* and *The Leader* in course of an article on his life and mission :

> He had long realized that education of women or girls was not enough. After all, in this way he could reach only a few of them by means of his institutions. He realized that the large mass of the people of India lived in villages, and saw that unless every villager had opportunity for education, India could not advance as it should. He, therefore, launched out a new scheme for organizing education in villages. Again he has begun in a small way. He has founded a society called the Grama Shikshan Mandal for starting, or rather for helping the villagers to start schools in villages which had no school till then. He contributes Rs. 15 every month from the pension of Rs. 70 that he receives every month from the Fergusson College to this society and spends three hours every day in visiting every single house by turns in different parts of the city of Poona to collect funds for the purpose. He accepts anything that anybody gives from a pice upwards. He has thus helped in the establishment of some 25 village schools in various parts of Maharashtra. To such school the villagers contribute something themselves, possibly providing accommodation of a sort, and the Mandal gives a grant of something like Rs. 100 or so per year. To see that the schools are going on properly an inspector has been appointed. . . . . To find a man of 80 working in this manner single-hearted for a cause which he considers of national importance must appeal to the imagination of many who may not have the same self-sacrificing spirit . . . .
>
> Prof. Karve's physical energy is boundless. One would not think that that small, thin, unimpressive figure was capable of putting forth all this work. He still can easily walk 10 or 15 miles a day and does nearly that amount every day.]

A broadcast talk on the 18th April, 1938, slightly enlarged.

(Compiled mainly from "Looking Back.")

TOYAMA—FOUNDER OF BLOOD-BROTHERHOOD

By DHARMAVIR, M.A.

"Kokuryukai?" I asked leaving aside my cup of iced coffee for a second.

"Yes, Kokuryukai," he replied rather carelessly.

"But how do you pronounce it?" I asked.

"Ko-ku-ryu-kai," he split the word into three.

I repeated it with a little difficulty when he said, "That's right."

He sipped his coffee and looked at me in the peculiar way which was Okitsu's. Then he began telling me about the movement commonly known as Blood-Brotherhood and Black Dragons:

"The Japanese were victorious in the Russo-Japanese War not only because of their superiority due to discipline and physical force but also because of a spiritual force working at the back of the short-statured army. A patriot, Mitsuru Toyama by name, felt sometimes before the War, that was the year 1901 most probably, that the Japanese soldiers were pigmies as compared with the Russians who looked to be giants. He organised a party of young men. They were mostly students. He gave them the name of Ko-ku-ryu-kai, which means "Beyond the river Amur." The Russians had decided to extend their eastern borders: they had an eye on Manchuria. The Japanese could not tolerate this because a certain section of the people wanted to establish *their* connections with that country. In order to check the progress of Russia in the East this organization was set up. Any young man who joined this Brotherhood took a solemn vow that he'd even lay his life at the altar of the motherland whenever he is ordered to do so. Hara-kiri is their *modus operandi*. The man goes to the Meiji Shrine and, holding a dagger in the right hand, cuts his abdomen from left to right raising it upwards to the last rib on the right side. A martyr is considered to be he whose dagger clears its way deep down through the intestines. Like the true Samurai of the old every member of the Brotherhood considers hara-kiri to be one of his ordinary duties."

"Excuse me, how old is Mr. Toyama now?" I enquired from my friend.

"What d'you think how old must he be?" said Okitsu with a little mischief in his eyes.

"I couldn't say that," I replied. "He must be above fifty at least."

Okitsu was serious: "He is above eighty. I think he's nearing eighty-five."

"What d'you think if we call on him and . . . ."

"I knew that you'd like to see him," Okitsu said, "so I've already arranged for that. Our friend Tomo has done that for us. We'll be there at 2 this afternoon. Your host needn't worry about the lunch today. Tomo has invited us to his place. From there we go to Mr. Toyama's."

* * *

It was a typical Japanese house. We could not, according to the custom, go in with our shoes on. I was putting off my shoes when I chanced to glance at my wrist. It was a minute early. A middle-aged lady who received us at the main door walked ahead of us. At the end of the corridor an old man with a fleecy white beard like that of Tolstoy was sitting on a mat. Behind his black-rimmed spectacles could be seen the narrow eyes like the eagle's. There were no marked wrinkles on his face excepting one or two lines on his forehead. His nose was not long, nor were his ears. He had a typically Mongolian face. He could move his hands freely in the Kimono but perhaps he was not feeling strong to do that. But I was wonder-struck when, after we had bowed to each other, he took up the drumstick and began saying prayers to Lord Buddha and Saint Nichiren beating at the same time the small drum. His voice, though not quite clear, could be distinguished from those of the others. The prayers having been finished he smiled at us. He enquired from Okitsu how the Indian friends felt in Japan. Okitsu translated the question for us in reply to which I thanked him that everywhere we had been received very cordially. I asked him, of course through Okitsu, if he ever liked to visit India. "Oh yes," he clasped his hands and said, "India is a sacred land for us. Lord Buddha was born there. In my youth I had a mind to go there once. But now—now I don't think I'm young." And he smiled. Others joined him.

The lady, who appeared to be his disciple, brought us green tea in small beautiful cups. There were biscuits too in front of us. They looked to be home-made. All the same they were delicious. The taste of the tea being somewhat peculiar, one of us left some of it in the cup. The eagle eyes of Mr. Toyama observing that whispered something to the lady. A few minutes later she brought us iced tea. The friend who had not done justice to his cup of green tea was sorry that he had given so much trouble to the lady.

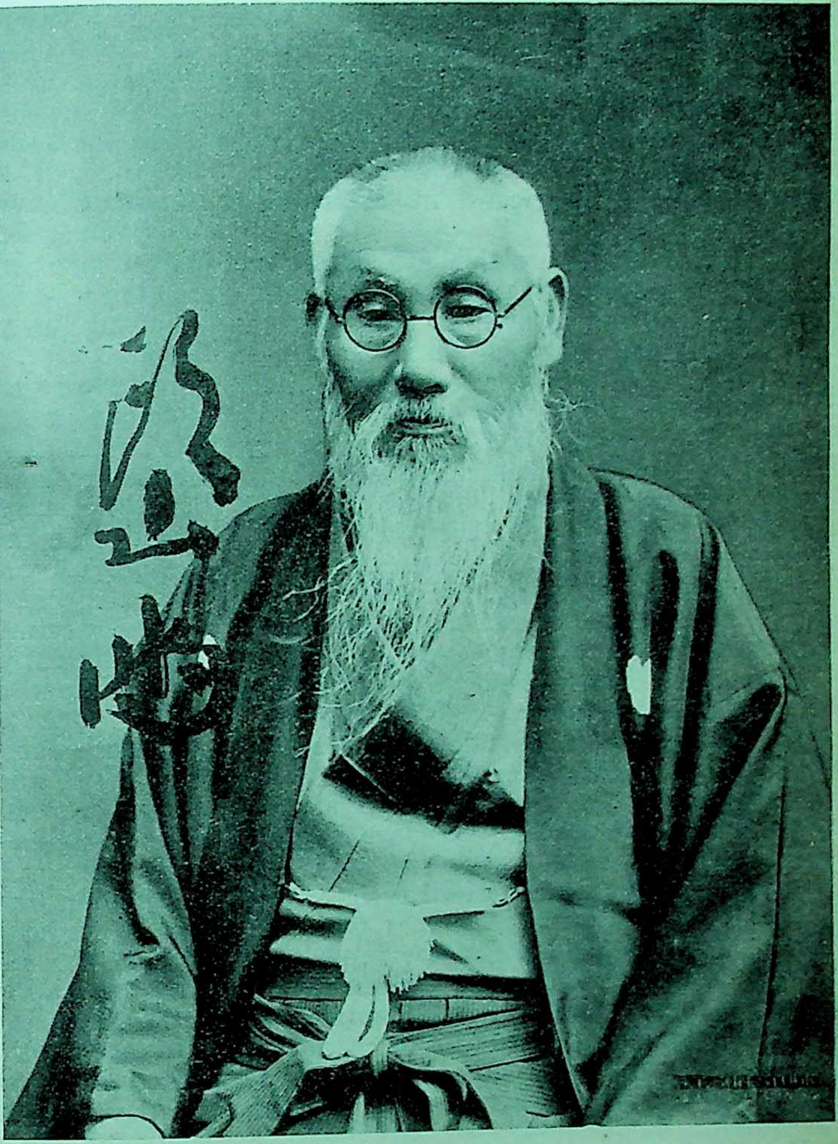
"Oh no, no trouble at all. Tea is no tea if you don't take it to your heart's content," so saying Mr. Toyama laughed heartily.

There was a good heap of books lying in one corner of the room, the walls of which consisted of wooden partitions. I wanted to know if Mr. Toyama still read books. He replied although he had reached the last stage of life when reading should be done with still he had not given up the habit of reading and writing. This brought in politics—Indian, Japanese and international. There was the question of war also. Mr. Toyama did not seem to attach any importance to the pacifist movement in the West. He had certain things to say about the wave of communism which was sweeping many a land in the East. At the end of his talk he asked us to visit Manchuria also on our way back to India. We consented. At this Mr. Toyama gave a chit written by his hand to Mr. Tomo for the Minister of Railways who later on arranged for our journey and other comforts.

We took leave of him at 3. Again there was an exchange of bows. When we stood in the corridor he too was there beside us. We requested him several times not to take any more trouble but he would not agree and came to see us off at the main door.

"So that house belonged to Mr. Toyama himself?" I asked my friend.

"Yes, that was his—to be more correct that was the Society's."



An autographed photograph of Mr. Toyama, the founder of Blood-brotherhood of Japan

"Society! You mean Brotherhood? But how does this Society work?"

"In the beginning he gave board and lodging to certain poor students who came in touch with him day and night. They stayed with him but studied in different educational institutions. They did everything, even, cleaning and washing, with their own hands. No domestic servants were kept. Naturally Mr. Toyama had not a heavy burden to bear on his shoulders. The Japanese are most loyal to their benefactor. These students were always ready to do what their spiritual *guru* bade them to do. As they grew older they held many responsible posts in the service of the State. Some of them sent regularly quite a good sum of money to their preceptor. During the last thirty years Mr. Toyama has helped hundreds of young men with the result that, it is said, nearly sixty thousand people are at his back today. Now every Ministry in Japan respects Mr. Toyama. Some of the ministers fear him, others seek his help."

I learnt several other things besides these about Mr. Toyama and his Brotherhood. An interesting story was related to me about his influence. Several years ago when the present Emperor of Japan was young and his father was alive, the Prince was engaged to the daughter of a feudal lord. The person in charge of the royal household affairs was jealous of that lord. He did not like that the lord's daughter be married to the Prince. Easy access as he had to the Emperor he dinned the doubt into the master's ears that the princess to-be was suspected of phthisis. In this way he made the Emperor break the engagement.

When Mr. Toyama came to know of this he was enraged. "This is sheer faithlessness," said he to his band, "and faithlessness on the part of a king is a national sin." Then he sent an appeal to the King that such a thing did not become an exalted personage like the Emperor. But no heed was paid to it. At this Mr. Toyama ordered one thousand of his disciples to perform hara-kiri. They proceeded to the Shrine with the *guru* at the head. Mr. Toyama knelt down before the presiding deity and prayed thus: "An exalted person is going to commit a great sin. In order to check him from doing that these youths have come to offer their lives. Pray accept their humble offer!"

No sooner had he uttered these words than a young man stepped forward and cut up his abdomen. The next moment a human body lay there in a pool of blood. The second youth followed him and so the third. When the news of hara-kiri reached the Emperor in his palace he was struck with horror. A messenger with a message in a steel cover and a royal standard in his hand ran from the palace to the shrine. The leader read aloud the message of the Emperor to the members of the Brotherhood present there. The King had promised that he would not break the engagement of the Prince contracted with the daughter of the feudal lord. The resolve of hara-kiri was given up by the rest of the youth who later on went back to their headquarter in the form of a procession.

The late Sun Yat-sen, the great political leader of China, was once considered to be an enemy of Japan. It is said that when he was young he excited his countrymen against the Japanese. But in his later life he was found to be a friend of Japan. It was Mr. Toyama with whom Sun stayed once when he was in Tokyo. Mr. Toyama gave a party in honour of the Chinese patriot and showered praises upon him. Dr. Sun Yat-sen in return admired Japan and the Japanese for their hospitality, cordiality and patriotism. A question was troubling the minds of so many Japanese guests in the party. A journalist gave a bit of his mind when he asked: "How is it that Doctor Sun was not a friend of Japan in his earlier life?" At this the Doctor explained that he wanted to infuse the spirit of patriotism then in the masses by exciting their hatred against the foreigners. America and certain European countries were helping him financially. He used that money in exciting the Chinese against the Japanese. But when there was sufficient awakening among the Chinese he gave up that policy and become a friend of Japan.

More than twenty years ago the late Lala Lajpat Rai went to Japan from America. Few people knew him there then. In a short time he felt so lonely that he made up his mind to leave that country and go back to America. An Indian student introduced him to Mr. Toyama who gave a party in his honour. Several journalists attended the function. He gave them all a sketch of the Lala's life. The next morrow found Lala Lajpat Rai in every morning 'paper. He was admired as an orator, writer, social reformer and patriot. Thus in one day the name Lajpat Rai became a household word. After that Lalaji stayed there for more that eight months.

Lala Lajpat Rai was most probably in Japan when the well-known Mr. Rashbehari Bose reached there. Mr. Bose began mixing with the Indian students. He used to meet Mr. Toyama every now and then. He had stayed in Japan for nearly two years when the British Consul at Tokyo came to know that he was the revolutionary Rashbehari Bose. Japan and England were great friends then. But the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs had sympathy for the Indian students in Japan. When however there was pressure the Minister was forced to pass orders for turning Mr. Bose out of the country. In certain political circles it was given out that he was a spy of the Germans and hence that action was necessary. Ten days' time was allowed to him. During that period only one boat was to leave the shores of Japan for Hong Kong where the British Police could easily catch hold of Mr. Bose. Bose, however, decided to defy the orders of the Japanese Government. Fifteen Japanese officers of Police surrounded the lodging of Mr. Bose. He came out and told them frankly that he was prepared to be treated by them in whatever manner they liked. Even death at their hands would be welcomed by him. He appealed them not to turn him out of the country. But what could the Police do when they had strict orders from above! Mr. Toyama came to the rescue of Mr. Bose then. Somehow he took Bose away to his own house. None of the officers came to know where Bose had gone to. Even if they had known that they would not have dared to face Mr. Toyama. For three years Mr. Bose did not come out of his place of hiding. After that there was a change in the Ministry. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs did not think it proper to go into the question again. Thus Mr. Bose was once again free. He married a young Japanese lady so that some years later he had a son and a daughter. Now Mr. Bose is considered to be somebody in the Indian circle. Like Mr. Bose himself everybody there knows how much he owes to Mr. Mitsuru Toyama.

K. NARASIMHA IYENGAR

A Great Indian Figure in Malaya

By G. PARTHASARATHY

By the death of Mr. K. Narasimha Iyengar at the early age of 47, Indians in Malaya have lost a noble and spotless leader.

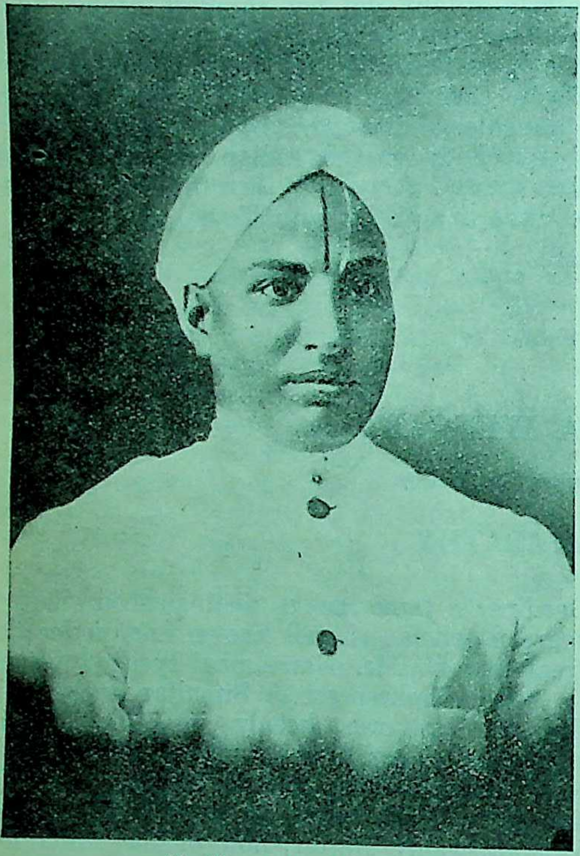
Mr. K. Narasimha Iyengar was born on 3rd July, 1890, in the beautiful little village of Nangaivaram on the banks of the Cauvery, a few miles west of Trichinopoly, South India.

He was a student of the Hindu Secondary School, Trichinopoly, and his keen intelligence was even then appreciated by his headmaster Mr. C. Rangaswamy Iyer who had a great love for the boy. While fourteen Mr. Iyengar lost his father which gave a rude shock to the young mind. He joined his fourth form in the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, where he was the pet student of Rev. Father Leigh, S. J. It was Fr. Leigh who first planted firm into the lad's mind ideas of correct significance of words, thorough knowledge of grammar, essay writing and above all, discipline. Matriculating in December, 1907, Mr. Narasimha Iyengar joined the S. P. G. College, Trichinopoly. Rev. Allan F. Gardiner, the Principal, granted him a free scholarship as a result of his appreciation of the lad's abilities. The Rev. Allan F. Gardiner's fame as a distinguished Shakespearean scholar is well known and under that great savant Mr. Narasimha Iyengar learned to love Shakespeare. Simultaneously with this the lad was keenly interested in the study of Tamil, his mother tongue, and took lessons under Pichai Ibrahim Pulavar, the poet, and later under Pundit N. M. Venkataswamy Nattar, now of the Annamalai University, Chidambaram. The young student's ramblings in Kambar and Shakespeare infused into him a great love for music and art. After a three years' study he left college in 1914 without completing the course on account of his sudden ill health. He had already lost his mother in 1911.

About the end of 1915 he joined the Accountant-General's Office, Rangoon, as a clerk and resigned in 1920 on account of ill health. Like Robert Louis Stevenson who wandered over the South Sea Islands in search of health Mr. Iyengar travelled the length and breadth of Upper Burma for a number of months in the vain hope of better health and in sheer disgust he despaired of service in Burma and left for Malaya and lived with his brother Mr. K. S. Rajam who was the Manager of the Industrial Press, Kuala Lumpur. He had married in 1918.

MALAYAN CAREER

From December, 1920, his Malayan career began. He joined the Industrial Press as Assistant Manager and in August, 1921, the first Tamil newspaper of Malaya, the *Tamilaham* as a bi-weekly edition was started which was highly popular and successful till he left the concern about the middle of 1923.



K. Narasimha Iyengar

Early in 1924 Mr. Iyengar and his brother Mr. K. S. Rajam established the Art Printing Works. On September 10th of the same year the *Tamil Nesan* was started as a weekly newspaper. From its very inception it stood for non-party, non-communal interests and Mr. Iyengar was a staunch supporter of theism and the interests of the poorer classes, especially the Harijans. When Swami Sahajanandam of the Nandanar Mutt, Chidambaram, visited Malaya, the Swami found in Mr. Iyengar the strongest and most sincere supporter of his cause and expressed it adequately on many later occasions.

By the end of 1927 the need for an E edition was felt and a few pages were set for the English matter in the Tamil ed itself. Later from January, 1928, the T *Nesan* English Supplement was issued separa On 1st March, 1929, the English Supplemen converted into the *Indian Pioneer* weekly the *Tamil Nesan* into a bi-weekly. On 18th August, 1930, the *Pioneer* ceased pub tion and as pointed out in an announcem Mr. Iyengar suffered a net loss of over $5 He now limited himself to the *Tamil Nesa*

Within a year after the Art Printing Wo had been started his elder brother, his c support, died suddenly at the early age of and since then he stood alone to face world.

Very bad health worried him in 1926 he unwillingly left for India on a holiday returned next year. He now put his wh vigour into the business. Times favoured h and he steadily built the edifice of his valua institution. In 1932 a lot of new machin and materials were purchased and the o was removed to its present premises No. 8 Ampang Street, Kuala Lumpur, in Novemb 1932. From 4th January, 1934, the paper w published thrice weekly and the response w encouraging.

Towards the end of 1934 he took a short holi day in India and came back in May, 1935. O his return he drew elaborate plans for a fu fledged Indian daily with other allied publica tions and invited the co-operaton of interest friends. But they still did not realise t eagerness of his mission and his purpose. B Mr. Iyengar was not the man to go back o his plans. He stuck to them firmly. Alo single-handed, in a distant country like Malay he issued the *Tamil Nesan* Daily Edition on t 20th February, 1937, and when Pun Jawaharlal Nehru visited Malaya a few mont later the Daily sent a special staff repor throughout the country wherever the gre leader went and it is needless to say that t 700,000 of Indians rose in response and t circulation was most encouraging.

In the meanwhile the constant strain t on his health and he took short holidays health resorts but his physical strength w already giving way. He was removed hospital and the end came suddenly. Friday, 4th February, 1938, passed away Narasimha Iyengar, a great Indian figure Malaya.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was a profo scholar in English and Tamil and had a de knowledge of the Vaishnavite philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. He was well built. He was a man of principles and more a man of action than of words. His watchword was Discipline. In his own quiet and unostentatious manner he had played his part manfully for the amelioration of the Indians, especially the toiling labourers, in Malaya. His active and ceaseless campaign through the columns of his *Tamil Nesan* and *Indian Pioneer* largely contributed to the appointment of Indian Members to the Straits and F. M. S. Councils and the Indian Immigration Committee. Then again when the fixing of wages for Key districts came up for public enquiry he spared no pains to draw pointed attention to the minimum needs of the labourer.

Today we have lost him, but he has left behind him his institution—the *Tamil Nesan*—strong enough to stand firm.

NEW DEFINITION OF THE EMPIRE

By M. MANSINHA

On the 16th of February, 1938, Professor Reginald Coupland, professor of Colonial History, Oxford, delivered an interesting lecture in the King's College, Newcastle. His subject was 'Nationalism in the British Empire' and the audience, which was large, was mostly British with a sprinkling of Indians, Africans and Jews. Professor Morrison, professor of History, King's College, took the chair. Professor Coupland spoke to this effect:

Nationalism has come to be understood now in two senses. The ordinary sense involves the patriotic instinct in man—a love for the soil on which one is born, and which is universal and harmless. But in these days there has appeared another type of nationalism, which is aggressive and which, in the intoxication of patriotic fervour, tries to impose its own superiority over others. To this type of nationalism is due the irrational demand for colonies by centain powers in Europe.

It is true, whenever questioned, these powers often point their fingers towards the British Empire and ask why they should not have empires like that. But they do not understand that the British Empire is no longer an 'Empire' so-called, but a Commonwealth of Nations—a small league of nations. Within this Commonwealth, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are, to all intents and purposes, independent countries. Ireland is independent now and although it is now divided in two, a day will come when the whole of Ireland will be one country. Palestine is a mandatory state and Britain will be there only so long as the Arabs and the Jews take time to stand on their own legs. It is obvious however that, Egypt too is independent now.

Now, what about India? Great Britain is earnest in granting India Dominion Status. By the new Constitution the Indians have more power than what the Canadians had by the Durham Report. The Indians desire freedom all at once, but the British Government desires it by a gradual process. The Indians ought to be patient about it and try to work the Constitution to its fullest advantage. In future, whether India wishes to remain within the Empire or to go outside it, depends entirely on the Indians.

Mr. M. Mansinha

So where is the 'Empire' of Great Britain now? The word 'Empire' had a possessory sense attached to it. But the present British Empire changes the meaning into a brotherhood of independent and self-governing nations. The clamour for colonies by other powers is absolutely unjustified, if at the back of it there is their jealousy of Britain's Empire, inasmuch as, Britain does not possess or does not want to possess, any part of it in the sense that they want to have the colonies. They ought to know that the British Empire is or going to be a brotherhood of self-governing and independent nations.

This is, in a nut-shell, what Professor Coupland said that evening. While speaking about India he paid a tribute to the admirable and inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi and expressed his wonder and astonishment at, how India a vast continent in itself, with its surging millions of population, divided into so many provinces each distinct in its own culture and each speaking a language of its own, with numerous religions and grades of civilization, with diverse types of people ranging from the highly intellectual Brahmin down to the lowest pariah, was now pulsating with one idea of being independent and with the one common enthusiasm of nationalism. He said it was possible because, never before in history, the whole of India was under one administration as it is now under the British and secondly, every educated Indian speaks English which provides the Indian intelligentia with a common language. He then praised the Congress for having accepted the provincial offices in seven provinces and wished that Indians should see their way to accepting and working out the Federal scheme.

After the lecture there was to be tea and talks. That evening only two Indians from Orissa were present at the lecture, I being one of the two. But it so happened later that almost the whole of that evening was occupied by discussions on India. As soon as the talks began an English lecturer asked about the safeguards in the new Indian Constitution. Professor Coupland tried to explain that there are safeguards in every Constitution and there were safeguards in Canadain Constitution too as there are in Indian Constitution now. These safeguards are rarely to be used and they are expected to be withdrawn when circumstances outgrow their necessity. The safeguards in Indian Constitution, it must be confessed, are there to see to the British interests in India and to the rights of the Covenanted Civil Service. But they are there to see to the interests of the minorities too and among others the Europeans are a small minority in India.

I am not a student of politics, nor my Indian friend who was with me. But being Indians I felt it my duty to speak for India and give the Indian point of view of the new Constitution. I explained how the safeguards of the Civil Service hampered the activities of the ministers and revealed the hollowness of autonomy in the provinces. I also said how poorly equipped the ministers were financially in proportion to their gigantic responsibilities. These responsibilities, I said, were the accumulation of the errors of two hundred years of British regime in India—the vast problems of illiteracy, poverty, and lack of rural development in India. I explained also why Indians of all classes were opposed to a Federal scheme where the nominees of the autocratic princes and the representatives of communal interests would naturally form a permanent and predominant reactionary *bloc*.

And above all where is the assurance of India getting even Dominion Status from Britain? There is nothing in the new Constitution to hold out such a hope. In the 1919 Reforms there was a time-limit of ten years. But this Constitution seems to be a permanent affair, perpetuating the control of the Indian nation by a well-protected bureaucracy. This is how political India thinks, said I.

Professor Coupland was ready with a reply. Said he:

"It is true there will be reactionary elements in the Federal Assembly. But in spite of that the scheme is well-worth a trial, inasmuch as it will complete the unity of India, welding the States and the Provinces into one great whole and the States too in coming into closer contact with the provinces will gradually conform themselves to democratic ideals. And even if there is no assurance given in the Constitution as to India's getting Dominion Status in the near future, 'let it be known that it is the desire of every thoughtful Englishman that India should be free.' The constitution was made at a time when the British Cabinet was extremely conservative. But things have changed now and those Englishmen who think in the old Imperialistc way are doing harm to this country."

At the end of the talks Professor Morrison, the President of the evening deliberations, remarked that the University of Oxford is notoriously conservative. It was remarkable indeed to hear a professor of Oxford speak in this liberal manner and feel the change that has come over English political thought. He said also that in the light of these talks, the clamour for colonies by other powers was irrational and barbaric and he questioned the right of one nation forcibly ruling over another.

When the meeting broke up Professor Coupland shook hands with me and told me that he was pleased that the discussions were carried on in such good spirit.

In fact in the whole lecture and the discussions over it later on, it was the liberal spirit that was really remarkable. Is this not a changed outlook? Indeed since I came to this country last September, I haven't come across a single statement in the newspapers and journals that can be even distantly described as purely anti-Indian. On the other hand numerous articles in the dailies and the weeklies have been published expressing sympathy with and appreciation of the way the Congress ministries are working out the Constitution in the provinces. Even the conservative and aristocratic *Times* has surprised us by its reasonable attitude to Indian situations.

All that we wish is that this happy relation that is just beginning may grow stronger between the two great countries of the world, as the times go by.

MAJOR YEATS-BROWN'S CARICATURE OF INDIA AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

[In February and March last there appeared in two German papers reports of two lectures delivered by Major Francis Yeats-Brown before the Universities of Berlin and Munich. He is known as author of the novel *Bengal Lancers* and the film *Bengali*. Cuttings of the German reports of these two lectures from two German papers have been sent to us from Munich by Srijut Raghu Nayak, to whom our countrymen, including ourselves, will feel grateful. Professor Dr. V. V. Gokhale of Cheena-Bhavan, Santiniketan, has kindly translated these reports into English at our request, for which we thank him. The translations are printed below.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*]

Report by the "*Berliner Abendblatt*" (Berlin) on 20th February, 1938.

THE SPANISH TRAGEDY REPEATS ITSELF IN INDIA. A BRITON DECLARES: NEVER WILL ENGLAND LEAVE INDIA, BECAUSE ENGLAND NEEDS INDIA!

Berlin, 19th February.

Under the auspices of the Anglo-German Association and the English Seminary of the University of Berlin, the well-known author and authority on India, Major Francis Yeats-Brown delivered an address on the "Future of India," after he was introduced by Prof. Schirmer of the English Seminary. First dealing with the present situation in India, the lecturer observed that the enormous population was still increasing at a surprising rate, but was divided by irreconcilable hatred born of religion and race.

On the one hand there were 239 millions of Hindus and on the other 77¼ millions of Mohammedans. Further there were 4 millions of Sikhs, who, being branched off from Hinduism, formed at present a nation by itself and represented a very energetic and well-to-do people. Again, there were 560 almost independent Indian princes, the majority of whom were very jealous of each other. As against these peoples stand the 2,000 British officials and 68,000 British soldiers for maintaining peace.

The Native rulers are certainly not angels, but the tyranny exercised by them may be called mercy, in comparison with what is happening today under the name of "democratic government" in these provinces, which are still called 'British' Indian, but which are governed by Indian politicians, who are under the influence of the Cominterm Rights and laws are disappearing. The Universities are in a state of revolt. Religion is being buried and family-life ridiculed. Hundreds of agitators, trained in Moscow, are working among the people. The Spanish tragedy is repeating itself in the farmers' districts in India. Wherever election booths are erected, there rules open and shameless bribery.

"What we are, as a whole, doing in India," continued the Lecturer, "is to give the advocates and money-lenders opportunities to oppress the farmers. That is not only my view, but the view of nine-tenths of those Englishmen who know India. It is important, that these things must be declared in foreign countries as well as at home by us, so that other people may know, that we Englishmen are not such fools—nor even such hypocrites—as we appear to be. The world has often discovered with surprise, that we have our own peculiar qualities as a race. In spite of repeated protestations—which, however, I deeply regret—that we shall remain in India only so long as the Indians have not learnt to manage their own affairs independently, I repeat, that we *will remain* in India. England needs India's trade and India needs England's guidance."

Among those present were the Ambassador Sir George Ogilvie-Forbes and Sir Roger Chance, of the British Embassy and Prof. Sarolea of Edinburgh and others.

Report by the "*Voelkischer Beobachter*" (Berlin), an organ of the Nazi Party, on 4th March, 1938.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA

(An address delivered by Major Francis Yeats-Brown).

Upon the invitation of the Anglo-German Association of Berlin Major Francis Yeats-Brown, the author of the "*Bengali*" and "*Children of the Mother Ganges*" spoke in the Auditorium of the Munich University on the "Future of India." He represented the 'mixture of different races and peoples' as the main problem of India. He described how India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries; how the first conquerors, the Aryans, kept themselves aloof from the native population by means of the caste system, as they instinctively recognised that hereditary qualities would not disappear, in their effort to maintain the race efficiency on a high level.

The climate undermined the strength of Aryans, who were conquered by foreigners. The English, who were the last conquerors, gradually came to the realization that had conquered a country of 200 mill containing the most varied races.

A historical review will show, that future of India can never be shaped accor to the ideals and rules of English par mentarianism. No Indian thinks that men equal. The increasing population is divi by an irreconcilable hatred, founded on relig belief and race.

On the one hand, there are the 293 milli of Hindus, on the other the 77½ millions Mohammedans. Besides these, we find millions of Sikhs, who are related with Hin but represent an energetic, well-to-do independent people. Nearly 560 independ Indian princes rule over nearly 2/5 of the la In this country, 2,000 British officials and 68,0 British soldiers are trying to maintain pea

The India Act of 1935 would bring Indians a large measure of self-governme But in India there are several nations whi would be in a position to build up separa governments independently. At any rate, democratic conceptions, current in Engla have been renounced by the Indians, si thousands of years. Very few Indians wo indeed be prepared to reject the constitutio given to them by the Act of 1935.

The Native rulers do exercise tyrann which however, is less than the one, which so-called democratic governments in Brit Indian provinces, is capable of, ruled as th are by politicians, who are influenced by Cominterm. The Universities are in a state revolt. Religion is buried and family- ridiculed. Hundreds of professional agitat are working among the people.

It is often said, that the Englishmen w remain in India only so long as the Indians not able to manage their own affairs. I, ho ever, declare emphatically, that we will co tinue to remain there. We have done mu for India, but our work is not yet over. In needs the British guidance as much as Gr Britain needs the Indian trade. Both la will work together as honorable and pea loving partners and thus accomplish one of greatest experiments ever seen in history.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

BALANCES OF PAYMENTS 1936: *Series of League of Nations Publications, 1937. II. A. 16. India: The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, 4/4A, Calcutta. Indian Branch Office of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, 8, Curzon Road, New Delhi. Pages: 236. Price Rs. 6; $1.50.*

The 1936 issue of the annual volume on Balances of Payments, published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations, analyses the international accounts of 36 countries in recent years, as against 29 countries in last year's edition. All the principal trading countries of the world are included, except Italy, for which no data are available since 1930. To enable students of international economic relations to draw useful conclusions from the material compiled in this volume, most of the statements for individual countries—though not all—are based on a special form which was sent to States Members of the League, and the full text of which is included in the volume. In any case, comparable figures for the following principal groups of items are given for practically all countries represented: merchandise, interest and dividends, other services, gold, and capital items sub-divided into long-term operations and short-term operations.

The chapter devoted to a detailed analysis of recent tendencies in international business transactions, is an exhaustive one. The changes in the balance on current account of creditor and debtor countries, the international movements of capital from one country to another, the effects of the recent improvement in world trade and the increase in the prices of some raw materials upon the balances of payments of creditor and debtor countries, are subjects of careful scrutiny. Equal attention is paid to the effects of tourist traffic, emigrants' remittances, capital market and gold movements.

Most of the detailed statements given for individual countries are accompanied by a summary table showing the balances, and for the last few years also, the totals of all inward and outward payments. For the sake of easy comparison, these balances have been converted into United States gold dollars and have been entered in a synoptical table which is a feature of the chapter on recent tendencies.

One of the tables shows that the aggregate balance on account of current international business transactions of the three principal creditor countries, *i.e.*, the United States, the United Kingdom and France, was passive in 1936 by 259 million gold dollars. This of course means that a reciprocal change has taken place in the aggregate balance of debtor countries and that the strain to which these countries had been put in their international transactions has relaxed. On the other hand, although there was a considerable increase in international payments of dividends and in receipts from shipping services, which benefited mostly the creditor countries, there were few new capital issues floated in international capital markets for the account of debtor countries.

An interesting sign of the general improvement is the rise in international payments on account of tourist expenditure, by nearly 40% between 1934 and 1936.

S.

THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER, A Biography: *By K. M. Panikkar, 1937, Oxford University Press, London. Pp. 400. Price 18s. net.*

Mr. Panikkar is a versatile writer, who has specialized himself in the polity of Indian States and is recognized as their accomplished spokesman. We greatly admire his commendable execution of a delicate task in writing an informing biography of an eminent living prince, presenting to the world a balanced and correct view of the Maharaja's life and work and showing thereby what good an Indian Prince can do in the midst of adverse surroundings. We presume that the undertaking was not prompted by the Maharaja himself, as it is ushered by Lord Hardinge with his own short foreword pointing out the value of the Maharaja's services to his country in addition to the successful administrition of his own State. The volume indeed constitutes an important chapter of modern Indian history and deserves to be in the hands of those who are shaping the destiny of India at the present moment. It tersely summarises the position and difficulties of Indian princes, a grasp of which is so very essential in harmonising the two essential halves of the Indian nation.

There are many features in the present Maharaja of Bikaner's past life, which are more or less common to that of several other Indian rulers and which on that account appear to assume a stereotyped character, the same monotonous tale, that is to say, of a minority administration, tuition under an English guardian, intrigues of the palace and of the hereditary nobles, the wranglings with the British Residents, state-visits by the Viceroys, the usual items of administrative reforms such as roads, railways, canals, buildings and even the erection of equestrian statues to beautify the capital. But it is a pleasure to read in Mr. Panikkar's well arranged seventeen topical chapters how ingeniously the Maharaja Ganga Singh has carved out of his hard surroundings an outlet for his innate powers of head and heart and how manfully he has played his part in the post-war problems of India. It is this latter portion of the present biography which is both interesting and instructive, revealing as it does the Maharaja's tact in handling many important problems involving vital Indian concerns towards a successful termination. Few know the inner working of recent events and one is agreeably struck with the patriotic and laudable course which the Maharaja has adopted between two conflicting calls of duty, *viz.*, his loyalty to imperial Britain and the permanent interests of his own enslaved nation.

The Chamber of Princes and the present consummation of the Indian Federation, consisting of British India and the States, are two most noteworthy achievements directly initiated by the Maharaja's own personal exertions. He has always played a prominent and beneficial role in Indian politics and attained a unique position as India's ambassador striving for the lasting good of India. He first distinguished himself by the part he took in the great war so that he was invited by the Imperial Government as a member of the Peace Conference and thereafter represented India at the several Imperial and Round Table Conferences and also at the League of Nations. This has made him a world figure and it must be said to his credit that in all his activities he has faithfully served the interests of the whole Indian nation, although it may be doubted whether all these conferences and the world-wide deliberations have at all materially contributed to the eventual good of India. The Maharaja's honest endeavour cannot, however, be for a moment doubted. More than once he has emphatically declared that "after the States' concern for the Empire, our greatest anxiety is to see our country progressing and prospering and our fellow countrymen in India receiving what is their due." As a loyal Prince with his unavoidable affiliations to the British Crown, he had to put British interests first and the Indian interests next. An average Indian, however, would put India's interests first and the British interests next. Indeed the various quotations from the Maharaja's speeches and writings form a happy background for his life's mission.

At the present moment, when the question of Indian Federation is engaging the attention of every thinking man, the clear enunciation by the Maharaja of Bikaner of the States' position and attitude towards "the new and integral nationalism of the Indian people" is a great advance in the right direction. It is expected that, shrewd as the Maharaja is, he fully realizes the implications of Federation, the growing strength of democratic feeling in India, and the consequent sacrifice required on the part of Indian States. They can no longer look upon their States as their own private patrimony, as merely means of personal enjoyment and greed, but as a divine trust which they have to discharge faithfully and in all conscience. Mr. Panikkar himself has quoted the oriental ideal of Kingship being ever present before the mental vision of the Maharaja and it is but fitting that the Maharaja should now boldly come forth to call upon all his order to make a voluntary surrender of those rights and privileges of Purna-Swarajya, which the British Government have already yielded to the people under their charge and thus help to fulfil the sacred ideal of a united Indian nation within his own lifetime. Japan owes her rise to a similar sacrifice of powers on the part of her nobility: the Indian Princes have already long enjoyed autocratic rule: it is in vain for them to covet the same powers in perpetuity. Circumstances will sooner or later compel them to make the surrender. They will save much trouble to themselves if they do this of own accord. Let the Maharaja of Bikaner gi answer by taking the lead.

G. S. SARDE

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND ADM TRATION OF INDIA: *By Dr. Bal Krishna. Pu by School and College Book-stall, Kolhapur;* *Pp. 6+256. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this small but admirable book on the F Constitution as envisaged by the Government India Act, 1935, the author has tried to give as useful and relevant information for the students and general reader as he possibly could with limited scope. In an introductory chapter Dr. Krishna has tried to explain the fundamental ences in the various types of constitution and has put down the merits and demerits of each type. He also tried to deal briefly yet clearly the various ess and predominant features of a modern state. The au has devoted one whole chapter to the growth of Indian Constitution specially from the Minto-M reforms of 1909 and has referred at some length to various events and developments in Indian politics 1919 to the passing of the present Act. The scheme the Federal Constitution for India has been disc and dealt with in an independent chapter and Dr. Krishna has stated the reasons for provincial auto and has discussed the factors contributory to the In Federal Constitution and the difficulties in the way a normal type of Federation in India. The author devoted one separate chapter to each of the follow *viz.*, the Home Government, the Federal Governm Provincial Government, Federal and Provincial Le latures, and powers of the Legislatures. The chapt on Indian Finances briefly gives a review of the financ changes since the reforms; and after describing the scheme of federal finance the author puts down criticism of the Niemeyar award and details all the f cial safeguards on the Central revenues as imposed Constitution. The chapters on Administration of Jus on problems of the new constitution, Local Self-governm and on Administrative problems not only give us remaining important provisions of the Act but also for the information of the readers many details of present administration which are not directly dealt with the new Constitution. The chapter on Indian S sums up all the provisions of the Act which refer the States, but it does not go further. The author co from an important Indian State (Kolhapur) and hence is expected of him that he will throw some light on explain in fuller details the obscure and difficult very interesting and intriguing problems of Indian Again, when dealing with the growth and the develop of the Federal scheme the author has not fully br out the part played by the Indian States in it, nor it been made clear how the various constitutional legal difficulties arising out of the problems of the States were finally and automatically solved by their ing to federate with British Indian provinces. The c petal forces that are working today in India are bringing the two Indias nearer to each other; the problem blem of the Indian States, therefore, is the problem tomorrow, and hence it is earnestly hoped that the will make good this deficiency when bringing out second edition. In the end the author has briefly all the salient features of the new constitution. author has not been slow in attending to the needs the students and hence has appended short summ of the various chapters. He has also taken pains to add a very useful and exhaustive index to the book.

RAGHUBIR SINH

INDIAN POLITICS SINCE THE MUTINY: *By C. Y. Chintamani, Chief Editor, the 'Leader,' Allahabad. Published by the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair, 1937. Rs. 2.*

This book is a reprint of the lectures delivered by the well-known public man of Allahabad to the students and public-spirited men of Waltair under the auspices of the Andhra University. Those who are familiar with the *Leader* of Allahabad, may well expect a fresh outlook and new angle of vision from Mr. Chintamani. The subject chosen by him for this lecture admits of much deep insight into the under-currents of responsiveness and reaction to various activities since the Crown assumed the sovereignty of India. The establishment of Universities, functioning of co-ordinated and graded courts of justice, English precedents serving as beacon light for forensic discourses and public movements, public discussions in the press gradually ousting authority and dogmas, and several other factors, have contributed their legitimate shares in moulding and shaping Indian politics. When we took up the book, we expected to get an insight into all those forces acting and reacting in India. The author has not attempted it. It is only an 'account of the development of public life and political institutions and of prominent political personalities.' It serves a useful purpose in opening up a vista of momentous chapter in Indian history, and a future research scholar who would try to correctly interpret this history will find some useful materials from this book. To that future scholar, we should point out a few points wherein we differ from the learned lecturer. The opening sentence of the book is: 'Public life, as we know it today, may be said to have been non-existent at the beginning of the period of review.' With the qualification—'as we know it today,' the remark is unexceptionable. But 'the vast unknown intricacy,' which is the public is being forgotten today. 'The Public' which looms large in the press and platform is a narrow, cooped and cabined view of the intricacy. A scholar should always note this. Similarly, there may be difference of opinion as to Raja Sri T. Madhava Rao's observation as to the Congress as 'the grandest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the British nation' (p. 21). Nor can we forget that the lecturer's 'Liberal party-politics' is responsible for the following injustice done to Balgangadhar Tilak:—"It was an idea with him that Indians should never express appreciation of anything, however, good done by Government, for, he said, that would blunt the edge of agitation. For this reason his opinions uttered in public with a political motive, were not always what he held and expressed in private. He was opposed to the Bengal boycott agitation as he thought boycott impossible, but was one of its most vehement public advocates. He was satisfied with the Montagu Act, but would never say so in public." This passage will be painful reading to many like the present writer who knew him and were known to him.

NARENDRA NATH SET

THE CHILD IN INDIA: *Edited by Clifford Manshardt. Published by Taraporevala Sons & Co. Price Rs. 4.*

Those who have some idea about how defective and destitute boys and girls in big cities are exploited by villains of society will welcome the present book which has been published to commemorate the coming of age of the S.P.C.W.I. The history of the society given in the first article by Mr. R. P. Masani (one of the founders) reveals some of the heinous methods and nefarious tactics that are usually adopted by the exploiters in Western India to get hold of their victims. There is no reason to suppose that such processes of victimisation and exploitation are confined to Western India only. Though much remains to be accomplished as yet, it is fortunate that people everywhere have begun to realise the extreme importance from social, moral and every other point of view, of the task of protecting children from the clutches of these villainous bands of professional exploiters. The reviewer has seen and heard much about the activities of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to "kittens" and would be very glad to see an encouraging report like the present one of the work of the Society in Calcutta for the protection of children in India.

The book deals not only with the actual concrete situation but contains articles of much psychological value on various problems connected with the development and training of children, normal as well as defective. It can be safely recommended to any organised society, college or university dealing with the subject of Applied Education. It is particularly to be desired that municipal corporations and philanthropic organisations which have made the improvement of the health and welfare of citizens their sole objective should carefully go through the pages of this book including the admirable introduction by Lord Brabourne.

S. C. MITRA

TALES FROM THE MYSTICS OF THE EAST: *By General Parakram Jung Bahadur Rana. Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 133.*

When God created Man, says George Herbert, He gave him everything from His "glass of blessings", namely: strength, honour, wisdom, etc., except the gift of peace. That is why, perhaps, ever since the *mantra* and momentum of his prayer and progress has been "from restlessness to rest." This rest, according to the author, rather translator, of *Tales from the Mystics of the East,* is found in mysticism, which "is a course of thinking that has for its objective the achievement of *rest* for the soul" (Foreword, p. *v.*). Is it *rest* or rhythm for the soul?

The tales in the book are fifty-one in number and are based on the traditions and teachings, among other mystics, of Buddha, Guru Nanak, Mirabai, Jaidev, Sadan and Kabir from India and Rabia, Shibli, Attar and Hasan Basri from Persia. The themes of most of these have already passed into the stock-in-trade of all seekers of the Supreme Reality. The inevitability of the death of the body; the futility of desire for the wealth of the world; the ever-burning beauty of love; the worship of God in the image of what is the holiest and the highest in one's own self—these and other allied truths are embodied and embellished in the *Tales.* They are so many beads of beautiful meditations in the Rosary of Remembrance. They are dreams of the unborn Spirit. They inspire the pilgrim on the path to engage himself in the divine commerce in which Kabir spent his whole life:

"One day Kabir was working on his warp. Somebody asked him, 'What is that you have engaged yourself in?' He replied, 'In breaking at this end and joining at the other'." (p. 94).

Yes, breaking down the barriers of finite forms at this end so that the spirit in man, thus released, may join the Spirit at the other end,—the dewdrop may merge into the shining sea!

The get-up and printing of the book are of high quality, though here and there some "slips" of preposition and punctuation have crept in inadvertently.

G. M.

MUSIC IN EIGHTEEN CENTURY SPAIN : *By Mary Neal Hamilton. Published by the University of Illinois at Urbana, 1937. Pages 283. Price $3.00.*

A great service has been rendered to the music world by the author of this book, who, as she says in the Preface, was stirred up to write by the wealth of the material almost unknown to most people, and by the scanty attention paid to the subject by writers on the subject. Music, like art and literature, has been influenced by religion in Spain to an extent unknown in other countries. The great masters of the golden age of Spanish literature were mystic writers, and a good many of the writers were priests and members of religious brotherhoods and communities. Similarly in Music, the originality of Spanish musical talent was in the religious sphere. "It is not generally understood, how much Spanish musicians gave to the Roman Church. The name of Palestrina is at once remembered as a musician in whom was achieved the height of polyphony, although one forgets entirely that he was 'one of the series of masters' of polyphony, some of which preceded him. Among them one of the greatest was Cristobal Morales of Seville . . ." The names of other masters, disciples of Morales, are mentioned.

Singing and dancing were used in the big religious functions and to this day, the "seises" in Seville and in the Mozavabic ritual of Toledo are a relic of past. Another typical development of Spanish drama is the "Autos." Lope de Vega, Calderon, Tirso de Molina, all wrote large numbers of this kind of drama and it was natural to apply religious music to their performance.

This should suffice to give an idea of the comprehensive account of Spanish Music presented by the author. The book is well documented. The author has not only a good knowledge of the language, but has entered sympathetically into the customs and traditions of the people. She has travelled widely and knows her Spain well. Spaniards should be grateful to her for such scholarly presentation of the subject in English. Music lovers in general will certainly welcome this book.

P. G. BRIDGE

INDO-BRITISH TRADE RELATIONS : *By Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Esq. 1937. Price Re. 1.*

This is a small compendium seeking to examine the effects of the Ottawa Trade Agreement in regard to the trade relation between India and Britain during the last three years, and to indicate its implications on India's foreign trade in general. The author very carefully studies the course of India's foreign trade during recent years and comes to the following conclusions :

(*a*) The Ottawa Agreement has resulted in some expansion of India's exports to Britiain but not to the extent anticipated; (*b*) This involved some diversion of trade from other countries to the United Kingdom; (*c*) The Agreement in its present form has seriously affected India's trade with other foreign countries, and in many directions India has given much more than she has received.

In view of the above the author makes some concrete proposals as to how a new trade agreement with Britain should be shaped.

The publication has been a timely one and provides a very helpful study of the subject both from the theoretical and the practical aspects of the question of bilateral and multi-lateral trade agreements in general, a Indo-British Trade Relations in particular.

AGRICULTURAL MARKETING IN NORTHE INDIA : *By S. A. Husain, Ph.D. (Econ.) Lond. Lecturer, Faculty of Commerce, University of Luck Published by George Allen and Union, Ltd., London.*

This book attempts a critical examination of temporary marketing methods and practices examines the defects of present-day conditions in of the commodity markets in Northern India. T work is divided into three parts dealing respecti with (a) Marketing and world agricultural condi (b) Marketing machinery as found at present and the proposals for the future improvement of In marketing arrangements.

The author has dealt principally with some agricultural commodities, namely, wheat, rice, sugar-oil-seeds, cotton and jute. The book has been appro as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy the University of London.

Of the many problems with which Indian agri turists are faced today the problem of marketing undoubtedly one of the most baffling. The author done a distinct service to the cause of a scientific p sentation of the case at the right moment.

The book contains many valuable suggestions, on certain matters the author appears to have be misguided in his judgment. For example, w reference to the possibility of raising the price of j by restrictions on cultivation, he virtually echoes European contention that high prices of jute will p vide a working margin for its rivals and will encoura its substitutes. Interference with the freeplay of su ply and demand should, therefore, in the opinion of t author be avoided and they should be allowed to fi their own level. Those who are intimately concerne with the problem of jute know the fallacy of such a argument too well.

In spite of such occasional lapses the book must b considered as a very valuable contribution towards th literature that seeks to bring about the salvation India through a proper handling of her agricultu problems.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN BURMA : *By Russell Andrus, M.A., Ph. D., with a Foreword by th Hon'ble Dr. Ba Maw, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Bar-a Law., Minister for Education, Government of Burm Published by the Oxford University Press. 19 Price Re. 1/8.*

Dr. Andrus of the Judson College has describe briefly the work that is being done in Burma, both b the Government departments and the private agencies particularly by the Chiristian missionary bodies, improve the conditions in the villages. As in In provinces, conditions in Burmese villages are a appalling and whatever is being done is hopeles small compared with what has still to be accomplish And the merit of Dr. Andrus' small book of some 1 pages lies in the suggestions he has made to young with education and spirit of social service, as to h they can participate in the noble work of rural up I personally believe that the greatest need in connecti with rural reconstruction is education and intens and extensive and ceaseless propaganda—both for ad and the children—organised and conducted in form in which it can be effective in the peculiar l conditions.

GURUMUKH N. SINGH

THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY: *By M. P. Gandhi, M.A. Published by the author from 14-B, Heysham Road, Calcutta. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The history of India's industrial development is a story of conflict between the economic interests of Britain and India. This is particularly true of Indian Cotton Textile Industry. Mr. M. P. Gandhi in the monograph under reference here discusses at great length the history of Indian Cotton Textile Industry from the time of its early prosperity to its decadent stage under the British rule, and its revival since the Swadeshi movement in Bengal to the present day.

The author discusses the problems of the industry in all its various aspects from the field to the factory and from the factory to the market. The book contains all the relevent statistics which make the publication useful, and interesting at the same time.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

HINDU SANGATHAN: *By Bhai Parmanand, M.L.A. Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Pp. iii+236. Price Re. 1.*

Bhai Parmanand wrote the book in Urdu. It has been translated into English by Prof. Lal Chand Dhawan. Bhai Parmanand points out the weakness of the modern Hindus, and stresses the need of Hindu Sangathan. He is pained to see that the Hindus sadly lack communal consciousness. The lower classes, or the masses, are too depressed to be of any help, and the so-called upper classes are too self-centred and indifferent to the common interests of the community. His heart bleeds to observe the supineness and indifference of his own people, when the Muhammadans are organising themselves on absolutely communal lines, and threatening to swallow up the Hindus. To the Muhammadans, India is still a land of warfare; and it is the duty of Muslims to convert Hindus to Islam. For this they stick at nothing for the end justifies the means. Even during the much-trumpeted Hindu-Muslim Unity of the Khilafat day agitation, they forced hundreds of Hindus in Malabar and elsewhere to embrace Islam. While the Muhammadans are thus active; the Hindus are dying for catch-phrases, and the external charms of Nationalism. Hindus alone regard this country as their own; and naturally true patriots can be found only among them. He says "It has been an old belief of mine that the way to unity between the two communities is to separate them: and for this purpose he is ready to co-operate with the British Government."

In spite of the defects of translation; and obvious misprints, the book is eminently readable; and it provides one with much food for hard-thinking. We would ask especially the Nationalist-made-easy Congressmen of Bengal to read, mark and inwardly digest the book. And if it is possible for him to refute the arguments of the author.

J. M. DATTA

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH: *By Eric Temple Bell. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1. Pp. 279. Price 7-6 net.*

This is a serio-comic account of man's endless quest of truth—or of "that mystical moonshine which philosophers call Truth" (p. 128). About this endeavour the author seems to think that either truth cannot be known, or, if known, it ceases to be true. Man in his search for truth is compared to a blind mule who can run very fast indeed but who dashes against lamp-posts and smashes himself (p. X). If we were to take the author at his word, then Plato was a dazed dreamer (p. 116), Euclid was a fool (p. 119) and most mathematicians were insane (p. 126). He, however, does not mean as much, for he hastens to add that some mathematicians are *not* insane.

That man's truth-seeking has often been abortive, need not be denied. But does he deserve no sympathy even for that? Could he really do otherwise than thus run after truth?

The book is full of learning but also of jest. We would not say the jest is not good-humoured, but the author's heart is not overflowing with sympathy for man's endless theorising. He has intimate knowledge of the world's scientific history; and with a little more sympathy and respect for the ancients, he could have easily given us an excellent history of science. But there is more banter than is necessary and the similes often verge on the vulgar. The style is overloaded with witticisms; and this makes the narration somewhat clumsy and obscure. But with all this the book provides delightful reading.

A PEEP INTO THE SPIRITUAL UNCONSCIOUS: *By M. M. Zuhuruddin Ahmad, M.A., LL. B., Principal, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. (Price and Publishers not mentioned). Pp. 194.*

This is a book on *Dreams.* In the earlier portion, it contains able summaries of current views on the subject, including that of one Mr. Dunne, who has advanced an interesting theory about *Time* under the name of *Serialism.* Dunne's theory, according to some critics, is a mixture of mysticism and meaninglessness. (*Cf.* Bell, in his book *The Search for Truth*). Our author uses this concept of *Serialism* to understand the nature of memory (p. 71). So far his book is a scientific attempt.

But slowly and, perhaps, unconsciously, he drifts away from dreams into dreamland and towards the end of the book and in the appendices, he actually warms himself up into an ecstatic mystic of the religious order. And in pages 182 *et seq.*, he launches upon a dissertation on the relation between *Resurrection* and *Judgement* and tries to establish the superiority of Islam over Christianity in this respect. Without implying any disrespect to any one's religious susceptibilities, it is perhaps permissible to say that such an attitude of mind is not scientific, and, without explaining anything, it may itself call for an explanation.

The diagram at p. 168 and the terminology employed therein also will baffle many a psychologist. Terms like "the material conscious," the "social" and "spiritual" unconscious, "racial personality," and so on,—though not exactly jargon— will not be readily understood by all.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

JNANA-YOGA: *By Swami Vivekananda. Fifth edition. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Almora, Himalayas.*

Swami Vivekananda is popularly regarded as the prophet of service—of Daridranarayana; but he is pre-eminently a prophet of the Advaita Vedanta; as he himself remarked to a disciple, he preached the message of the Upanishads—and Upanishads alone. He was a teacher of Seva, of Yoga and of Bhakti, but the Vedanta forms the background of all his teachings. This book, embodying eighteen lectures, as well as that "veil-rending" song of the Sanyasin, has therefore a special significance for students of Swamiji's philosophy. It may not be out of place to refer here to Swamiji's exposition of the doctrine of Maya, which forms the key to the understanding of the Advaita Vedanta. Those who are baffled by reading the same in Sanskrit works (as Na Sati Nasati Na Sadasati, etc.) will find Swamiji's exposition amazingly simple yet convincing. The get-up and the printing leave nothing to be desired.

Isan Chandra Ray

GEETA MADE EASY: *By Keshab Chandra Chatterjee, B.A., B.T. Published by the author, Baichi (Hooghly). Pp. 87. Price As. 12.*

The title of the book is a misnomer. The book does not contain the text of the Geeta with easy explanation as the name suggests. The first part of the book (introduction) contains some stories to illustrate in general the Jnana-yoga, the Vakti-yoga and the Karma-yoga of the Geeta and other tenets of Hinduism. In the latter part of the book the synopsis of the eighteen chapters of the Geeta is given. The didactic stories incorporated in the book are a very pleasant reading.

Ananga Mohan Saha

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF SCHOOLS IN INDIA: *By W. M. Ryburn. Published by Oxford University Press. Pp. 283. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Books on school organization often tend to be stereotyped and formal in nature. Fortunately Mr. Ryburn has writen a book which is neither and which consequently is both interesting and stimulating. Development of educational ideals always outpaces the development of educational organisation. From the nature of things it is bound to be so; but things become difficult when rigid organisation of education stands in the way of progress of education and dry formalism becomes sacrosanct. In our country specially the existing organisation of the school system represents ideals of a past age which is irrecoverably gone by.

If that system is to be of use today it must move with the times and the entire school organisation must be changed and a new orientation given to it. In his book Mr. Ryburn shows how this can be achieved. He is not too radical nor is he a visionary. His suggestions are eminently practicable and this fact adds value to his book. Perhaps I do not agree with some of the things he has said therein *e.g.*, in the matter of discipline, rewards and punishments, religious instruction etc., but I do think that it is a book which should be in the hands of everyone who has to deal with school organisation in some form or other. It will be specially useful to teachers in training and I recommed it to them without hesitation.

A. N. Basu

HEROES AND HEROINES OF INDIA. Part I and II: *Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and London. Part I—Pp. vi+67, Part II—Pp. 66. 1937. Price each part annas 10.*

In the two parts of the book are narrated the lives of some historical personages, men and women, selected from all periods of history, who have left a deep impression on the minds of their countrymen. The essential features of the characters and their special contribution to the life of their fellow-men have been brought out in a very simple language. The people dealt with include Shri Krishna, Shri Ram Chandra, Sita, Mahabir, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Akbar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Nur Jahan and others. The book is chiefly meant for boys and girls and may very well serve as a text-book.

Souren Dey

SANSKRIT

VILASAMANIMANJARI: *Edited by Ganesh R. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, Kolhapur. Published D. N. Moghe, B.A., School and College Book S Kolhapur.*

The Sanskrit texts of two interesting works on game of chess are edited in the present volume translation and explanation in the Marathi language. these the smaller one—the *Buddhibalasaptaka* or B *hitabuddhibala*, as it is called by the editor, which complete in seven verses, is edited with an an Sanskrit commentary which refers to a number of works on the subject. The editor assigns it to Pre-Muhammadan period owing to the absence of Pe terms which are frequently used in the other work. more positive evidence is required before any de conclusion is arrived at in this respect as the use Sanskrit terms in the place of Persian ones may unlikely have been due to late coining. The bigger which gives the title to the volume—the *Vilasa manjari* composed by Trivengadacharya in the begin of the 19th century at the instance of Baji Rao—is of the latest, if not the last—of the few works in Sans on this old game of India. It contains one hun problems with their solutions and is divided into f chapters. Though a late work it appears to have enj a good deal of popularity as is testified to by the fa large number of manuscripts of it found in differ parts of the country and referred to by the editor in elaborate introduction to the volume which *inter* deals with the origin and development of the ga The foreword in English contributed by Dr. Balkris summarizing the main conclusions of the editor's intro duction in Marathi will be welcome to the vast majori of scholars who are innocent of the provincial language. The whole of the introduction as well as the text w be easily intelligible to and appreciated by a wider cir of readers when the proposed English version of th edition comes to be published. We hope, it will b possible in the meantime to trace and make use of th contemporary English translation of the work made b one Cruz and reported to have been published in Bomb in 1814, which is expected to contain an account of th author.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

HINDI

KRANTI-YUGA KE SAMSMARAN: *By M Manmatha Nath Gupta. Published by the Sahitya sevak Office, Jalipadevi, Benares. 1937. Pp. 214. Pr Re. 1-4.*

The author, who was a convict in the Ka conspiracy case, writes about revolutionary movement India. The life and activity of many persons co victed in the various cases read like romance. T author has succeeded in rousing interest for his o memoirs.

SRI GURU GOVIND SINGHJI: *By Dr. S Jaswant Singh, M.A., B.Sc., M.D. Published by author, Generalganj, Muttra. Pp. 384. Price Re. 1-8*

This is the third publication in the useful ser called "Sikh Itihas Mala", published by the United S Missionary Society of Muttra. The author has done service by writing this work on the life and teachi of the Guru. His viewpoint is that of a devoted S he has tried to show the Guru as an *Avatara*. But th attitude detracts much from a really historical w What the Guru did, stands as the best monument him and an objective study is more needed than devotional attitude. All admirers of the Guru will welcome this book. The teachings in the original are sure to be found interesting and profitable coming as they do from a person who made a nation. There is a picture of the Guru.

GITA-GOVINDAM: *Edited by Mr. Jatindra Mohan Chatterjee, M.A. Published by Sudhir K. Mukerjee, 376A, Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta.*

Different sides of the teachings of Guru Govinda Singh are brought out. In the Introduction the editor explains and annotates the texts and delineates their bearings on religion and society.

RAMES BASU

DOSHI KAUN?: *By S. Dube. Published by Delhi Pustak Bhandar, Delhi. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Shalini, a rich man's daughter, educated after European models, and Ashok-kumar, a brilliant scientist, are the two leading figures in this improbable and even absurd story, the only aim of which seems to secure a cheap gibe at Western education and culture. The book originally formed a scenario for a film. Considering the quality of the paper and the printing, the price is too high.

S. H. V.

GUJARATI

SHAYASAT NE-SHAYST: *By Jehangir Kavasji Tavadia, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Hamburg University. Printed at the Mody Printing Press, Fort, Bombay. Paper Cover. Pp. 37. 1937.*

This is a translation into Gujarati of a Pahalvi Text on religious customs (of Parsis). It has already in (1930) been translated into English by Dr. Tavadia, who has written a scholarly introduction to it. The style used by Dr. Tavadia is easy and is sure to be understood by those for whom it is meant. The customs and rituals described in this small book are very interesting. The one relating to the untouchability of a woman undergoing her monthly sickness specially arrests attention as it shows that in old Iran, the practice was the same as India. The book will surely prove a useful guide to Parsi priests.

JAVAHIR-JYOTI: *By Chunilal Nagjivora. Printed at the Shah Printing Press, Rajkot. Thick Card Board. Pp. 178+31. Price As. 6. 1937.*

This is a collection of lectures delivered by the Jain Maharaj Acharya Shree Javaharlalji when he stayed at Rajkot during the rainy season of 1936. They relate to Janaseva, Manav Dharma, Brahmacharya, Khadi, etc. He had interviews with Mahatmaji and Vallabhbhai Patel also. The lectures display scholarship and therefore merit close attention.

LAHT KALA AND BIJA SAHITYA LEKHO: *By (the late Mrs. Chaitanyabala Majumdar and edited by (her husband) M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Press, Baroda. Thick Card board. Pp. 270. Price Rs. 2 (1937).*

Mrs. Chaitanyabala died young, she was only twenty-two when she died. She had a literary turn of mind and luckily she was married to a husband who encouraged her in her studies and she was thus able to turn out good literary work. The present volume contains nine literary essays. 1. On Fine Arts. 2. Nature and our older poets. 3. Women and social service. 4. Defects in the present system of Educating Women. 5. Direction in which women should direct their studies. 6. Literature of Garba. 7. Usha Haran or Aniruddha Haran. 8. Whose was the most remarkable Swayamwar? 9. Literature in verse of the twelve months in the year. The first essay was read at the Bhavnagar Session of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad in 1924 and she was heartily congratulated on her performance. The other essays display a very creditable knowledge of the literature bearing on its subject matter and a very nice way of marshalling the facts leading to the conclusions arrived at by her. The husband has indeed discharged his loving posthumous duty to his deceased spouse by ably editing and publishing her work.

AJNI SABBATHSHALA: TRANSLATED FROM THE ENGLISH: *By Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Ahmedabad and published at the Mission Press, Surat. Paper cover, pp. 112. Price As. 4 (1937).*

The title of the book means "The Sunday School of Today," and the book is a translation of an English book of that name by Edward A., and Edith M. Annett of the Indian Sunday School Union, Coonoor.

The outstanding merit of the book is that it does not read like a translation, so well has the translator entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it, so to speak, in his own words. We first read a few paragraphs at random, and thought that we were reading not a translation, but an original work, till we noticed the title page where it is so described.

We have had occasion to notice some time ago another book written by the same translator, and we notice a distinct difference in language and style in the present work. The style of the present book is that of a cultured Gujarati, and, as the nature of the book demands, the language contains a large number of words of Sanskrit origin. The book is intended for the use of trained teachers; and every word is accurately used. We do not know whether the language of the original is involved or simple, but the translation certainly reads smoothly and easily. Grammar, idiom, and the general form of the language are faultless. A translation always furnishes the best test of the translator's knowledge of the language into which he is translating. The Rev. W. Graham Mulligan stands that test very well. We have great pleasure, therefore, in welcoming into the fold of Gujarati writers one who has so well equipped himself for the work expected of him by painstaking and accurate study of the language, and attention to detail.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

SULABHA VYASAMULU: *By Akkipeddi Ramakoti Sastry, Head Master, B. H. E. School, Kuchipudi, Guntur District. Pp. 138. Price As. 8. Can be had of the author.*

The work comprises a wide variety of topics in the form of short essays, both instructive and provocative. A reliable asset for the enhancement of adult education.

ADHARAMULU (SHORT STORIES): *By J. Kodandarama Sastry, Kollur. Pp. 108. Can be had of the author, Care of Lakshmi Press, Tenali.*

The work is divided into two parts—the first comprises of four stories depicting the misery and the position of womanhood in Society, while the second part of five stories portrays the position of people brought about by capitalist exploitations and the drink evil. On the whole, it is a readable stuff.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

WORLD AFFAIRS

"We are suffering today from the worst of all diseases, the paralysis of will," writes Mr. J. M. Keynes in *The New Statesman and Nation* (March, 26, 1938) in examining the British foreign policy of the hour. "We have become incapable of constructive policy or decision of action. . . . We just re-arm a little more, grovel a little more, and want to see what happens." British foreign policy in fact revolves around the two opposing poles—appeasement, and armament and, is inspired by one single desire—to gain time. "To gain time, to avoid at all cost any risk of war, how much there is to be said for it"—Mr. Keynes knows that well enough. So, the search for peace and appeasement proceeds, even though it means humiliation for the Britisher and danger to his interests.

ANGLO-ITALIAN PACT

The policy of appeasement has had its first success in these years in the Anglo-Italian Pact signed on the 16th of April last. After the fall of Eden it was a foregone conclusion that a conciliation with Italy must be arranged for. Mr. Neville Chamberlain had staked his all on it. Or, to be more correct, he had already lost his all to Mussolini when he surrendered to his threat of 'now or never.' But it was necessary for him to find a justification for his approach, if only to win back his small internal credit in the homemarket, by the successful conclusion of this negotiation. He has been successful, of course, by conceding the real success to Mussolini. The Pact professes to be a "contribution to the general cause of peace and security." To some extent it reduces the European tension. Anglo-Italian rivalry in and around the Mediterranean is sought to be ended, and even Egypt is assured of an invitation to participate, when the Instruments take effect, with a view to reach a definite agreement on the boundaries between Italian and British possessions in east and North Africa. According to the *Reuter* report,

(1) The Instruments attached to the Protocol reaffirm the Anglo-Italian Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and also the "status quo" in the western Mediterranean.

(2) The two parties agree to a periodical exchange of information in regard to major prospective administrative movements or the redistribution of their respective armed forces in the following overseas territories in or bordering the Mediterranean: The Red Sea, the of Aden, Egypt, Sudan, Italian East Africa, Somaliland, Kenya, Uganda and Northern Tanga

The parties also agree to notify each other in of any decision to provide for new naval or air in the eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea or approaches thereto.

(3) The parties bind themselves to respect integrity and independence of Saudi Arabia and and agree that their common interest is that no Power should interfere.

The position between Great Britain and Ital regard to certain areas in southern Arabia is and regularized. This applies particularly to the Protectorate where certain rights are guaranteed to

(4) Each party reaffirms their guarantees for free use of the Suez Canal for all Powers.

(5) The Italian Government confirm their adher to the British formula for proportional evacuatio foreign volunteers from Spain and pledge themselves apply this evacuation at a moment to be determined the Non-Intervention Committee and undertake th evacuation is not completed by the close of the Spa war, all the remaining Italian volunteers will forth leave Spanish territory and all Italian war material simultaneously be withdrawn.

Italy declares that she has no territorial or pol aims and seeks no privileged economic position in Sp the Balearic Islands, the Spanish possessions, and the Spanish Zone in Morocco and has no intention of kee any armed forces in these territories.

(6) Here the British Government repeat that regard the settlement of the Spanish question pre-requisite of the attempt that they intend at the coming meeting of the League of Nations to clarify situation in Abyssinia.

The present British Cabinet did intend this Pact to be a fulcrum to Hitler and Mussolini apart. Italy, ever, has been quick to remind that no case is the Rome-Berlin axis to weakened. In the natural order a Ro Berlin-London axis is expected, with Pari finally come in into a Four Power Pact. French Charge d'Affaires is following the tish Foreign Office in opening talks with It The pact does not, however, cover all fields clarify the situation. The Abyssinian tion is made to wait on the permission of League, at which, as the *Times* pointed out. Soviet may, and must, put up objections. than that, Spain may prove a serious pro As the victory of General Franco over Republicans is becoming more and mo certainty, it becomes easier for Italy to dis all ambition of aggrandisement and agr evacuation of Italian volunteers from while it becomes more and more difficult fo

British interests in the Mediterranean to contemplate the future possibilities with indifference or equanimity.

FRANCO'S VICTORY

General Franco, it is evident, is not a Mussolini or Hitler. He may share that laudable inspiration of many soldiers, but unfortunately he is not cast in the same mould, nor has he been able to create a party behind him of such force and *morale* as these Dictators had forged out for themselves. The Spanish people are not probably the right material for it. Anyway, Franco wins his way through an incessant flow of men and material and money from the Italian and German Fascist sources. Even his recent successes are less his than of his allies. They are too strong and too astute to be dropped when Franco establishes himself in Madrid. Under this thin smoke-screen of a Franconian Government Mussolini will rule the seas and the coast around Gibraltar. This is a hard fact from which there is no escape today. In fact, the victory of Franco, will injure Britain and her imperial interests. The last hope for Britain lay in a division of Spain into two independent halves, each a rival of the other, and both weak enough to respect the British arms in the Mediterranean. But that hope is almost smashed and deliberately done by the virtual refusal to the Republicans of all outside help in the name of non-intervention. Except for the upper classes of Britain, who naturally share a sympathy for Fascism of any brand, British opinion, which knows its imperial interests, cannot but look on with anxiety upon this final scene that is now being enacted in Spain. The curtain will be dropped soon—only not so soon as Franco expects. But however delayed, he is to emerge victorious with Mussolini to have his Lord Protector, and France almost encircled by Fascism.

"CHINA INCIDENT"

The Anglo-Italian Pact has been viewed with a cold and resentful eye by a single power far away from the field *viz.*, Japan. She considers it to be rather a weakening of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. Apparently, there is no reason behind the Japanese view. But in so far as the agreement releases Great Britain from the European complications and preoccupations, Japan is naturally called on to meet the possible danger of her at last asserting herself in the East. This is exactly what she would not have at this moment. Japan has chosen the hours carefully, and wants the European complications to drag on, until the 'China Incident' is closed to her satisfaction. The prospect particularly about this time is bleak for Japan. At the Southern Shantung section Japan has suffered reverses from which she must retrieve her position at any cost if her moral and military superiority is to be maintained. That might mean sacrifice of more men; but the Japanese soldiers still willingly offer themselves to be used as cannon fodder. Power and prestige will therefore be regained, but, it is evident, no quick victory is in sight. But this is just what Japan needs now. She is in haste—in haste lest the European powers are freed from their own entanglements to answer the Far Eastern challenge, in haste lest her national economy is damaged. More and more, the chance of a quick victory is receding in the background. The very bulk of China is proving a too big problem for the Japanese invading forces. Chinese unity is being cemented into solidarity that is unknown in recent Chinese history. The Chinese soldiers and irregulars are at last learning to curb their hate and fury for a more tactical guerilla warfare. The outcome, as a writer points out in the *Economist* (March 26, 1938) is likely to be a stalmate—with Japan in possession of big coastly provinces and the trading commercial districts on the two rivers.

PEOPLES OF THE FAR EAST

Conflicts, reasonably enough, loom large in any survey of the world, east or west. The Sino-Japanese conflict is portentious in its significance for the Imperialist powers. Its reactions are visible everywhere among them. The Soviet watch and preparations on the Sakhalin and Siberia are, for example, well known. Of late Japan, it is noted, has been less truculent in Mongolia and Manchuria. Singapore as a naval base is strong enough and the way to it is being made secure by the British. Even the Dutch have been forced to strengthen their defence in Java, under the pressure of circumstances. The French too busy at home, can naturally pay less attention to French Indo-China than it deserves. Siam, it is known, is in close relationship with Japan, and Japanese experts and advisers are probably looking after her development. The rumour of a Kraa Canal to nullify Singapore defences has been discounted authoritatively, and, how far Siam is inspired by the Japanese Fascist ideas is not known. In December last was inaugurated at any rate the Siamese Parliament. Its ceremonies, as a writer in *L'Illustration* points out, are modelled rather on those of Britain. There are of course no parties in the chamber and there are two categories of members too, one elected, the other co-opted by royal sanction. The elected element is sent by a universal suffrage which extends to all Siamese over the age of 21, regardless of sex or religion, the priests and the royal house being excluded. Obviously, it is anything but Fascist in this respect. The world likes labels, Fascism, Bolshevism etc; for they save it from independent thinking and scrutiny. But the lables in fact do not satisfy all situation. Siam is probably one such instance. Or, perhaps Siam is on the way to Fascism and is evolving duly her own version of it.

A PERSPECTIVE

Our changing politics is changing the world so rapidly that it is becoming difficult to see things in their proper perspective. Tremendous events shape and reshape the face of the earth. The less noisy band of workers who devote their life in the laboratory or in the library, are lost to our sight. Yet they probably are changing the face of our civilization without even knowing it themselves. While the Italian challenge is known to all, few care to see that in the clearing of the swamps and establishing new cities, the Duce can justly claim a triumph. In encouraging archeological exploration like that of Prof. Tucci in Tibet a few months ago, he is proving himself to be a real civilizing force. The world is afraid of Hilter's aggression and wrinkles up its nose at 'the Baroque excesses of the Nazis'. Yet at this very hour another scientific expedition is being prepared and equipped for proceeding on its work in India and Tibet. The Moscow trials must send a just shudder through many people and even through the friends of the Soviet like Fenner Brockway. Political allies of Russia are forced to admit as the *L'Illustration* concludes, "The new process of Moscow will not certainly create any confidence in the Russian alliance". But, great scientific undertakings still stand to the credit of the Soviet, and in the very same issue of the French journal we are presented with excellent photographs of the Arctic pioneers of Russia, who for nine months under the leadership of Papanni and his three other scientist compatriots, pursued their researches in the ice-bound pole till they were repatriated. The world is sliding into poli barbarism, but science has its heroes as ye

THE FRONT OF SCIENCE

The advancing front of science approached the 'borderland of life,' a fasci ing area for all, and therefore, a treacher 'twilight zone' for scientists. The 'viru at present occupy the scientists, as a repor the *Nature* (March 26) shows. Dr. Wendell Stanley of the Rockefeller Institute of Med Research (U. S. A.), reported isolation of viruses causing disease in animals. "Like virus of the tobacco mosaic disease" we le from *Evolution* (U.S.A.), "these viruses are small living bacteria, as had been supposed, giant protein molecules resembling the ordin protein molecules of protoplasm but larger, having the life-like ability of reproducing the selves rapidly when in contact with livi matter." The virus molecules, in common wi all forms of life, are found subject to mutati Some diseases are said to have their origin such mutation from a harmless to a harmf one. Again, certain viruses that produce di ease in one plant are harmless to other form of life, and, by certain chemical methods th virus proteins can be rendered inactive. Apart from the medical importance of the discovery its importance as a new advance in evolution we are told, is great.

Evolution itself again is being sought be sped up by some scientists.

> "'In view of the properties which this pro possesses," says Dr. Stanley, "the borderline betw the living and the non-living tends to become existent, for although it possesses properties which h been regarded as characteristic of living things, such specificity of host-range and the ability to reproduce mutate, it is nevertheless a protein molecule, and as s may be regarded as non-living."
>
> "The sole objection," says Dr. Stanley, "to the fi and complete acceptance of virus proteins as prot molecules is that, although an analogy of a protein rep ducing itself in the test-tube is known, the self-producti of a protein in the living cell is today not an accep chemical reaction. Immediately we are forced to t inside of a living cell we are faced with a set conditions that we have not fathomed as yet. The vir protein is apparently imbued with something of wh today we are ignorant."
>
> "Knowledge of the mechanism by means of whi a given huge molecule-like protein, when introduced a certain cell, is able to bring about the organizati of the amino acids and cellular constituents, with for tion of exact duplicates of the introduced entity, is tremendous importance, for this mechanism is the b of biological *activity*."

Researches in experimental genetics in t U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. have already plac in the hands of men a volume of knowledge usefully employed in agriculture and animal husbandry. Its imports are well known. To affect the genes and cause mutations artificially and thus speed up evolution, X-ray was being considered a probable means. Dr. Albert Blakeslee, Director of the Station for Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, tried out the effect of various chemicals in his effort to induce hereditary mutations. He found a chemical, *colchicine*, would cause mutations in plants, doubling the chromosomes and genes. The report says :

> "The alkaloid colchicine we have found will induce an abundant production of branches with doubled chromosome number. When seeds are heavily treated all the seedlings may be affected. Doubling in adult tissue has been induced by immersion of twigs in solutions and in agar, by treatment of buds with mixtures of colchicine and lanolin and by spraying with solutions. By the use of colchicine changes have been induced which are interpreted as being due to doubling of chromosomes in the following genera : Datura, Portulaca, Cosmos, Phlox, Nicotiana, and several others.
>
> "If control of chromosome doubling proves of general application, as seems to be the case, the plant breeder will be able to work with greater precision in his efforts to control the evolution of economic forms of plants propagated vegetatively as well as those prduced by seed. Starting with a sterile hybrid, a pure breeding double diploid has been synthesised, having hybrid vigor and the desirable characteristics of tetraploidy. Doubling the chromosome number would give enlarged flowers and fruits to the horticulturist. In addition to increase in the size of the organs of plants, doubling the chromosome number has changed a self sterile to a self fertile form, changed a dioecious to a hermaphroditic race and an annual into a perennial, and has increased winter hardiness. In Zoology the causing of chromosome doubling is an unexplored field, but it will probably be a fertile one. The ability to induce chromosome doubling therefore is of importance to practical as well as theoretical genetics."

"THE SHIFTING FOCUS OF SCIENCE"

Not the face of the political world alone is thus being changed. The advancing front of science, it is apparent, looks like the changing face of science. The *Nature* (March 5, 1938) opens with a remarkable article, in which the writer, H. L., in reviewing Mr. Hogben's book, "Mathematics for Millions," points out the great shift that has taken place in science from time to time with the change in the social structure.

". . . No man of science can do other than concern himself with the problems characteristic of his period. The changing face of science can be seen without difficulty to fall into clearly defined stages. We have suggested three. Each phase is carried through by the activity of the individual scientific workers, great and small, contributing in various measures, partly driven on by the developing internal logic of the subject and its accumulating experimental knowledge, partly canalized and fed by outside social forces not normally apparent to the individual workers. How scientific work is financed, and for what special purpose that work is pursued, for example, is a question the answer of which, in these days of industrial and governmental research points to one only of the socially determining factors. The shifting focus of science, howevermuch it may provide with subjective satisfaction to its devotees, is nevertheless an objective feature of nature, and therefore, if for that reason alone, a fit subject for scientific investigation.

"Today we are witnessing just such a shift. It began tentatively in the early days of this century with a scrutiny of the logic of mathematics, and a study of the methodology of science. It passed to a series of startling attempts to evaluate the philosophical implications of more recent scientific knowledge, implications that sought to deny the certainty of science and strove to lead it back to mysticism. . . The significant feature of this phase was that these pronouncements were couched in popularized writings, a concession to a sense of social responsibility. Now at last a serious attempt is being made to probe further back to the social origins and social consequences of scientific discovery . . . Scientific history, like ordinary history, is at last beginning to be seen in its social context ; and the shifting focus of science is part of its history.

"The new concern of men of science with the uses and misuses of science has undoubtedly developed with the increasing tenseness of the international situation. The concern of this journal with these matters evidently derives from this source, but did not in fact become apparent until the latter had reached a critical stage. Nevertheless, the social background was always there for study. It required a social crisis to direct our attention to it.

"Every shift in interest of science is accompanied by opposition on the part of those absorbed in the older problems and convinced that the new development leads away from the true path of scientific rectitude. A multitude of specious reasons are certain to be brought forward to show that political prejudice must necessarily intervene to prevent the formation of balanced judgments. Such considerations need not deter those who are genuinely concerned with the trend of scientific development as a feature of natural change.

". . . . In his own way, Hogben has established beyond dispute the existance of a qualitative relation between the growth of mathematical facts and the severely practical problems of the society that gave them birth. That is in itself a significant scientific advance. What requires farther advance is the changing nature of this relationship.

"In its early history, society encountered quite definite immediate problems that required for their solution a definite mathematical technique. By the eighteenth century, the situation in this respect had become drastically transformed. The new merchant and industrial aristocracy was purchasing social prestige by the endowment of university foundations and educational institutions generally. While out of the practical needs of social life there had blossomed forth the earlier mathematics that dealt with the directly important problems of mensuration, experimental practice had also been called into being for these same ends and experimental practice involves theory and theory its mathematical technique, and mathematical technique its special tools and its specific logical problems. To such questions could the universities devote themselves, but the linkage with the severely practical pr of social life, the problems of the common while it still existed, had become more re The danger for us lies in the belief that the no longer exists, a belief that show itself in idea that mathematics is an independent log discipline with an absolute line of clea between its pure and its applied form. It s itself in the effort to accord mathematical a priority over the physical facts of the and so to present the universe and the strug society on this earth as a series of gran mathematical theorems . . . ."

Is 'Pure Science,' as we conceive, it, imaginary thing then? An answer in affirmative is likely to be returned by writer, who with much cogency will main that our scientific research at the hour m than ever before, is a handmaid to the polit economic forces that rule the world. T facts are incontrovertible, conclusion is obv too. There is going to be a shift, but 'a N theory of race' or 'a Marxist-Leninist the in surgery,' is neither science nor sense. Th fail to disarm our suspicion that 'polit prejudice must necessarily intervene to prev the formation of balanced, judgment.'

G. H.

A scene from Rabindranath Tagore's new dance-drama "Chandalika" which was recently staged at Calcutta

INDIANS ABROAD

Who are they—'the Indians Abroad?' The intriguing question confronts us sometimes. For, paradoxical as it may sound, we Indians cannot be sure what part of the vast Indian world will be accepted by the authorities that be as India or something else. But one year ago Burma belonged to the Indian Empire, and, Indians in Burma, in spite of the difficulties they faced, could consider themselves to be still within their own country. The bond was drawing them closer when it was snapped on behalf mainly of the interests which were non-Burman. Today Burma is a separate land, and the Government of India are going to appoint an Agent on behalf of the Indians abroad there. Ceylon has been always a Crown colony and politically out of the Indian pale. Yet, even now, socially and culturally the small island belongs to the Indian orbit. But this has raised problems and Indian labour from the South has been the object of a long and bitter attack by Ceylonese politicians. Immigration of Indian labour has been a sore point with them. And, now that the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the question, has been released, we find much of the Ceylonese complaint was without point. The resentment, however, is still there, and, Ceylonese politicians are not pleased with the report. But, our question still remains unanswered. Are Indians in Ceylon to be regarded as Indians abroad? What is India then? Recently the question has been brought back to our minds by a case from Rhodesia. Even an Indian born in the mainland of India can not be sure of his own position, as we read in the *Indian Opinion of Durban*:

Indian and British Subjects in Rhodesia

> Considerable surprise and much resentment has been aroused among the Indian community by a ruling by the chief registering officer for the parliamentary franchise that Indians born in an Indian State are not British subjects but British protected persons, and are accordingly not eligible for the parliamentary vote except in such cases as were included in the 1928 rolls. The registering officer says it has been legally ruled that protected persons are not British subjects and he holds that this applies to all Protectorates. such as Bechuanaland and Nyasaland as well as to the Indian States. Persons born in Protectorates, he rules, take the nationality of their parents and this law applies equally to White people. Naturalisation is essential to secure any other nationality. He has volunteered to take a legal ruling on this point if he affected Indians so desire. The decision affects a large number of Indians in the Colony, including many property owners. It is probable that the position will be tested by formal appeal to the Magistrate and thence to the High Court.

The Indian abroad is at the mercy of the authorities that be. Even his nationality is denied whenever that suits them. Of course, his nationality is more often a hanticap to an Indian outside—and inside too, sometimes—than an advantage.

The United Non-European Front

In the third week of April, a message from Capetown informed of the formation of a 'United Non-European Front' of the Bantu, the coloured and the Indian people. Naturally European opinion everywhere, particularly in the Union of South Africa, cannot view with equanimity this move, which was being mooted for the last three months, in the press and platform. The 'Front' would really appear to be strong and formidable. composed of 45 organizations and 30 thousand Bantu, coloured and Indian delegates. Following is the resolution that was passed:

> "Realizing that the general conditions of non-European peoples can only be improved by the abolition of political inequalities embodied in the South Africa Act, this Conference resolves to initiate a non-European United Front movement for co-operation between the native, Indian and coloured races in the struggle against the colour bar in South Africa."

In the absence of a mandate from the South African Indian Congress the Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress could not attend the Conference, but sent a message of sympathy. It is not known what Indian organizations are formally associated with this new and fateful movement, which may turn South African politics into a violent crusade of racial hostility and hatred. For that, of course, the Europeans should thank themselves. It is their own creation. Indians, in India or outside, may not share the alarmist views of the European people, but they are certainly anxious to ascertain the character and the possibilities of the movement as well as the natural consequences that are likely to flow from the adherence of the Indians in South Africa to such an organization. Sir Raza Ali, we remember, was not in favour of the Indians making common cause with the Bantu races. Seth Govindadas, a non-official on tour in Africa, advised similarly, asking the Indian settlers not to join forces with the coloured people and the natives in any organization like the present one. We hope there was no assumption of racial superiority behind all thi.s. These are sound counsels which should get respectful consideration from all. South African Indians must have weighed them, and, we believe, their Congress will be cautious enough before making any move in this matter. A 'United Front' based on a perpendicular division of the communities into racial blocks is a dangerous, and, even a backward step. In the present-day world such 'Fronts' are fashioned out of the economic and social lines of horizontal cleavage which already exist. In the case of South Africa the results, whatever principle were adopted, would have been the very same. Still one must know the path one follows. Indians, if they make common ground with the Bantu and other people, must recognize how they are to plan their future, and agree, partially, to forget their Indian origin and Indian tradition. For ourselves in India it may pain us to think that Indians are cutting themselves adrift from our moorings. But the primary consideration with the settlers everywhere should be the interests of the land and the people which they adopt, and which give them their living. There cannot be any thing fundamentally wrong if the Indian people of the Union find themselves in the same camp, side by side with the Bantu and the coloured people, provided, of course, they know and realize the consequences of the step. They perhaps as yet fail to see that the Front if it lasts will call for a unision of the oppressed and suppressed forces within this South African Colonial world, and, cultural and racial exclusionist tendencies, of Indians or of any other people, are to be given a go-bye there once for all. The move, therefore, is to be watched to see the 'possible repercussions on the complex problem of race relationships in Africa as a whole' and on the equally complex problem of relationship between the oppressed and oppressors in the colonial countries world over.

The Indian cause in Natal and elsewhere has received, however, more attention as a result of this Anti-European Conference, and Major, W. T. Walker, Secretary of the Natal Municipal Association, in resigning from the Municipality drew pointed attention to it :

> "I commend to you with all seriousness an almost immediate closer contact with the Natal Indian Congress officers, either by means of the 'Hofmeyer' Sub-Com of the Association, or a full-dress Executive Com Round-Table Conference between the two p immediately after their Congress, to be held very sh
>
> "I wish to stress this subject as the matte becoming daily more critical and, unless handled sympathetic and commonsense manner, a position wi reached in our non-European life that will shake the foundations of our existence.
>
> "I do most earnestly plead with you to cast all prejudices and misunderstanding of our fellow S Africans, for such are the Indian people, just as as you and I are.
>
> "For the sake of the future of our country, th imaginary barriers between the European and Asiatic to come down." (*Statesman*, 25th April, 1938.)

THE CAPE COLOURED COMMISSION REPORT

The Cape Coloured Cimmission Report another important event from South Afri side. It is a document of considerable sig ficance, reviewing the whole position o the races in the Cape, and is bound to pro helpful to the Indian community too. Th problems differ from those of the natives o in degree, not in kind—a point which, w should know, forms the real plank in the Cap town 'United Front' platform whether that joined to or not. As noted in the *Statesm* (April 18, 1938, Calcutta):

> The incidental improvement in the condition of th one is bound to help in the regeneration of the other rac of the Dark continent. The grant of limited and indir franchise to the Bantu in the Union Parliament h already played a very influential part in the drive f securing similar and if possible wider franchise for t Coloured and Indian people. The present Commiss recommends such franchise for the Coloured people. S Raza Ali recommended as a beginning the immedi grant of a limited franchise to the Indians of the Transva The cumulative effect of these apparently disconnec facts is bound to be towards the uplift of the Whites of South Africa.

This has been followed in Durban by th Indian settlers raising a strong agitation agai the housing policy of its Municipality, threate ing in one case with Satyagraha. The Mu cipality, it is learnt, is ready to reconsider th policy in respect to Indian housing.

ZANZIBAR AND CLOVE

The Clove boycott which in Bombay a Calcutta, is proving so effective, has at l forced the Zanzibar Government to a mood t hear. A reorientation of the Clove policy i recognized, and the Zanzibar Government ha drawn up revised terms for a parley with th representatives of the Government of Ind But, to believe the *Zanzibar Voice* (April 1938), the Administration is still anxious m for the Clove Growers' Association than f the trade, or the Arab growers.

> "Though these proposals go some way to meet some of the reasoned and justified objections of Zanzibar Indians, they are hardly likely to be acceptable to them: for the sinister Clove Growers' Association will be there with its unwanted interference with free trade in cloves.
>
> One of the most important modifications now suggested is that the prices paid by licensed dealers 'will not be prescribed by law, but will be a matter of arrangement between the parties concerned.' All the same, before export, all cloves will pass through Clove Growers' Association at the price fixed by the body.
>
> We are not against giving protection to clove growers, but that cannot be done by organizing a costly and unwanted association as the Zanzibar administration has done."

Elections for Indians in Mombasa Municipality

So long the seven Indian seats were filled by nomination. But by a notification it has been announced that the seven members on the Municipal Board of Mombasa are to be henceforth elected by the Indian community. The elections probably take place in June next. This is a valuable right conceded which Indians in other towns should try to secure too.

Malay Unemployment

The reduction of the quotas for rubber and tin production has thrown large number of Indian workers in Malay out of employment. This is also evidenced by the larger repatriation figures.

900 unemployed Indian tappers at Bahau, we learn from the *Madras Mail*, have come into collision with the police on a recent occasion. Arguing that repatriation of Indians during the slack season "is fundamentally a bad policy," the paper proceeds to say that "with the constant fluctuations in the prosperity of Malaya's principal industries, rubber and tin, there is ever the possibility of the workers who are not wanted at one period may be urgently required a few months hence." Stressing the "moral aspect" of the question, the spokesman of the planters' views felt that these unemployed Indians "are surely entitled to some consideration in bad times." A policy of permanent settlement has also been recognised to be the only way of meeting the exigencies of the present and future situation concerning employment of Indians in Malaya.

Wage Reduction to Relieve Unemployment

It has been suggested that an actual reduction of the wages of the employed Indians in the estates would provide means for the employment of others who are displaced now. The Central Indian Association sent on March 29, 1938, telegrams to the Government of India and the Government of Madras protesting against this :

> Reduction of wages of Indian labour, runs the message, is imminent. If wages are now reduced this action will finally render infructuous the main labour of Sastri delegation. The present labour situation is definitely detrimental to the economic interests of Indian labour. It is suggested that assisted emigration may be stopped pending settlement of issues between the two countries. We respectfully urge the Government of India to take up a determined and firm stand and safeguard Indian rights.

Emigration and Wages

The Secretary of the Association briefly explains the position in a letter to ourselves :

> The question of wages relating to Indian labour has followed a checkered career for over 10 years. The employers have fairly successfully dodged paying even the so-called standard wages taking advantage of the economic conditions during periods of depression. Soon after the standard rates were introduced they were reduced by 20 p. c. owing to slump. In 1934, the Government of India permitted assisted emigration without securing the restoration of the wages at least to the pre-slump level.
>
> Towards the end of 1936 the industry was attaining a state of high prosperity and about the same time the Sastri Delegation visited Malaya. As a tactical move, the wages were put up by 12½ p. c. before Mr. Sastri landed in Penang. Mr. Sastri in his Report pleaded for the full restoration of the cut and he hoped thereby to do some justice to the claims of Indian labour for higher wages.
>
> In March 1937, there was a shortage of labour all over Malaya. Prices of rubber had artificially risen and the production quota under the scheme of international control was raised to 90 p. c. The Chinese who always put on the screw whenever prices soar up, went on strike. The employers got frightened. They immediately agreed to pay Indian male labourers 50 cents and female labourers 40 cents on condition the Labour Department stimulated recruitment. In the middle of 1937 there was a great scramble for Indian labour. By all means available—fair as well as unfair—a very large number of labourers was brought over from India.
>
> For some months there is now what is called a 'recession.' The employers are everywhere burdened with more men than they need. Having succeeded in drawing off a large labour flow by holding out an inducement for increased wages, they have now placed themselves in an advantageous position this year in being able to dictate to labour their own terms. The present position is exactly opposite to what it was during the corresponding period of last year.
>
> It is the Indian labour who suffers in this game. The present evils are due to uncontrolled emigration from India. Unless India regains control of emigration in her hands it is impossible to maintain any higher standard of living for our people or to maintain their wage level. The situation is drifting back to the same unsatisfactory position as it was before the Sastri Delegation came.
>
> In a way the present situation is not entirely hopeless. If it results in the sweeping away of all the cobwebs that have been so finely spun both by the Malayan authorities and also by the Sastri report, a way will then have been created for entering into an agreement with the Malayan Government on the basis of a juster appreciation of the needs and rights of the Indian labour in particular and of the Indian community in general.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Italy's Weakness

Writing in *The New Statesman and Nation*, a correspondent gives a clear picture of the financial and economic difficulties of Italy, which economically is the weakest of all the dictatorships. The writer first points out the disadvantages with which Italy starts:

> Italy is not a rich country. Her natural resources, with the exception of agriculture and water power, are negligible. Nor has she any large revenue from foreign investments or shipping services. Only a well-developed tourist industry and a declining amount of emigrant remittances help her to supplement the income of her export trade. Equally, the financial structure of the country, the banking system and the amount of national savings can scarcely be regarded as strong, while the standard of living of the people has traditionally been low.

Far from being a source of immediate profit, Abyssinia continues to be a liability of serious magnitude.

> After a temporary lull following the capture of Addis Ababa, native resistance against the invader has been steadily growing. In particular, the last four months have seen increased military difficulties for the Italians ; the number of troops, black and white, in Abyssinia has had to be raised from 130,000 to over 200,000 ; the development of the colony has completely stopped ; trade has come to a standstill ; and Italian firms have either returned to Italy, migrated to French Somaliland, or gone bankrupt in an attempt to fulfil their mission.
>
> The result is that whereas Italian expenditure on Abyssinia amounted to approximately 400 million lire a month during the first nine months of 1937, it has since risen steadily until, during February, it reached the enormous sum of 850 million lire. . . . . It is necessary to remember that none of it is productive capital investment, but that it is solely devoted to the maintenance of the Italian occupation.
>
> In Spain, too, the Italians have little cause for satisfaction. The duration of the war has been hopelessly underestimated in Rome, and so has been the cost of Italy's support to Franco.

The Italian Government has to bring extraordinary resourcefulness into play in order to finance its numerous adventures:

> Naturally only part of the money can be found from the normal sources of budgetary revenue. And even after taxation in every shape and form has been raised to unprecedented levels the budgetary deficit has increased from 2·1 milliard lire 1934-35 to 12·7 milliard in 1935-36 and 17·52 milliards in 1936-37. In the current year the deficit is lightly lower, namely 16·9 milliards, thanks to the favourable development in the first few months of the year. But a fresh rise to not much below 20 milliards in forecast for 1938-39 if the present rate of expenditure is maintained.

Borrowing does not suffice to meet deficit, and the Italian Government has to t recourse to measures like the recent levy the capital of joint-stock companies.

> This was not necessarily a dangerous thing to if the Government had succeeded in keeping prices a reasonable level. As it is, however, the flood of m that is being spent is acting as a powerful inflation stimulus to prices. Thus the official cost of living in between 1934 and the end of 1937 has risen from 74· 97·2. But owing to official reticence as to the full ex of the price inflation this figure does not tell the wh story. A rise to 120 is very much nearer the m Wages, of course, have also risen, although much le than the cost of living. If, in addition, one mak allowance for the increase in taxation, it appears th the standard of living of the Italian people has fallen approximately 25 per cent since 1934.
>
> A severe fall in the standard of living, then, is th first result of the Duce's military adventures. A although even the most ardent Fascist cannot maintain that the present rate of deterioration in the standard o living can be kept up much longer without causing har to the morale of the people, the more immediate dange of Italy's economic situation lies elsewhere. Abyssinia Spain rearmament and the *autarkie* drive are all enorm consumers of raw materials, and of raw materials which have to be imported from abroad. Consequently Italy imports of primary products during 1937 showed a hea increase, and as exports (partly as a result of the hig Italian price level) recovered but little, the balance o trade showed the tremendous adverse balance of 5· million lire. Against this, Italy's net foreign exchan income from emigrant remittance, tourist trade an "services" is less than 2·5 milliard lire. Thus Ital suffered last year a net loss of gold and foreign exchan of over 3 milliard lire. At the same time, however, s continued to live on the raw material stock which h been laid in during the Abyssinian War. If allowa is made for this, the total loss of substance during th year was approximately 4 milliard lire. That compar with a total gold and foreign exchange reserve of milliard lire still held by the Italian authorities.
>
> It is not surprising, therefore, that Italy's foreig exchange position should have given rise to serious fea in Fascist circles.

Dictatorship

The essential idea behind dictatorship the idea that national unity is best attained b national uniformity, by making everybody and say the same thing till they come to belie and think the same thing, (writes Raymond Holt in *The Inquirer*) and this uniformity achieved by propagating a new mythology, whi is presented as a kind of idealism while in fa appealing to racial egotisms and hatreds.

factor in this propaganda is that people are not allowed to know what the rulers do not want them to know, and those who do not accept this state of things are terrorised, tortured or imprisoned. Even decent people acquiesce in these cruelties because

they are taught to look upon the victims as outside the pale of humanity, as in the sixteenth century at the time of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew French Catholics looked upon the Huguenots and in the seventeenth century at Cromwell's massacre of Drogheda English Protestants looked upon Irish Catholics. Others acquiesce because they are unwilling to believe that these things really happen and they find it easy to persuade themselves that things are not as bad as they are painted because nowadays the worst of these cruelties are done behind the scenes. In the days of the Inquisition when men were burnt alive for heresy the burnings were public. Modern technique here as elsewhere is more efficient. Those who do not want to be disturbed by what they suspect can pretend that nothing terrible is happening.

At first these methods seem to produce the results desired. Immense power is generated by the mass production of opinion as it is by mass production of electricity. Sometimes this power is turned to good use for those who wield it are able to ride roughshod over any resistance to their schemes—whether the resistance comes from selfish vested interests or from enlightened humanitarians. And this again blinds some people to the issues at stake.

Sooner or later, however, the system will crack up and the appearance of uniformity will be resolved into a clash of bitter antagonism. Such dictatorships inevitably undergo progressive deterioration. Under them there is no place for men with sensitive consciences or independent minds and the worst men come to the top. The time-servers, the brutes and the self-seekers shelter themselves under the belief that all criticism and expression of opinion is disloyal, and so things go from bad to worse. And when a crisis arises all confidence has been undermined and all sense of individual responsibility destroyed. People do not know what to believe and so they believe the worst. At the height of their popularity the dictators can do no wrong and when a crisis arises they can do no right.

Japan's "Anti-British" Drive

Britain has become Public Enemy No. 1 in Japan and is now rarely referred to in the press except as "Crafty England," writes Hessell Tiltman in the *Asia*. At great mass meeting held in Japanese cities, the British Empire is held responsible for the cultivation of anti-Japanese feelings among the Chinese and accused of "furnishing the Chinese forces with financial assistance and materials of war."

Most famous of all the charges leveled at England was the story, widely believed to this day, that during the bombardment of Woosung and the landing of Japanese troops at that point below Shanghai, British warships steamed up and down the Whangpoo, interfering with the firing of the Japanese warships and creating a "wash" which impeded the landing operations. No shred of evidence was forthcoming to prove that the vessels ever existed, although the incident was reported to have occurred in broad daylight. Later, at Tokyo, *Gaimusho* officials admitted frankly that there was, so far as they knew, no truth in the allegation. But they pointed out that "the fact that the story was widely believed a indicative of the state of Japanese opinion." A state of mind, I may add, which the Japanese press has not seen fit to correct by publishing any repudiation of this canard.

Finally, there is the clinching argument that the British have been upholding the fighting spirit of the Chinese army and the Kuomintang not only by moral but also by material support. To this charge the retort may fairly be made, first, that, Japan not being at war with China, there existed no reason why any nation should refuse to sell munitions to that country, second, that if Japan owned thirty-eight per cent of all foreign investments in China threatened with national destruction, interest might reasonably dictate a sympathetic policy towards the government of China and, third, that high officials of the central government had complained bitterly to me that Great Britain "had not lifted a finger to help us in our hour of need."

Why, then, pick on the British? The answer is that certain exporting interests in Japan believe it is good business to do so, while others, in the ultranationalist camp, have reached the conclusion that Japan cannot secure her place in the sun until Great Britain has been pushed back into the shade—at least in Eastern Asia. In the light of this philosophy, a head-on collision with the U. S. S. R. would yield a meager reward compared with the rich booty destined for any one who can edge the British bankers, financiers, traders and merchants out of China and liquidate the £300,000,000 or more of British capital poured into that country during the past century without war if possible.

If, as I believe, neither the present Japanese Cabinet nor the General Staff nor the majority of the Japanese people desire to find themselves in serious conflict with Great Britain, or to interfere in any way with existing British interests in the Far East, there are certain prominent personalities in Japan who know quite definitely where they want *Dai Nihon* to go next. These leaders, who are believed to have some support in Japanese naval circles and are openly angling for the backing of the army, would gamble with the future prosperity of the empire by attempting to carry out the idea which lie behind the slogan of "Asia for the Asiatics" (which does not, however, include "China for the Chinese") by making their temporary peace with Russia in order to turn the national energies to the task of eliminating, as painlessly as possible, the British position in China. To this end they have already vetoed the appointment to the Japanese Cabinet of one able personality on the grounds that he is anti-Russian and, as the first step in the fulfilment of this dramatic *volte face* in the foreign policy of the nation, have advocated the occupation of Canton and South China by the Japanese army (thereby garroting the trade of Hong Kong) and the occupation of Hainan Island by the Imperial navy, thus cutting the communications linking Singapore with Hong Kong, and invalidating the whole strategic conception on which the Singapore Base was constructed.

The Heritage of the North China Peasant

A close acquaintance with the Chinese peasants, reduced as they are by circumstances to the borderline of starvation, reveals the fine heritage of a great people, which even extreme want cannot take away. F. S. Drake writes in the course of an article contributed to *The International Review of Missions*:

> The peasant is a farmer and has been a farmer for at least forty centuries . . . The farming instinct is deeply rooted in his nature, and no matter where a Chinese of peasant stock may be placed, or how small a patch of land may be at his disposal, he will speedily make something grow in it. It may be only a few grains of maize, or a vegetable marrow, or even a daisy in a pot, but something growing he will surely have.
>
> This instinctive love for the land is enhanced by the fact that the Chinese peasant is for the most part the owner of the land he ploughs. It is the land he has inherited from his ancestors and which he will pass on to his heirs. It may be a small patch—one-third of an acre is reckoned to be enough for one person—but it is the source of his life and the guarantee of his freedom. Some member of the family may add to the joint income by small trading in the cities, or by bodily labour for others—pushing a wheel-barrow, or pulling a ricksha—but in time of necessity he can always return to the family plot, and though it may make it tight for all the rest to feed an extra mouth, yet he will not starve. This is what gives stability to the Chinese social system and makes it possible for the Chinese to ride successfully over the calamities that again and again sweep over them.

The ownership of land is related to a religious factor, the worship of ancestors.

> In the mind of the lowliest Chinese peasant there is a consciousness of the ancestors from whom he has descended, from whom he derives both his own life and the land which he works, who are buried in that land in which he himself will one day be buried and which his children will work after him. So the Chinese peasant thinks in terms of the past and of the future as well as of the present. He himself is but one link in the chain of life. The ancestral land, the source of his life and of that of his children, is his heritage from his ancestors, and it is his duty to maintain it and to transmit it to his posterity, so that he and they may minister to the spirits of the departed who lie buried beneath its sod.
>
> The consciousness of the individual as part of a long chain extending from the past into the future militates against excessive individualism, gives a sense of responsibility, elevates duty above personal desires and is the basis of the peculiar nationalism of the Chinese, which makes them never forget the land of their ancestors or the old family home, even though the family may have left it for a couple of hundred years, and which makes them abroad desire above all things to return home to die.

Mention must be made of Buddhism and its influence on the Chinese peasant:

> The Chinese peasant in all probability has never penetrated to the inner depths of Buddhist thought, although his women-folk may be enthusiastic devotees at the temple festivals, but his outlook nevertheless is influenced to some extent by the Buddhist point of view, by which he senses a higher state of existence than that of the present, and feels a respect for tenderness and charity and deeds of mercy that he would not otherwise feel.

Outer Mongolia

Rudolf Walter writes in the *Europacische Revue*, Stuttgart:

> Outer Mongolia had never considered herself a integral part of the Chinese Empire so long as she under the Chinese influence, but had only felt b bound up with China through the common bo sovereignty of the Manchu Emperor recognised by She had therefore been treated by China more or les an autonomous unit with special rights of self-g ment. Outer Mongolia thus proclaimed herself auton on the 1st November, 1911, when the external bo the Manchu dynasty fell off. . . . Russia has not reckoned with this autonomy, but has defended it a China with her own diplomatic influence and m power. In 1913, both China and Russia recognised O Monogolia as autonomous. . . . In 1915, however, suzerainty of China over this autonomy was recog and in 1919 China felt herself strong enough to ca the autonomy and occupy the land under General H Sshutsang. There was unrest among the Mongolia the Chinese were driven out in 1920 and the "Li Buddha" set up at the head of an independent Mong The Soviets now bestirred themselves and in July 19 the so-called "People's Party of Revolutionary Mong which represented the Far-Eastern section of the Th International of 1918, captured Urga with the help of Soviet troops and declared the independence of Mong under their own auspices. The "Living Buddha" Urga died subsequently on the 20th May, 1924, and w him the long line of incarnations of the Buddha came an end. In spite, however, of the predominant So influence, most of the supporters of the "Peop Government of Revolutionary Mongolia," who might h been about 10 per cent of the population, remai nationalistic and the Soviets soon recognised that noth could be obtained by threats and violence. . . . . Th old trade used to be in the hands of the Chinese, w used to bring clothing, tea, utensils, etc., to the Mongolia homes in exchange for the Mongolian products of catt hides, wool, etc. The new way opened to Russia did n prove satisfactory. A proposal was even made f renewing the old relation of a Mongolian autonomy un Chinese suzerainty, but remained unheeded by th Chinese. In November 1924, Mongolia had, for the fi time, an independent constitution, forged after the So model. Soviet Russia is now gradually penetra Mongolia in every direction. The Chinese and fore undertakings in the land are by some means or oth brought to a standstill. The trade-routes through In Mongolia, manned by the Japanese, are closed and O Mongolia has become for the outside world, a prohibi area. For this purpose, the Soviet Government makes u of the small but orderly Mongolian troops as a vehi of the revolutionary ideals of the Soviet. It has be proved on various occasions that the Mongolian soldi who have to undergo a two years' compulsory milita service, are prepared to obey their masters and sh their own countrymen, who are known to them to be tr Monoglian nationalists. . . . . The disruption of tra with China has, however, forced Outer Mongolia to th seriously of being economically independent. They h been making steady progress in education, health a hygiene. . . . The result of the present Sino-Japa conflict is, therefore, of decisive importance to the fu of Mongolian politics; because the old ideal of Pa Mongolianism has always remained wakeful and Mongolian, who takes his bread willingly and contente from the hand of a foreigner, is yet to be born.

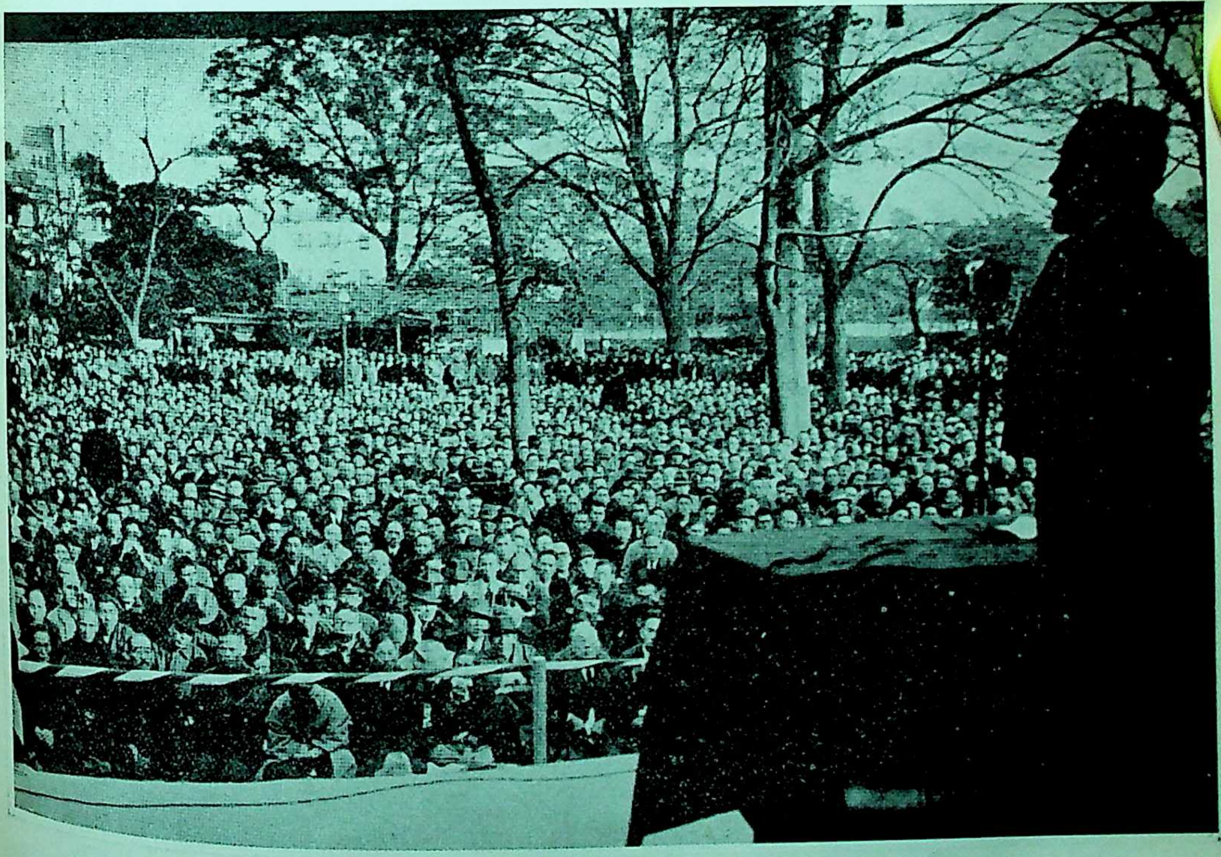
[TRS. DR. V. V. GOKHALE]

---

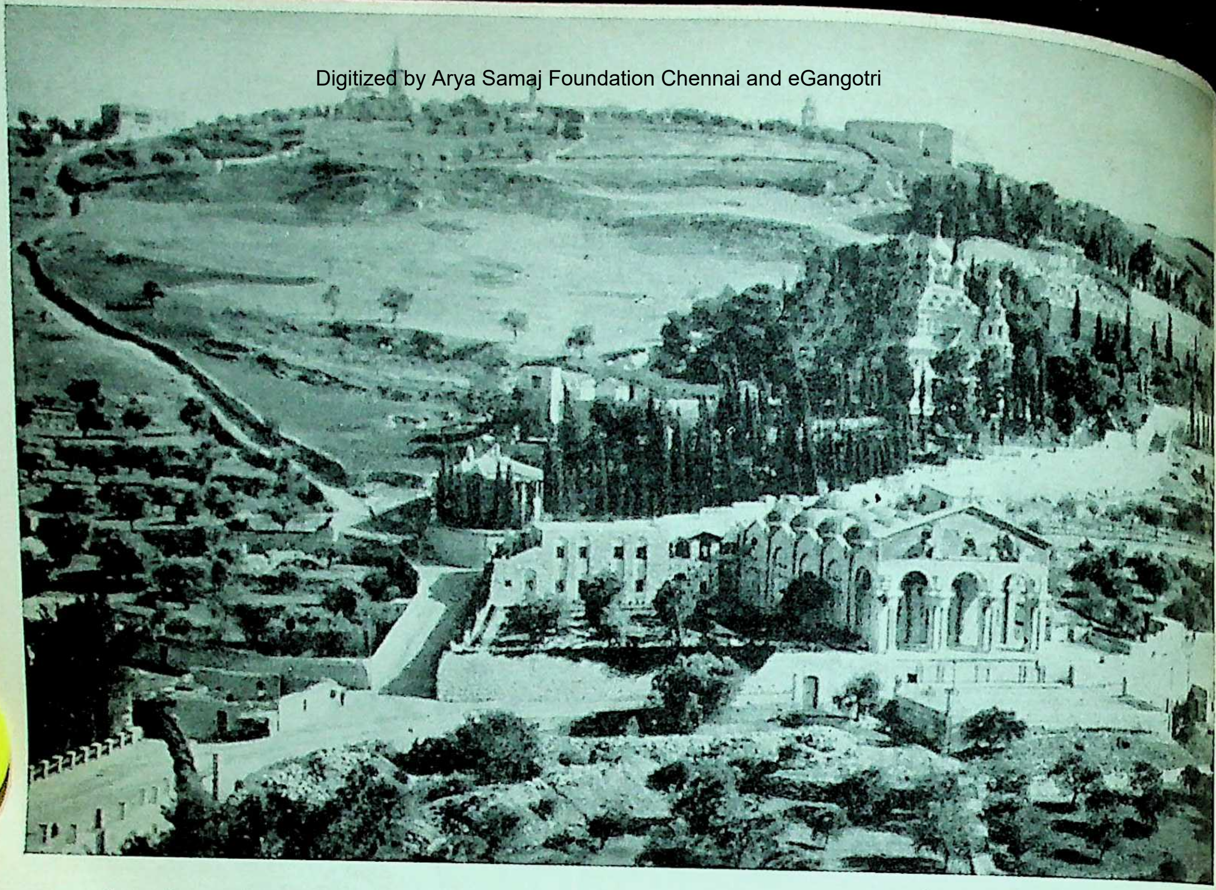
red herself
ong as she
only felt
ommon bond
cognised by
more or less
s of self-
erself auton
external bond
sia has not
fended it a
ce and mi
recognised
5, however,
was recog
nough to
er General
the Mongolian
nd the "Li
endent Mong
d in July
nary Mong
n of the T
the help of
nce of Mong
g Buddha"
1924, and
Buddha came
dominant S
the "People
who might
ation, remai
sed that noth
ce. . . . . . T
e Chinese,
o the Mongol
oducts of cattle
Russia did
even made
autonomy un
eeded by
d, for the fir
after the Sovi
lly penetrat
se and forei
means or oth
through In
osed and O
d, a prohibi
ment makes
s as a vehi
. It has be
golian soldi
ulsory milit
ers and sh
hem to be
otion of tr
ngolia to th
nt. They
n, health
Sino-Japan
e to the fu
ideal of P
keful and
nd content
e born.

GOKHALE]

Cairo: In its modern streets and its antiquated bazars East and West mingle but do not mix



A view of the great anti-British mass meeting, held at Hibaya Park, Tokyo, on November 27, 1937. There were banners beside the speaker's platform which read: "Break off relations with Britain" and "Redistribute Britain's Colonies." [*Asia*



Jerusalem solves "the problem of modern westernization by drawing a cabalistic circle around itself." Outside its ancient walls—yet within the "fortress of faith" is the Mount of Olives

Beirut, chief seaport of Syria, the old Phœnician city which once was a Roman colony and in which Greek culture flourished for centuries [Asia

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The West must Learn about India

William Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U. S. A., in his article in *The Aryan Path* makes a sincere appeal to all Westerners for a real understanding of the mind and heart of India :

Fifty years ago, India was an economic prize to supply an industrial western country with raw materials and consume its manufactured products, while the will of her people was of no consequence outside her own borders, if a will even existed. During the twentieth century her status has changed. She still is an economic asset to the West, but she has cultivated so much of political nationalism and asserted herself so effectively toward nationhood that her opinions and desires begin to affect the outside world. When another fifty years will have passed, her expanding industry, her growing trade with its wider diffusion among the nations, her more vigorous and modernly motivated intellectual life, all heightened in importance by the great numbers of her population, will compel the rest of the world to listen to her voice and reckon with her aims and actions, and she will herself have become a power.

The problem, then, for a western nation, is to ascertain just what it needs to know of India to understand that country in its world relationships, and to develop a method of getting that knowledge to enough of its leaders to guide its national policy toward India.

The West will want to know—should be trying to learn right now—how strong the desire is in India for independence, if the final demand will be for separate statehood or if home rule within the British Empire will be satisfactory. Again, what form of government will India adopt—democratic, fascist, communist—what will her foreign policy be? And will she develop industry within her own borders, using her abundance of raw materials and labour and marketing her products at home, with exportation of her surplus to other countries, and to enter into competition with western industrial nations, or will she remain primarily agricultural, and a consumer of imported products? What are the chances that Britain can hold her preferred position in India, and what the chances of Japan for economic and perhaps also political domination? What is the substance of India's will to assert and develop herself : will it grow stronger or is it only an illusion?

Even such immediate questions as these lead at once to the study of India's past. This is not a novel idea to Indians but we of the West hardly seem to have grasped it. We must examine the development of her political institutions during the millennia of which we have records, if we are to estimate the significance and strength of the current demands for representative responsible government. The temper of India's mind as revealed in her literature and previous dealings with governmental problems give shape to her present political thinking, and will affect that of the future.

The economic questions we have raised require the same sort of treatment.

If politics and economics must be studied and interpreted in the light of general Indic culture, still more obviously must social phenomena.

It is of profound importance to the world at large that it should understand the social organization of a country containing over three hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants. What is happening among so many people is important in itself; to outsiders it is additionally important because of the effect, in this narrowing world, which their social developments will have upon the rest of us. The institution of caste alone is sufficient to illustrate the point. The effect it has upon life in India and upon the relation of India to the world at large, the changes it is now experiencing, its probable future, the character it will give to the India with which the West will have to deal—these are so weighty as to demand that we study it intensively.

The same sort of situation exists with respect to the arts.

Indian painting, sculpture, and architecture—some of whose characteristic features appear as early as in the Indus civilization of the third millennium B.C.—so different in their fundamental motivation from the Greek that dominates the western tradition, so profound in their intellectual content, so rich and varied in their form so powerful in their hold upon the people, these we must know from the Indian point of view, if we are to make any adequate appraisal of Indian civilization, while from them western artists may themselves derive ideas of value in their own creative work, as indeed some have already.

What are the practical means of bringing the West to learn about India? It is not enough to point out the needs and advantages of acquiring such knowledge and then to leave it to chance or the unassisted efforts of our public or our leaders to find the necessary and valuable information. Those who are interested in seeing India and the West understand each other, and who have some measures of specialized information about India, should try to think out a programme of specific and definite means for accomplishing that end.

In every case, the first requisite is that our attitude should remain objective : for, *just as it is indefensible to try to make Indians think and behave like us, so too we should not aim to make Occidentals believe and act like Indians.* A humility and respect for each other, too often lacking in India as well as in America, must especially mark those who endeavour to interpret the one to the other. The aim is understanding, not proselytism; so will success follow.

Scientists of the World, Unite! √

In the course of his Appeal entitled "The World's Dire Need for A Scientist Manifesto," published in *The Theosophist*, Dr. Bhagavan Das says:

> *Every great human movement has, necessarily, some sort of a philosophy of life behind it,* conscious or subconscious, good or bad, sound or erroneous. Practice is inevitably connected with theory, instinctive or deliberate. The French Revolution is said to have found its philosophers is Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the Encyclopaedists; the greater Russian Revolution, in Bakunin, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and others. Capitalist Individualism is said to find support in Bentham, Spencer, Darwin, Wallace, and Mill. Fascism and Communism both are reported to trace their spiritual ancestry back to the German philosopher Hegel, in different ways; and they are now warring against each other with the implacable hate of step-brothers. On the present occasion, we must not endeavour to apportion blame or praise; but it is unavoidable to say, for our purpose, that all those Nations, all those Powers, without exception or distinction, which have been, are now, or think of, exploiting, subjugating, enslaving, oppressing, any weaker populations, nations, races, or classes—*all such are to blame,* in the degree in which they are thus treating the weaker.
>
> Now, it is obvious that the philosophies behind the gigantic movements, and also the science-created weapons with which they fight, are within the purview, nay, are the main concern, are even the creation, of the men of thought and science; in fact, it has been said openly and repeatedly, by western writers, that the last World War was much more a war of scientists than of soldiers; and such men, today, are almost all congregated in the Universities and various Learned and Scientific Institutes. *A very great responsibility, a very urgent and high duty, therefore rests upon them; and an equally great power and authority belongs to them, if they would only awaken to it, recognize it, assume it, and determine to wield it. They are the educators of mankind . . . They constitute the "spiritual power" today. They should guide the "temporal power" everywhere, instead of allowing themselves to be misguided, exploited, prostituted by it.* They can resolve and declare that they will cease to discover, invent, teach, if the politicians and the soldiers do not cease to misuse the precious knowledge. Education is the root; Civilization is the fruit. As is the one, good or bad, such is the other. Science should compel the Sword to protect; not the Sword, Science to destroy. If Science flings away Spirituality, and clingsa to Materiality alone, then it makes easy, nay, inevitable, its own prostitution and ultimate destruction by the Sword, as seems imminent now.

Poison Gases in Modern Warfare

Science and Culture gives an account of how poison gases came to be employed on a large scale in modern warfare :

> The Great War of 1914-1918 was responsible for the development of a technique in attack and defence through the use of chemicals which were not explosives. Early in 1915, it was apparent that the war of attrition had begun. The battlefront in the west expanded fr Swiss mountains to the sea; the British fleet effectively preventing the entry of essential raw into Germany. In their desperate attempts to through this cordon in land and sea, the German Command determined to adopt measures of ruthlessness. Indiscriminate submarine attack in and extensive use of poison gases on land were outcome of this policy.
>
> Never was the critical factor of surprise in nearer success than when the Germans launched first gas attack at Ypres on 22nd April, 1915. Marshal Sir John French described the situation follows :
>
> "Following a heavy bombardment, the enemy poison gases for the first time. Aircraft reported thick yellow smoke had been seen issuing from enemy trenches. What follows almost defies desc The effect of these poison gases was so virulent as render the whole of the line held by the di incapable of any action at all. It was at first imp to realize what had actually happened. The smoke fumes hid everything from sight and thousands of were thrown into a comatose and dying condition within an hour the whole had to be abandoned to with about 50 guns."
>
> Competent critics are of opinion that if the Ger had completely grasped the probability of such success and pressed the advantage with rigour, channel ports might have fallen and the fate of the might have been otherwise.
>
> In May 1915, the Germans made similar gas at upon the Russians immediately west of Warsaw and equally deadly results. "The gas was discharged f total time of not more than half an hour on a fr about 6 miles. The affair seems relatively small, what was the result ? The Russians lost not less 5,000 dead in the field and their total casualties 25,000 officers and men."

No other weapon could have produ results under the most favourable conditi for its use in as many days what gas was to do in as many minutes.

> Poison gases having proved their deadly effici their employment on a large scale was decided upo all the combatants. In the early attacks the gas compression was discharged from cylinders into the man's land in front of the trenches by means of pipes, and was transported into enemy lines by able winds. The advantage of being able to the locality of the incidence of gas cloud was imme realized, and gas shell came into vogue. The gases can generally be compressed into the liquid and into the shell were charged these liquids, by the use or a small amount of high explosive shell, were converted into fine mist when the shell Since gases can diffuse into a wide area, the gas need not be fired from guns with the same accu aim as high explosive shells. Guns of simpler design can therefore be used for this purpose. Ludendorf tells us that during the big German of 1918, gas shells were used against artillery infantry in quantities which had never been seen and even in open warfare, the troops were asking gas. It is surmised that about 50 per cent of the fired in the last phase of the war were gas shells.
>
> The irritant gases produce lesions and con in the respiratory system and cause death by suffoca Chlorine, phosgene, diphosgene, cyanogen

chloropicrin, chlormethyl chlorformate are some of the powerful irritants whose deadly efficiency in war has already been demonstrated. Chlorine and phosgene are fatal at concentrations of 40 parts per million and these were the two gases which inflicted such heavy casualties in the allied armies in 1915.

Another type of gas which has great military value is known as Lachrymators. They produce temporary or permanent blindness by weeping.

Mustard gas has also another property which revealed the possibilities inherent in chemical warfare. It produced vesicant or skin-burning effects, which, although rarely mortal, were sufficient to put a man out of action for several months.

The chemicals which produce sneezing came into use in the later phases of the war when the mask had become a part of the soldier's normal equipment. Typical substances are some arsenic derivatives—diphenyl chlorarsine, diphenylcyanarsine.

The chemical industries of Germany, England and America have equipment and assets which may be valued at a thousand million pounds. They are, in times of peace, engaged in manufacturing acids, alkalis, fertilizers, dyes, drugs, etc. But, at a moment's notice, their activities can be switched on to the production of war chemicals.

The Hindu Conception of the Motherland

The Hindu conception of the mother-country is more cultural than territorial. The spiritual enters more into that conception than the material. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji illustrates this truth in *Prabuddha Bharat* in his article on the Hindu Conception of the Mother-land:

> The spirit of patriotism in the West finds a typical utterance in the following famous lines of Walter Scott:
>
> "Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land:"
>
> But the Hindu raises his patriotic utterance to a much higher level. A typical and most wide-spread utterance influencing the mass-mind in India is the following:
>
> "The mother and the mother-country are greater than Heaven itself."
>
> But this utterance which comes from later Sanskrit literature owes its inspiration to the Vedas, the eternal fountain-head of Hindu thought through the ages. For instance, the Prithivi-sukta of the *Atharva-Veda* contains the Hindu's earliest hymns to the mother-land, each of whose features receives its due share of recognition for its contribution in the making of the country: "The seas protecting the land, the fertilizing rivers, hills and snows, forests and herbs, its agriculture, flora and fauna, and, lastly, its people of different speech, of diverse customs according to their regions, its roads, villages and even assemblies (*sabha* and *samiti*)."
>
> The *Manusmriti* finally describes the country as created by the gods.

He describes how patriotism is expressed in pilgrimage.

> Indeed, in the heyday of Hinduism, in the spacious times of the Gupta emperors, a fervent patriotism transformed into a profound religious sentiment found its own means of expression in its own way. It invented its appropriate symbols and ceremonies, its own mode of worshipping the country. It conceived of the system of pilgrimage which is peculiar to Hinduism, and is a most potent instrument of instruction in geography by field-work. It educates the Indian popular mind, or mass consciousness, in the realization of what constitutes the mother-country through the religious necessity imposed on the people to visit its different parts for the sacred places and shrines placed in them. The country as an abstraction is thus transformed into a vivid and visible reality, an ideal is realized in terms of blood. The romance of patriotism has fondly woven a net-work of holy spots covering the whole country, so that all parts of it are equally sacred and the equal concern of religious devotees.

The number of places of pilgrimage in India is legion.

> It only shows the waking of a religious imagination in its attempt at visualizing and worshipping the physical form of the mother Goddess. This religious imagination of the nation has, indeed, impressed in its service every spot of beauty in the vast country, which it has at once declared as holy and has endowed with a temple, shrine, or some religious symbol like a piece of hallowed stone, or even a tree. Here is patriotism run riot! It finds its food even in the natural beauties of the country. Hence the Hindu's pilgrimage is to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, the depths of forests, the palm-clad sea-shores, the hidden sources of rivers, or their mouths and confluences. His treatment of natural beauty is also unique. His love of nature is a religious emotion. A place of natural beauty in the West is associated with holiday-making, pleasure trips, picnics, hotels and cinemas. In India, it is marked by temples and pilgrims, hermitages and ascetics, so as to lead the mind from Nature up to Nature's God. The beauty of Nature in the one case is a stimulus to objectivity, to outgoing activities. In the other case, it is an incentive to subjectivity, mediation and renunciation.

He says that pilgrimage inculcates love of country in the masses.

> A comparative consideration of the various lists of *tirthas* in different texts will show how fondly the Indian mind clings to the mother-country and considers every inch of its territory as sacred soil. It worships the Virat-deha, the great body of the country of which every part it holds to be holy. As a consequence, the Hindu has no holy place outside India, like a far off Palestine or Mecca or Medina. As has been explained, his culture is synonymous with his country.
>
> The later texts locating the holy places on a generous scale all over India indicate how far they have travelled from the early days of Vedic civilization when the country or the holy land was confined to Aryavarta. Now the country embraces the whole of India, as its civilization has penetrated into all its parts.
>
> A final expression of this evolution of the idea of the mother-country is embodied in certain texts prescribing the places where one should seek his last resting-place to lay his bones, or have his funeral ceremonies performed. These places are, accordingly, to be considered as the most sacred of places by all Hindus in common, irrespective of provincial or religious differences, of sect or creed. In the contemplation of death they must sink these differences and realize the unity of their common mother-land. Death completes what life leaves incomplete.

Women's Place in Hindu Law

Writing about women's place in Hindu Law T. Pattabhiramayya observes in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine*:

> It can be said that the result of the establishment of British Courts of Law was rather conservative in the domain of Hindu Law and tended to restrict the rights of women. *Mitakshara* is much more liberal to women than the Courts of today; it did not accept the theory that women by reason of sex are disentitled to inherit, nor is there any foundation in it for the rule that women take a limited estate in property inherited by them. All property, however acquired, was *stridhan*, according to its definition; but judicial decisions exclude inherited property from the category of *stridhan*. The theory that women *prima facie* take only a limited interest under grants *inter vinos* or by will is a creature of judicial decisions.

Mysticism in the Poetry of AE

George William Russel (1867-1935) of Ireland was a great poet, patriot and mystic. In *Prabuddha Bharata* Dayamoy Mitra discusses the importance of the ideal and the deeper note of mysticism in the poetry of AE by which name he is generally known as a poet :

> Poetry for a man like AE constituted a '*sadhana*' which implied continuity of effort towards Realization. AE's view concerning one aspect of the future of Poetry is succinctly expressed in the poem called *A New Theme*:
>
> I think that in the coming time
> The hearts and hopes of men
> The mountain tops of life shall climb
> The Gods return again.
> I strive to blow the magic horn,
> It feebly murmureth,
> Arise on some enchanted morn,
> Poet, with God's own breath.
> And sound the horn I cannot blow,
> And by the secret name
> Each exile of the heart will know
> Kindle the magic flame.
>
> As a marked contrast to the Victorians we notice that in such poetry as AE's the claims of the Infinite in thought, the Infinite in feeling, the Infinite in willing have been triumphantly asserted. It is not true that this is entirely a new note in English literature. We have had something of this in Blake and Wordsworth in their loftier moments and before them in even the so-called "metaphysicals," however closely connected some of them are with a narrower creed, and in a more pronounced manner still in the poetry of Shelley. Shelley has been so systematically misunderstood, with notable exceptions here and there, that one almost hesitates to take his name; but without doubt if there is a new vision in poetry at all today, we must have to hail Shelley as its protagonist. Shelley at least prepared the path for those who could sing and talk in graver and more assured tones regarding such high sentiments as make the mortal nature in us tremble like guilty things surprised.

Granted the ideal, we can very easily understand AE's treatment of Love in his poetry.

> The poet does not practise the rigorism of self- but he has his own beautiful manner of teaching abnegation. The poet is in it but not of it, when sings :
>
> We liken Love to this and that, our thought
> The echo of a deeper being seems
> And we kiss because God once for beauty sought
> Within a world of dreams.
>
> We have not only the value that we consider important but at the same time we are made to reco the Highest in our traffic with the beloved objects of world:
>
> I sometimes think a mighty lover
> Takes every burning kiss we give
> His lights are those which round us hover
> For him alone our lives we live.
>
> It is the meeting together of the Eternal Lover and soul of man that we are constantly witnessing through finite loves. As the Upanishads would have it: Th beloved we feel to be our very own not because of or her sake but because of the Infinite that is imp in the finite.
>
> "I would not have the love of lips and eyes,
> The ancient ways of love:
> But in my heart I built a paradise
> A nest there for the dove"—
>
> and then we hear what we shall feel when Love disper the thinnest of veils, when it truthfully dawns on human heart:
>
> I could not even bear the thought I felt
> Of Thee and Me therein;
> And with white heat I strove the veil to melt
> That love to love might win.

The Earlier Phase of Modernist Verse

Dr. Amiya Chakravarty discusses the earli phase of modernist verse in *The Visva-Bhara Quarterly* :

> The problem for the young poet today, it must admitted, is complicated. The Modern Age presses up our lives a multitude of unharmonised elements; a paper is a bedlam of unrelated pictures; the interacti of events, in all fields of modern activity, in finance, eco mics, politics . . . . defy our powers of unravelling. T modern mind is haunted by the interdependence things; emotions evoked by the fragmentary experien of city-life move in a whirl, and the creative imagi tion, excepting in a finely balanced personality, soon tired; the criterion of inward truth is obscured by crowded complexity of facts.
>
> The Metaphysicals could take shelter in a few fu mental assumptions; when the experiences of life see chaotic they tried to find a logical reason, but essenti they were at peace with themselves and could rest reserved areas of belief into which the dissecting was not admitted. The modern poet has hardly reserved areas, though he is trying to create some the barbed wire of psychological jargon, or of econo doctrine. Life is being psycho-analysed in verse. Mod consciousness tortured to yield new materials. Modern ist poetry, however, proves that as yet no safe anchor have been found, and both the struggle for new f of expression, and the character of the literary materi assembled show that the effort to introduce the associations and links which lie below consciousness yet to find its justification. The foundation of belief not be established by method and law, or by the ana

of interconnections. In short, something more than a pursuit of the *process* is called for.

Like the Metaphysicals, the moderns sacrifice clarity for the sake of chromatic effect.

The sonnet-form, which demands a unity of mood, and a corresponding structural sense, has therefore fallen into disuse, just as it did in the period of the Metaphysicals. Excepting a few poems of Eliot, like the *Journey of the Magi*, where due to his self-discipline, poetic form and consistency have been preserved, and poems like Spender's *The Express*, in which the limitations of the subject-matter have not been ignored, few post-war poems of the modernist group can be remembered as individual works of art. Most of the poems of Day Lewis, Spender and Auden seem to run into each other and form a chain of verses, revealing hardly any sense of form, even though much is made these days of the objective reality of "expression." Even when the subject of the poem can be expected to impose a certain logical structure, as in the poem *Time to Dance* by Day Lewis—his two brave pilot friends had a definite ground (or rather air-area) to cover—beginning, and continuing for a time on a fairly high level of poetic journalism, essential to narrative poetry, Day Lewis allows his poetic idea to dissolve into thin air, leaving a feeble smoke-trail in the mind. Often, again, his poem says, is choked by assortments of thought, as with weeds, and in trying to offer opinions on various problems of the day it reaches nowhere. His *Feathers to Iron* written in immaturity shows greater incoherence because of its mix-up of machine, terminus, child-birth, revolution and what-not; though the meandering, semi-narrative nature of the long poem permitted a cycle of paragraphic structurers. *The Magnetic Mountain* shares this quality; it is a more fully developed poem, passages can be isolated from it, and remembered. But both Auden and Day Lewis would rather swim about than walk on the land; their poems offer the kind of aquatic continuity for which one has to go back to the worst excesses of the Metaphysicals.

Free Verse, in these days, has been widely exploited for lyrical as well as dramatic poetry. But only a conscientious craftsman can justify its use. The Imagists far too often employed it to match the diffuseness of subject-matter.

Mr. Eliot learning from their experience has achieved fine effects in this medium. Mr. Yeats, claimed by moderns to be a Modernist edition of himself, has never set one foot forward in its forbidden area. There has been much discussion about the heredity of *Free Verse*; that it is neither the spontaneous creation of this Age, nor the invention of Whitman, is acknowledged. *Samson Agonistes* and *The Strayed Reveller* occur to the mind. The Imagists betrayed their usual confusion of mind when after referring to Arnold's *Philomela* and Henley's *London Voluntaries* they went on to say that *Free Verse* derives also from Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis*, and Chaucer's *House of Fame*. Browning's and Gerard Hopkin's speech rhythms have added to its vigour; the effect of Owen's internal rhymes is discernible. *Free Verse* has indeed come to stay, within strict limits. It is interesting to watch its transformation into *Choruses* in some parts of Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* and Auden's *Dog Beneath the Skin*. The pressure of the "multiple-correspondence" mind has often tortured it out of shape, and it has ended in being used for unending perorations, and since it is clearly unsuited for many kinds of poetry, and can never replace blank-verse, the rhymed lyric, or sonnet, it remains today mainly as an evidence of the daring explorations of the modern craftsman rather than of major creative achievement.

P. E. N. Annual Meeting

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the P. E. N. India Centre was held in Bombay, on the 14th of March. The following extract from the report published in *The Indian P. E. N.* is given below:

In welcoming the guests and stressing the desirability of more frequent contacts between members, Sophia Wadia referred also to the threatening conditions in the world and read a statement on the stand of the international P.E.N. on the exchange of literary works independent of political accidents, on respect, even in warfare, for works of art which are the common heritage of humanity, and on the obligation of every member to use his influence, personal as well as literary, in favour of mutual understanding and respect of peoples.

Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, our Honorary Secretary, read the list of twenty-three new members from all parts of India admitted to membership durng the past year, and the names of four members deceased since the 1st of January, 1937:

Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee
Sjt. B. M. Dattatrya
Sjt. V. Suryanarayana Rao
Sjt. Kanaiyalal Vakil

The Zenda Avesta

Pritam Singh gives the following brief description of the Zoroastrian scriptures in *The Twentieth Century*:

The scriptures of the Zoroastrians (the Parsis of India) of whom there are about a hundred thousand living in and near Bombay, are known as Zenda Avesta or commentaries on the Avesta (Vesta-Knowledge). The Avesta represents a long period of diverse development spread over about one thousand years. The original Avesta is said to have consisted of 21 volumes, but the ravages of Alexander the Great seem to have destroyed a large number of the old manuscripts. The various scattered manuscripts were later on collected by the Sassanian Kings (third and fourth centuries A.D.). The language of these scriptures is old and extinct and very few oriental scholars can understand them. The modern translations are in Pahlavi of course and the original has undergone many changes in course of time. The Gathas or the words attributed to the Prophet Zoroaster form part of the Zenda Avesta.

The Zenda Avesta, like the Bible, consists of many books and extends over a period of one thousand years as stated above. The process of compilation was roughly as follows. The sayings of the Prophet Zoroaster and those who immediately followed him were the first to be recorded. These records were then edited and elaborated by successive generations. The language originally was Gathic Avestan. In course of time, new explanations were added in a dialect known as the "Younger Avestan" or Zenda. The modern Zenda Avesta is in the Pahlvi language which was the spoken language in the Sassanian times and is nearer to modern Iranian. The languages and dialects of the Zenda Avesta are, however, all inter-related.

Gathas form the most important part of the Avesta and are 'metrical sermons' attributed to Zoroaster himself and are regarded as revelations. These were recorded more than three thousand years ago. Considering the age it is really remarkable that such fine literature should find birth in the primitive civilization of ancient Iran. The art of verse seems to have been very highly developed in that age. One Gatha, however, is in prose which is a collection of prayers. The *Yasna* of which the Gathas form a part, is a book of liturgy meant to be used in connection with the various ceremonies current among the Parsis. Besides the *Yasna*, there is the *Vendidad* which means 'law against the demons'—all these constitute the Zenda Avesta.

The Zoroastrian faith based on these scriptures is monotheistic in the main. Ahura Mazdah or Ormuzd as the Parsis call Him, signifies the 'wise lord.' Before Zoroaster's coming people worshipped many kinds of spirits. He showed them that there was one Ahura (spirit) and he was Mazdah (the wise one). Justice and Truth must be rendered as his service by men of good speech, good thoughts and good deeds. It sounds paradoxical that we should find two spirits postulated, the good and the evil, thus giving a colour of dualism to the teachings of Zoroaster. This dualism is not of co-eternal spirits however; because it maintains that the evil spirit will ultimately succumb to the good.

Elephant Lore in Pallava History

Dr. C. Minakshi writes about the elephant lore in Pallava history in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. In the course of the article the writer abserves:

Gaja Sastra or Elephantology dealing on the different aspects of elephants, their capture, taming, training, etc., has been specially patronised by kings in ancient India. Its inclusion among other sciences of study is well justified by the great use to which the elephant has been put not only in the State paraphernalia but also in the military equipment of ancient Indian Royalty.

It is interesting to observe that learned treatises on this subject have been written by eminent scholars of which to enumerate a few :—(1) *Hastyayurveda*, a most ancient standard work ascribed to one Palakapya; (2) *Matanga-lila* of Nilakanta, which treats extensively on the elephant sport; and for which a valuable translation into English from the original Sanskrit by Professor Egerton of the Yale University has recently been published; and (3) *Mriga Paksi Sastra* by a Jain author named Hamsadeva, another informative work extant on this subject which gives a classificatory account of the thirteen kinds of elephants.

Besides the above-mentioned works, references and allusions to elephant hunting and elephant breeding are found in Sanskrit *Kavyas* frequently.

On the basis of epigraphical evidences we find that a few of the Pallava Rulers evinced a very great interest in the study of elephantology. One of these kings Rajasimha is described as *Sri Ibhavidyadarah* (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants), *Sri Ibhavatsarajah* (he who resembles the king of the Vatsa Country in the knowledge of the elephants), and *Sri Varana Bhagadattah* (he who resembles Bhagadatta in the kno of elephants).

Explorations in the Gobi Desert

The Gobi Desert offered a special chal to the scientific explorer. It tempted him in all the world it was the largest land about which so little was known. It defied because its distances are so vast, and trav so difficult that the short summer passes be the explorer can penetrate far or finish studies. Observes Frederick K. Morris in article in *Science and Culture* on the explo tions in the Gobi Desert :

Roy Chapman Andrews conceived the answer to challenge. He sent out a caravan of camels in e March, carrying food for men and for motor-cars. month later, we scientists with a small fleet of travelled into the desert, studying the land and colle specimens.

Dr. Granger, the Palaeontologist, with four as ants, collected the vertebrate fossils which were bu in the sedimentary rocks. Many people believe that found creatures of great antiquity—even to the earl of vertebrates; but this is not true. Our verteb fossil record began with the lowest Cretaceous. Dinos and other vertebrates are found abundantly in o regions from much older formations than these. Pop belief also held that we had discovered the source fr which many races of dinosaurs and mammals evo and migrated radially to all the world. This would ha been very interesting; but what we actually found w even more interesting.

The Age of Mammals is richly represented in the G Desert, and we took thousands of mammal-bones fr many Tertiary beds. Here, too, our discoveries were s prising, even to ourselves. One of the most intere experiences was finding the highest Cretaceous in di contact with the Paleocene. This meant that in a si locality we could study the latest dinosaur beds and earliest mammal beds together, one resting upon other. Here we hoped that the great gap between Mesozoic and Cenozoic eras would be bridged; and we could find a transition from the Age of Reptiles the Age of Mammals; there might have been a ming of the two faunae; there might have been prim mammals in the one whose descendants appeared highly advanced in the other. We hoped to shed light upon the unknown cause of the extinction of dinosaurs—an unsolved problem of biology and geol

But here, as everywhere else on this planet, we f the fossil records wholly separate and distinct. In Cretaceous rocks the dinosaurs were abundant to the top; but not one survived into the Paleocene. The Cr ceous did indeed yield primitive mammals—but they wholly different from the strange aberrant mammals the Paleocene.

The mammal record held many surprises. We expected to discover the five-toed ancestors of the h for in America the earliest of the horse-tribe had alr lost one toe. And since Asia was the home of domestic horse, we hoped that we would find hor their ancestors in all the formations of the Age Mammals. But exactly the reverse was true; fo found no horses older than the *Hipparion* of Pliocene time. The horse must have emigrated to Asia after evolving in America. He must have travelled to meet his Asiatic comrade, Man, almost at the time when Man had evolved so highly that he could begin to use the horse. I grant that the word "almost" is a bit figurative, for there is no evidence that Man domesticated *Hipparion*, which was almost as good a horse as *Equus*. But the proof of the separate evolution and dramatic meeting of these two comrades, Man and Horse, was one of the unexpected results of our studies.

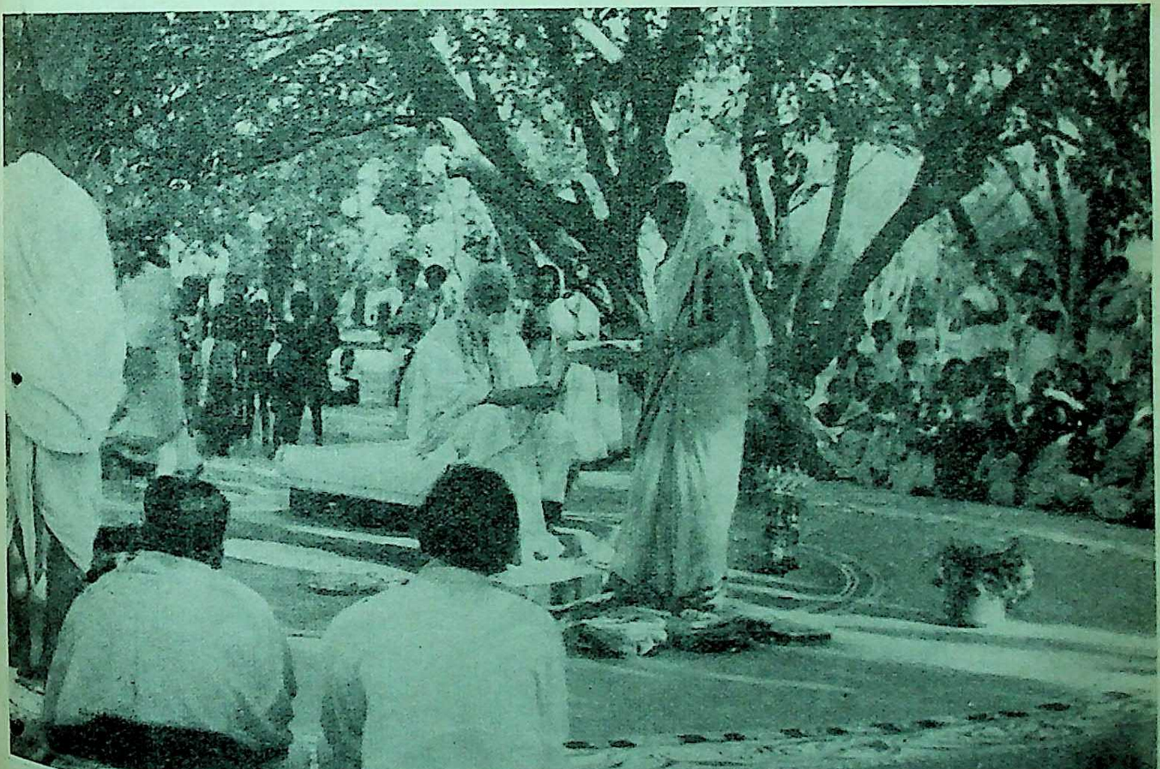
Another surprise was the discovery of titanotheres in Asia. Our Museum's President, Henry Fairfield Osborn, had just finished his great monograph on these huge-horned beasts of the Western Hemisphere, when Dr. Granger found titanotheres in the Gobi Desert—the only part of Asia, I think, where they are known.

India and China

India! O India!!
Remember thy ancient friend, thy brother-nation, across
the Himalayas,
claiming same age, same spirit, same life of piety.
Never yet was seen or heard on this globe
such incomparable bond of fellowship,
unbroken through the milleniums.
Ye met, not as rivals on the battlefield,
each claiming the monopoly of tyranny on this earth,
but as noble friends, rejoicing in the exchange of
valued gifts.
To thee my love, my greetings!

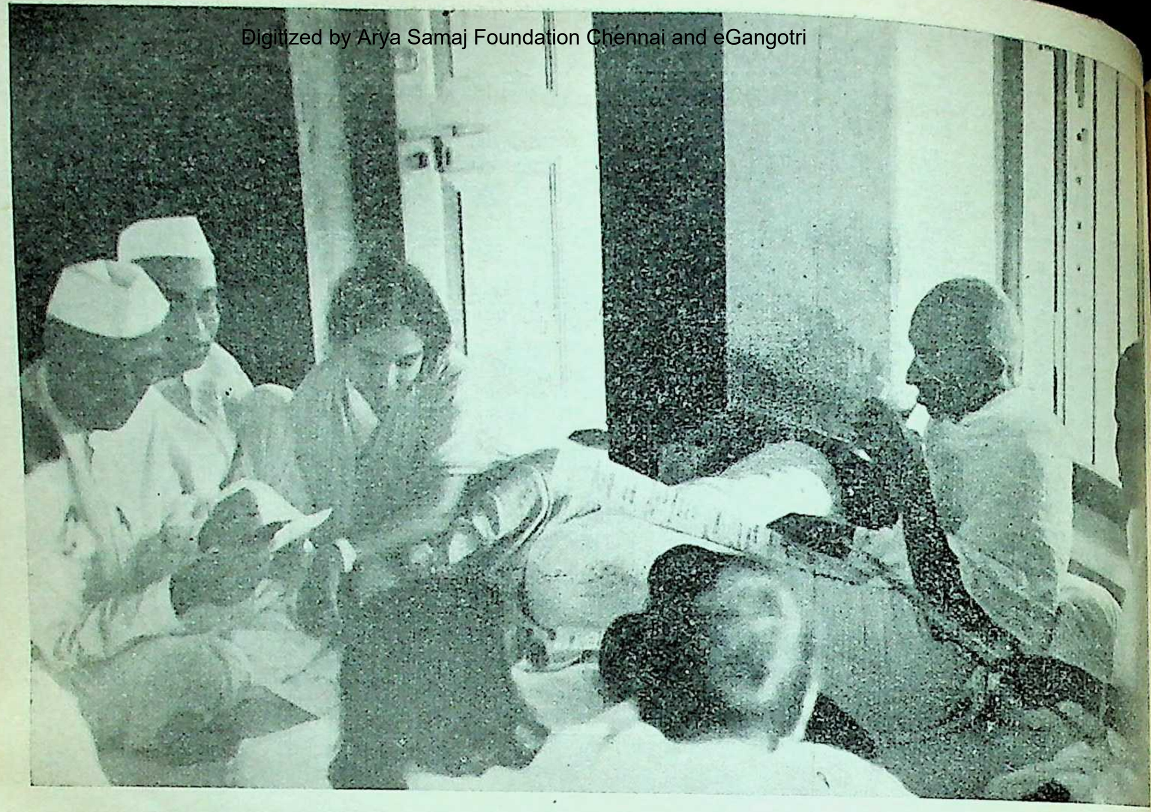
India! O India!!
Full of chaos still is the world, where men grope
blindly in dark terror.
Thine be the right and of thy suffering friend,
across the Himalayas,
to show them light and lead them along the way
of righteousness.
Thine the difficult duty and of thy friend,
to pilot them through the sea of storm and horror,
to the shores of peace and piety.
Awake then thou, arise and be prepared,
to march along, side by side, hand in hand,
hearkening to the stern voice of truth,
and shoulder the burden of a mad, riotous world.
My love to thee, to thee my gratitude.

Tan Yun-Shan in *Visva-Bharati News*

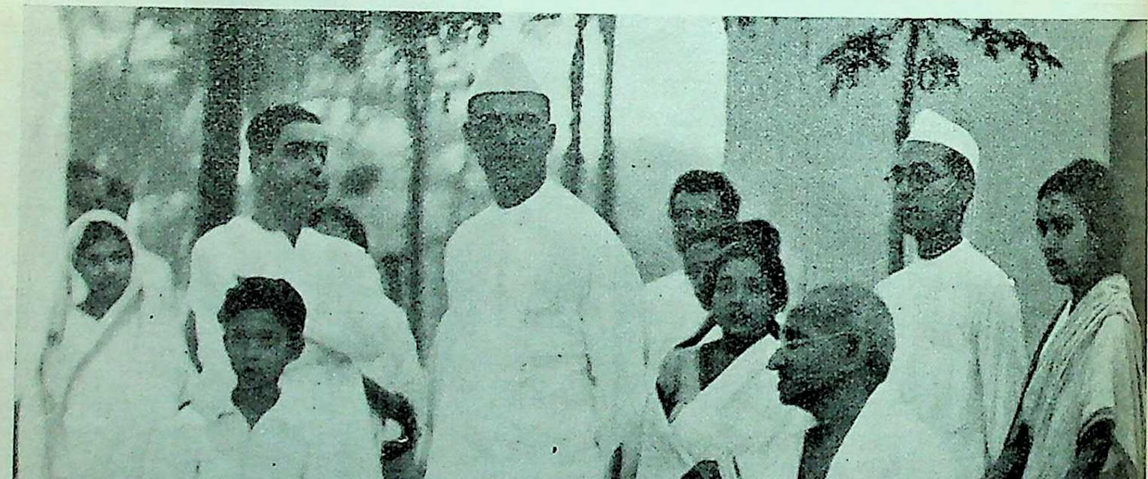


Rabindranath is receiving offerings of love and affection from the inmates of Santiniketan on his birthday

[Photographs by Satyendranath Bisi



Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan. Mahatmaji is seen taking orange juice.



Mahatma Gandhi at Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan

[Photographs by Satyendranath Bis

Notes

How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable

The public guess that the Governor-General's and several Governors' going home on leave has something to do with the British Cabinet's desire to consult them on the queston how Federation can be best started in India, is perhaps right. Perhaps it is also right that the Gandhi-Linlithgow interview had something to do with the question of federation.

From ex-President Jawaharlal Nehru and President Subhas Chandra Bose downwards Congressmen have repeatedly said that they will have nothing to do with the federal scheme contained in the Government of India Act. Their intention has been to wreck it. But the resolution relating to Federation passed in the Madras Assembly and a speech of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party in the Central Assembly, seem to show that the Congress may agree to work the federal part of the constitution if some alterations are made in it. No one has yet outlined or pointed out these alterations.

The original Congress position was that the constitution given to India by the British-made Government of India Act was to be rejected lock, stock and barrel, and that only a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly would be acceptable. Nevertheless Congress agreed to work the provincial part of the British-made constitution for its own purposes. Similarly, Congress may agree to work the federal part also for its own purposes. If so, Lord Zetland's assertion that, though Indian politicians (meaning Congressmen) had said that they would not accept the constitution, they would do so in the long run, would prove correct.

Those Congressmen who would agree to work the federal part of the constitution if certain alterations were made in it, have not yet said what alterations they want. It may in the circumstances be permissible for others to speculate what alterations may make the British-made constitution acceptable to Indian nationalists.

The Government of India Act should contain a provision by virtue of which the Indian federal legislature itself may amend that Act in any way it likes. India's political goal should be definitely made clear as self-rule, which may be either Dominion Status as interpreted according to the Statute of Westminster or Independence.

In both houses of the federal legislature the number of seats to be given to the Provinces and the States should be strictly according to population. The seats allotted to the States should be filled by representatives elected by the people of the States as the seats allotted to the Provinces are to be filled by representatives elected by the people of the provinces. In both cases, the elections ought to be made directly by the voters, not through the provincial or through the State legislatures (where they exist).

The voter's qualifications may differ from province to province and state to state, if so demanded by them. But in the same province and the same state the qualifications should be exactly the same for persons of all communities and classes.

Electorates and elections should be joint, not separate for different communities. No seats should be reserved for any community or class. If any community by a majority of the votes of its voters, wants a separate electorate and separate election and a number of seats to be reserved for it, it may have separate electorate and election and a number of seats reserved for it in proportion to its population, but no weightage. This ought to be the rule for both the provincial legislatures and the federal legislature.

All departments of the State and their budget should be under the control of the legislature, as they are in self-ruling countries like Great Britain. This means that Defence, Finance, Foreign Relations, Currency, Exchange, Customs, Transport, etc., are to be entirely under the control of the legislature.

The Governor-General's and Governors' powers and ordinary or special responsibilities, if any, are not to be more than those of the President of the U.S.A. and the Governors of the States of the U. S. A.

The Governor-General's or Governors' power of vetoing any Bill by a legislature should not be final. As in the United States of America, if the legislature concerned passes the Bill again by a prescribed majority, the veto will have no effect and the Bill is to become an Act.

The chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act, 1935, should be entirely omitted. The Indian Legislature should have full power, as legislatures in other free countries have, to impose whatever restrictions it thinks necessary upon persons, goods, means of transport, etc., of foreign origin, in the interest of India.

The fundamental rights of all Indians of all communities should be the same and equal, and should be mentioned in detail and described as clearly as possible in the Constitution Act.

The Question of A National Language For India

We have never been anxious or eager to discuss the question of a national language for India, and that for various reasons, some of which we shall indicate in this note.

We have never felt the extreme urgency of it. On the contrary, we have had a vague feeling that it can wait till we have won Swaraj, and that Swaraj can be won without our or anybody else's making the possession of a national language the condition precedent to our obtaining Swaraj. *In reality, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding,* our agitation for self-rule has all along been carried on and is still being carried on mainly through the medium, not of a national language, but of English. If we are not mistaken, the Presidents of the Indian National Congress write out their speeches in English and then translations into Hindi or Urdu or both are made. Presidential speeches at Provincial Conferences are also, perhaps for the most part, with exceptions, written out in English. Years ago Rabindranath Tagore set the example of writing it out in his mother tongue. Congress resolutions are drafted in English and then translated. Most of our most influential widely circulated newspapers are conducte English, Tilak's *Kesari* in Maharashtra the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* in Bengal b exceptions. No newspaper in Hindi and U which are or is the national language in opinion of Congressmen, occupies this p nent position. There must be contact with masses, no doubt. But this is being establi through the medium of speeches in provincial languages and the newspapers in provincial languages in different provin Even if and when we have an Indian langu as our national language, in all areas exc where it is the mother tongue, the provin languages will continue to play the same us part. For instance, if Tamil be the natio language, the mass-contact language will Tamil only in Tamil-Nadu, but not in Andh Maharashtra, Gujarat, Panjab, Bihar, Beng Assam, Orissa, Sindh, etc.

For these reasons, we have not felt th immediate need and urgency of settling th question of a national language.

Another reason why we have not been eag to discuss it, is that we do not possess suffici knowledge of any vernacular except Bengali t be able to pronounce any opinion on th subject. The reason why we say so will appe later.

We beg to be excused for holding an saying that the claim of *any* particular langua to be the national language is not indisputab like an axiom. There may be more than o claimant. And those whose vernacular is claimant may be prepossessed in its favou Speaking for ourselves, we have never pres the claim of Bengali, though high foreign a impartial authority may be cited in favour both the language and the literature of Bengal because we feel we are not impartial judges far as Bengali is concerned. We do not ass that the advocates of Hindustani are impartial—they may or should be.

Another reason why we have not bee

---

*For example, more than a century ago the Re William Carey, who was teacher of some of the princip modern Indian languages in Fort William College, Beng pronounced the following opinion on the Beng language when there was a proposal to give it an infer position in the scheme of studies of that College:

"Its structure is such that it abundantly uses wo requiring much care for their right formation, and wh yet yield it its peculiar perspicuity and elega Convinced as I am that Bengali is intrinsically supe to all other spoken Indian languages, and second to utility to none, I cannot consent to what degrades it in the College."

enthusiastic in discussing the question and supporting the claim of any language is that we have felt all along that there being no lack of causes of quarrel among us between communities, classes and provinces, why add another? Assuming that Hindustani is to be the national language, Hindus and Moslems differ as to the script—Nagari or Arabic—to be used and the particular variety of the language—Hindi or Urdu—to be used. The controversy has taken a communal turn. It cost the Congress authorities nothing to enjoin that both scripts and varieties of the language are to be used. But if schoolboys and schoolgirls are to learn both, how much time will they have to spend and how much money in buying both Hindi and Urdu books? And how much money will have to be spent in employing teachers of both Hindi and Urdu in addition to teachers of the mother-language in non-Hindustani-speaking areas? In addition to these English has to be learnt and a classical language, and teachers have to be employed for teaching the same.

Provincial jealousy and provincial bickerings existed before the introduction of the so-called provincial autonomy. Since its introduction these have increased. The controversy over the national language question is one of the causes of inter-provincial strained relations.

To determine which should be the national language of India—if of course one must be fixed upon—it will not be enough to find out from the census report which is spoken or understood by the largest number of Indians. Even that is no easy task. For official linguists are not unanimous. At one census, dialects which were held to be varieties of Bengali were held at the next census to be varieties of Hindi. Official linguists do not recognize Maithili as an independent tongue having an existence separate from Hindi. But Maithili-speakers, 10 millions strong, hold it to be an independent tongue having a valuable literature of its own. But we need not multiply examples. Let us take it for granted that it is easy to ascertain the exact number of speakers or users of each language. If ordinary day-to-day talk or marketing were all the uses to which a national language was to be put, the language which is spoken or understood by the largest number of persons would be clearly entitled to be the national language. But the national language of India should be sufficient, too, for all our All-India cultural, political, social and economic thinking and expression of such thought. We do not assert that Hindustani is not sufficient for both the purposes indicated; for our knowledge, or rather ignorance, of the Hindi-Urdu language or languages and literature or literatures—particularly of the literature or literatures—would not warrant us in making any such assertion. Any other modern Indian language and literature, too, than Bengali we do not know. These are some of our reasons for not discussing the question of a national language for India. And we are habitually disinclined to accept the opinions of others on trust. It may be that Hindustani is the best Indian linguistic medium for ordinary everyday requirements as well as for cultural and political purposes. It may also be that some other Indian language is better fitted for the latter purposes and *on the whole* for all purposes. We are not dogmatic, because we do not know. Those who know the principal modern Indian languages which have a rich and progressive modern literature may be in a position to dogmatize.

Perhaps no modern Indian language and literature is so well developed that we can feel proud to be represented by it alone in the world outside India.

In the circumstances all that we can do is to publish the views of contributors. This we have been doing.

Chinese Use of Pidgin English and Literary English

'Pidgin English' or 'Pigeon English' is a Chinese corruption of 'Business English.' It is the jargon, mainly of English words (often corrupted) arranged after Chinese syntax, used as a lingua franca between foreigners and the Chinese. This jargon is used for purposes of ordinary talk and business between the Chinese and foreigners. But when the Chinese wish to write anything on literary, scientific, philosophical and other cultural subjects or on political and economic topics, they use excellent literary English. This we know from their newspapers, bulletins and books, received by us.

Incidentally we are reminded that it has been suggested that what is called 'Bazaar Hindi' or 'Chalu (current) Hindi' may be adopted as the lingua franca of India. If that be sufficient for the purpose indicated by its name, it will have to be considered whether it will suffice for higher purposes as well. If not, the suitability of the excellent models of literary Hindi to be found in modern Hindi books and periodicals for these purposes may be considered.

Perhaps, except for poetry and fiction, no modern Indian language has as rich a vocabulary as some of the leading languages of Europe.

Domicile Certificates

It has been officially stated in defence of requiring Bengali candidates for jobs in the public services, admission to educational institutions, etc., in the provinces of Bihar that that practice is meant for preventing Bengalis from going there from Bengal with those objects.

As we have pointed out in our last issue, the *province* of Bihar includes Bihar proper and some areas of which the principal inhabitants are Bengalis, these areas being therefore parts of Bengal proper, as they were before 1912. Hence it is not Bihari-speaking persons alone who are the permanent inhabitants of the province of Bihar, but hundreds of thousands of Bengali-speaking persons also are. In Bihar proper also there are Bengalis who settled in Bihar before the commencement of British rule—many even four centuries ago, as pointed out in *The Behar Herald* by a Bengali correspondent from Bhagalpur. There are other Bengali settlers in Bihar proper who or whose ancestors migrated to Bihar proper later and became its permanent inhabitants. The Bhagalpur correspondent of *The Behar Herald* referred to above has also shown by quoting a passage from a judgment of the late Sir Jwala Prasad, Judge of the Patna High Court, that Bihari Kayasthas, of whom he was one, immigrated to Bihar proper from the United Provinces some 150 years ago. No domicile certificate is required from them. But it is required from Bengalis whose ancestors settled in Bihar equally early or even very much earlier.

It is also to be noted that in the province of Bihar it is only Bengali-speaking persons who are required to produce domicile certificates. Men speaking any other tongue are not required to prove their domicile.

Madras Does Not Require Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the province of Madras are Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, and Kanarese. There are Marathi-speaking persons also, and speakers of other languages.

According to the Census of 1931 the number of persons in the province of Madras who speak Tamil is 18,560,059. In the States and Agencies there are 1,613,822 Tamil-spe persons.

In the province of Madras 3,726,727 sp Malayalam, and 5,358,413 in the States Agencies.

In that province Kanarese is spoken 1,715,191 persons. In the province of Bom it is spoken by 2,598,349, and by 6,817,69 the States and Agencies.

Telugu is spoken by 17,783,024 in Mad and by 8,106,467 in the States and Agenci

These figures show that the British vince of Madras does not include the whole the Tamil-speaking, Malayalam-speak Kanarese-speaking and Telugu-speak areas. Some parts of these areas lie outs the Madras province. But *we are not a that the Madras Government requires any micile certificate from anybody to prove th he is not coming from those areas.*

Bombay Does Not Want Domicile Certificate

The principal languages spoken in the pr vince of Bombay as at present constituted Marathi, Gujarati and Kanarese. But th province does not include all the Marath speaking, Gujarati-speaking and Kanarese-speaking tracts, as the statistics given bel will show.

Marathi is spoken by 9,336,405 persons the province of Bombay, by 5,432,265 in th Central Provinces and Berar, by 5,972,323 the States and Agencies, and by 129,398 Madras.

Gujarati is spoken in the province Bombay by 3,426,127 and by 7,214,326 in th States and Agencies.

In the foregoing note we have stated h many Kanarese-speaking persons live in th province of Bombay and how many outside

These statistics show that the Brit province of Bombay does not include the wh of the Marathi-speaking, Gujarati-speaki and Kanarese-speaking regions ; some parts them lie outside it. But *so far as we are aw Bombay does not demand any domic certificate from persons coming from th parts.*

No Domicile Certificate in C. P. and Berar

The principal languages spoken in th Central Provinces and Berar are Marathi a Western Hindi. The number of those wh speak Marathi here is 5,432,265. Those wh speak Western Hindi here number 4,825,293. But as the total number of Marathi-speakers in India is 20,889,658 and of speakers of Western Hindi 71,547,071, it is clear that the vast bulk of the speakers of Marathi and Western Hindi reside outside the Central Provinces and Berar. *But so far as we know the C. P. and Berar Government do not try to shut them out by requiring them to produce domicile certificates.*

No Domicile Certificate in the Panjab

The principal languages spoken in the Panjab are Panjabi, Lahnda or Western Panjabi and Western Hindi.

Out of a total number of 15,839,254 persons speaking Panjabi, 12,154,001 reside in the Panjab, 3,401,615 in the States and Agencies, and the rest elsewhere.

Out of a total of 8,566,051 speakers of Lahnda or Western Panjabi, 6,528,325 dwell in the Panjab, 1,034,957 in the N.-W. F. Province and 954,937 in the States and Agencies.

Out of a total of 71,547,071 speakers of Western Hindi, 3,431,393 reside in the Panjab.

These figures indicate that numerous speakers of Western Hindi, Panjabi and Western Panjabi dwell outside the Panjab. *We are not aware that they are sought to be excluded from the Panjab public service by a demand for domicile certificates.*

Most Provinces Do Not Require Domicile Certificates

So far as we are aware no provinces in India, except Bihar, Orissa, and Assam, require anybody to produce a domicile certificate. If they do, they do so only in the case of Bengalis.

As regards the province of Bihar, the facts are by now known to the Indian public. As regards Assam, perhaps some statistics may be found useful.

Domicile Certificate in Assam

A good many languages are spoken in the province of Assam. But the principal languages are two: Bengali and Assamese. The total population of the province is 92,47,857. Of these 39,60,712 are Bengali-speaking and 19,92,846 speak Assamese. The main reason why Bengalis preponderate in the province of Assam is that some parts of Bengal, *e.g.*, the district of Sylhet, have been tacked on to Assam proper.

Whatever the reason may be, the fact is the Bengalis are by far the most numerous single community in the province named Assam.

And it is this singly most numerous community in the province called Assam whose members are required to take out domicile certificates. And the eligibility for government jobs, etc., of even those among them who obtain such certificates is often considered inferior to that of the Assamese-speaking people.

It is difficult for Bengalis in Assam not only to get appointments in government offices, but also to acquire land for building houses for themselves in towns and for agricultural purposes in rural areas. In the matter of admission to educational institutions and scholarships Bengali students are said to be discriminated against in parts of Assam, as in Bihar proper.

Biharis in Bengal and Bengalis in Bihar

As no part of Bihar proper is included in Bengal but some Bengali-speaking tracts form part of the province of Bihar, the Biharis in Bengal are for the most part sojourners, whereas the Bengalis in Bihar are for the most part not sojourners.

Separate figures for Bihari-speaking persons for the whole of Bengal are not available in the census reports of 1931.* Most of the Bihari-speaking persons in Bengal live in Calcutta and its suburbs.

Their number there according to the census report of 1931 is mentioned in the Calcutta census report as 266,488. Of these 201,812 are mentioned as males and only 64,676 as females. That shows that most Biharis are sojourners in Bengal, earning their living here, sending part of their earnings to Bihar and returning home in due course.

As regards Bengali-speaking persons in the province of Bihar, separate figures for Bihar are not available in the Census of India, Vol. I, Part II. The figures given are for Bihar and Orissa combined, but they will serve our purpose. In 1931 there were in Bihar and Orissa 1,851,797 Bengali-speaking persons. Of these 937,090 were males and 914,707 females. This practical equality in the number of males and females shows that most Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa were permanent inhabitants thereof.

In Bihar some recent circulars have almost stopped the recruitment of Bengalis in government offices for the time being. As regards the independent professions of law and medicine, they are still open to Bengalis. But the animosity roused against them by writings in the provincial press, cannot but affect their position therein. Steps have been taken to prevent Bengali contractors from getting contracts and Bengali firms from supplying stores required for public purposes.

---

* In Bengal, according to the Census of 1931, there were 1,891,337 speakers of Hindustani—1,263,610 being males and 627,727, being females. In the Calcutta report 60 per cent. of the Hindustani-speakers are taken to speak Bihari. So, according to that assumption, the number of Bihari-speaking persons in Bengal would exceed eleven lakhs. And as the vast majority of them are males, they are mostly sojourners.

All these amount to a movement for starving out Bengalis. Permanent inhabitants can hardly be starved out easily. But even the desire to do so creates bad blood and cannot but have repercussions in Bengal. That is not desirable. It goes against national unity.

Non-Bengalis in Bengal

The bulk of non-Bengalis in Bengal are unskilled and skilled labourers, or traders, merchants or other kinds of men of business. The choice of occupation made by them, whether consciously or unconsciously, has been wise. It does not make them conspicuous. At the same time, skilled and unskilled labourers and small traders earn more than the generality of clerks and schoolmasters. Many non-Bengali merchants and other men of business in Calcutta earn much more than High Court Judges and barristers, vakils and doctors in good practice.

On the other hand, educated Bengalis in Bengal and outside Bengal generally go in for clerkships, teacherships, the legal and medical professions, and various kinds of jobs in government offices. This brings them conspicuity without corresponding gain in income. High Court Judges, and lawyers and doctors in the front rank of their professions, do not have incomes approximating those of merchants, industrialists and men of business of the front rank.

Was Bengal Aggrandized at Bihar's Cost ?

Some time ago the *Searchlight* of Patna wrote that the revenues of Bihar had been utilized to aggrandize Bengal, when Bengal, Bihar and Orissa formed one province. In reply to this allegation Mr. Bimal Ray wrote in the *Behar Herald* of the 20th April last :

> The total revenue of Bihar at present is in the neighbourhood of five crores including the Government of India grants. It was a little more than two crores when Bihar was a part of Bengal and the whole of it was spent to meet the cost of administration of Bihar. The expenditure on education in Bihar and Orissa in 1910-11, *i.e.*, the year just before partition, amounted to Rs. 20,62,000. The total expenditure on education in the same year in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa put together was Rs. 55,21,000. The expenditure on education in Bihar and Orissa alone therefore was per cent, while the total income of Bihar and Orissa (Rs. 24,19,600) was 35 per cent. of the total income of the three provinces (Rs. 6,80,92,000). It will be seen that the new province of Bihar and Orissa more than her due share for expenditure on education. Where then is the room for the cry that Bihar squeezed dry, her needs in respect of education neglected and holding Bengalis responsible for imaginary wrongs supposed to have been done by the to Bihar?

By way of supplementing this correspondent's contention the editor quotes the following statistics from the commemoration issue of the *Patna College Magazine*:—

> Cost of education per student:
>
> 1863-64—Presidency College Rs. 185, Patna College Rs. 361.
>
> 1864-65—Presidency College, Rs. 158; Patna College Rs. 338.
>
> 1865-66—Presidency College, Rs. 295; Patna College Rs. 563.
>
> When the institution at Patna was changed into a College the average expenditure per student at the Patna College was almost (sometimes more than) double that spent for Presidency College. Perhaps the Bihar Revenues were not double Bengal's contribution!

Workers For Renaissance in Bihar

Principal Batheja of Bihar, who is neither an Englishman nor a Bengali, said in the course of his Patna College Commemoration address:

> "It is curious to reflect that this renaissance in Bihar should have been brought about by a band of scholars and teachers who were not even natives of Bihar but hailed either from the neighbouring province of Bengal or from distant Greater Britain. I trust Bihar in its hour of rejuvenation will not forget the great debt which it owes to those sons of Bengal and England who have laboured for its uplift for the last hundred years."

Sino-Japanese War

Lovers of freedom all over the world must be glad that for some time past the Chinese armies are on the whole getting the better of the Japanese in their fight with the latter, though their casualties have been staggering. Their morale has vastly improved.

A Diabolical And Horrible Concomitant of War

That in the civil war in Spain and in the Sino-Japanese war the Spanish insurgents and the Japanese bombed the civilian population of many towns and villages and slaughtered large numbers of children and women has shocked the humane section of the civilized world. But another concomitant of the Sino-Japanese war, and of many another war, too, is apt to be lost sight of. And that is the wholesale ravishment of women.

The China Weekly Review writes:

> An American mission hospital located in a large city now under Japanese military control reported that venereal disease contracted by Chinese women who had been raped by Japanese soldiers constituted a most serious problem, necessitating an expansion of clinical services to take care of it and provide free treatment. The hospital report stated that in addition to the venereal problem the hospital was faced with an entirely new predicament by Chinese mothers, chiefly from rural and village areas, who were bringing their unmarried daughters to the hospital to have abortions performed. Upon the hospital's refusal to perform such operations, the mothers in desperation resorted to primitive methods of abortion which seriously endangered the health of the young women.

This is followed by a paragraph in which the last word cannot but make Indians ashamed :

> Aside from these reports, the annual health statistics of the International Settlement disclosed that the Japanese ranked third in numbers of applications for free clinical treatment for venereal infections at the venereal disease clinics maintained by the Settlement, the Japanese being exceeded only by Russians and Indians.

The Chinese are wreaking vengeance on the aggressors.

> While the foreign newspaper reading public is more or less familiar with the authenticated reports of rapings of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers in all sections of the country which the Japanese have occupied, the Chinese newspapers have begun to publish accounts of retaliatory measures whereby the helpless Chinese populace has wreaked terrible vengeance on the aggressors. The *United Press* told one such instance at the village of Hsuanchang in southern Anhwei, where a Chinese woman, while pretending to kiss a Japanese soldier bit his nose and cheek so severely that he was reported to have bled to death. Another report, published by a Chinese translation service, stated that while the Japanese are accustomed, in their homeland, to take liberties with their womenfolk, without fear of retaliation, their activities in this regard in China had, in some cases, resulted in the Japanese receiving a costly lesson. There then followed an account of an alleged happening in Hopei province where a detachment of Japanese soldiers, "as they had done in hundreds of other towns, demanded 100 Chinese women." The village elders, following consultation, complied with the Japanese request by rounding up the most notorious prostitutes, who were attired in fancy dresses and introduced to the Japanese soldiers at a social function where much wine was served. The Japanese soldiers, unaccustomed to the strong Chinese wine brewed from millet and kaoliang, quickly became drunk and the expected happened—also the unexpected—for the Chinese women, or at least some of them took the heavy lead wine-pots and beat out the brains of the intoxicated Japanese soldiers.

Hitler's Designs on Czechoslovakia

Hitlerite Germany has annexed Austria, which is inhabited by German-speaking people. If the Germans in Sudetenlands in Czechoslovakia could be similarly brought within the fold of the German Reich, the German-speaking state in Europe would undoubtedly become most powerful in Central Europe. So it is easy to understand that Hitler has eyes on Czechoslovakia. The Czechs, who are the majority community in that republic, know this and want to conciliate their German fellow-citizens. According to the issue of *Foreign Policy Reports*, March 15, 1938, dealing with "Strife in Czechoslovakia: The German Minority Question":

> Mutual distrust is one of the chief obstacles in the way of German-Czech rapprochement. Czechs fear that if they make too many concessions to the Germans, they will merely be strengthening their potential adversaries. It is understandable that the Czechs are anxious to safeguard the independence for which they fought so long. They realize that an armed conflict with Germany would mean a struggle for their very existence.

It would not be possible for Czechoslovakia to preserve its independence if the Sudetic areas inhabited by its German citizens were sliced off from it. So, "strategic reasons require the inclusion of the Sudetic areas if Czechoslovakia's independence is to be assured." But,

> If the Germans are to remain permanently within the Czechoslovak Republic and to become co-operating citizens, the basic attitude between the two races must change. Permanent internal peace can come to Czechoslovakia only when the German, Hungarian, and other minorities are satisfied through receiving a greater degree of cultural and political autonomy and a greater participation in the affairs of the Republic.
>
> Although the economic distress in the Sudetic areas is not Czechoslovakia's fault, it is its misfortune. A moderate, statesmanlike policy will be necessary to convince the dissatisfied minorities that they have more to gain by loyalty to the Czechoslovak state than by irredentism. The first twenty years of the Republic's existence have not effaced century-old hatreds, but this does not mean that rapprochement is impossible. Viewed in the long run, if the Germans' economic condition is improved, and if they see continued evidence of the state's desire to secure their co-operation, they will become better citizens of Czechoslovakia. As such, they will not look so much to the Reich for support and will refuse to be an instrument for the realization of possible Reich aims. A policy of repression at present would involve the danger of straining to the breaking point the relations between the Czech state and the German minority, as well as between Czechoslovakia and the Third Reich. Further Sudetic "incidents" might easily become the "provocation" leading Germany to take a step that would prove disastrous for all.
>
> In the relations between the Germans and the Czechs, somewhere the circle of mutual distrust must be broken. Instead of being a wedge separating the two countries, the Sudetic minority, if it is given its proper place and accepts its responsibility, could form a cultural bridge between Germany and Czechoslovakia.

The annexation of Austria by Germany has increased the difficulties of Czechoslovakia.

> The abrupt consummation of Austro-German union has put Czechoslovakia in an unenviable position. Surrounded on three sides by a powerful and aggressive nation of 72,000,000 people, the country seems to be caught in a vise. The Sudetic minority was included in the 10,000,000 Germans beyond the Reich's frontiers over

whom Hitler claimed a protectorate in his speech before the Reichstag on February 20. Now that the Fuehrer has incorporated 6,500,000 Austrians in Germany, will he put pressure on Czechoslovakia to obtain "freedom" for the Sudetic Germans? Austria he took without a shot. Unable to mobilize foreign assistance and not even assured the support of a majority of Austrians, the Schuschnigg regime capitulated before a show of force.

But to seize Czechoslovakia would be a tough job. Its man power, resources and determination to remain free are greater than those of Austria.

If faced with a similar threat, Czechoslovakia would undoubtedly fight. The Czechs and Slovaks are devoted to maintenance of their hard-won independence at all cost. They are resentful of foreign intervention in their internal affairs. They have a modern, well-equipped army capable of offering staunch resistance. Yet their ability to withstand attack will depend on the help given by France and Britain. Both these powers did nothing to prevent or undo the *fait accompli* in Austria. Today both are alarmed over Germany's advance into Central and South-eastern Europe. France is ready to come to Czechoslovakia's assistance provided Britain lends its support. Speaking in the House of Commons on March 14, Prime Minister Chamberlain gave no indication that Britain would be prepared to join France in an unequivocal warning to Hitler that they would tolerate no attack or even overt pressure on Czechoslovakia. Only when freed of the menace of attack, will the Czechoslovak government feel safe in making those concessions which would put the Sudetic Germans on a plane of genuine equality with the other nationalities in the country.

Sikh Pronouncement on Shahidganj Issue

According to an Associated Press message, Master Tara Singh, president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, says in a statement to the press regarding the Muslim League decision on Shahidganj:

> "Not a single Sikh of any position or influence has said that he is in favour of some settlement of the Shahidganj affair with the Muslims. Even after the statement of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan in the Punjab Assembly, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak Committee unanimously adopted a resolution declaring that no settlement of Shahidganj was possible and forbidding Sikhs from taking part in negotiations.
>
> "I repeat, on behalf of the Sikh community, that the Sikhs are not prepared for even negotiating on the matter. There is no need to recount the reasons for this, for the community has decided upon this course once for all."

Not being able to imagine what settlement is possible which would be just to the Sikhs and which they could accept honourably, we are unable to blame them for their decision.

The Muslims tried to take possession of Shahidganj by force. Then they tried to have it by litigation. Litigation failing, they attempted initiating legislation to upset the judgment of the highest appellate court in the land. That attempt was frustrated by own premier Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan. Disobedience has not been unutilized. And Sir Sikandar is to bring about a pe settlement.

Strange methods these of making quarrel peacefully. If the Muslims h genuine spirit of compromise, its indic would have been different all along.

About "India in Bondage"

The following questions and answers taken from an Associated Press summary the proceedings of the U. P. Assembly on 20th April last:—

> Thakur Sadho Singh asked if the Government under consideration the cancellation of the order ban the publication of Dr. Sunderland's book "India Bondage"?
>
> Hon'ble the Premier informed that the Govern of India had banned the foreign edition of the book the Sea Customs Act and the Government of Bengal banned its vernacular edition, and that the U. P. ernment could not cancel the Bengal Government's
>
> Pandit Harish Chandra Bajpai enquired if provincial autonomy the orders of one provin Government were applicable to another province, to the Premier replied that an order banning a book one province cannot be cancelled by another.

There are two inaccuracies in the U. Premier's replies. No "vernacular" edition the book was ever published. Two editions it appeared in India and one in America. Indian and American editions were both ban by the Government of India.

Almost the whole of the Indian edition appeared before in *The Modern Review* in form of separate articles. Its editor was even warned, not to speak of being prosecut for publishing any of them. The eight chap which were added in the American edition appeared in India, in the now defunct ne paper, *The People*, of Lahore. Its editor, was not prosecuted for publishing these chap The first Indian edition, published by Chatterjee, was sold to the last copy, wit his being either warned or prosecuted. It when about half the number of copies of second edition had been sold that he was arr ed, prosecuted and convicted. When all th circumstances are considered, it may be belie that there is some truth in the rumour at the time of the prosecution that there some difference of opinion between the Cal and the New Delhi authorities as to whet the publisher of the book ought to be prose and therefore the matter was referred to authorities in London, who ordered his p

76396

cution. That was why there was so much delay in starting the prosecution.

Professor Karve's Eighty-first Birthday

The celebration in different parts of India of Professor D. K. Karve's eighty-first birthday brings back to my mind pleasant memories of my visit to Poona in June, 1932, in the company of the venerable reformer's son, Mr. Bhaskar D. Karve. I had the honour to take the midday meal on that occasion with the professor. It was prepared and served by Mrs. Kamalabai Deshpande, principal of the Poona College of the Indian Women's University. Daughter of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, the Poona nationalist leader, she had taken the highest degree of the Indian Women's University and, proceeding to Europe, had won the Ph.D. degree of the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. She seemed to typify the ideal of the Indian Women's University—expert practical knowledge of domestic duties combined with the highest modern liberal education.

Our interest in Prof. Karve's work is of long standing. The very first issue of *The Modern Review* contained an illustrated article on his Hindu Widows' Home. That was in January, 1907.

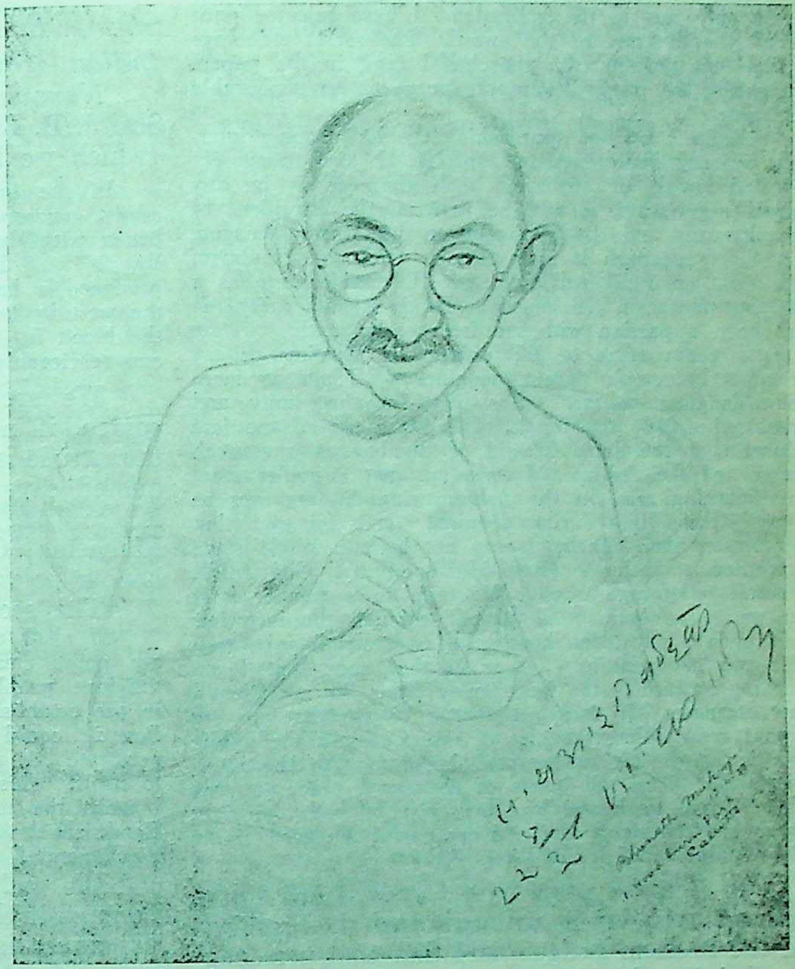
I found Professor Karve hale and hearty in 1932. From Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's recent character-sketch of him I am glad to find that, though now 80, he is physically and intellectually quite fit. That is no doubt due partly to heredity, but perhaps mostly to the pure and simple life he has lived. May he be spared to India for many a year to come.

Mahatma Gandhi on Interview with Mr. Jinnah

Shri Mahadev Desai issued the following to the "Associated Press" from Wardha on the 23rd April last :—

Gandhiji asks the press to kindly publish the following statement:—

"I observe that the forthcoming interview between Shri Jinnah and me is not only attracting very wide attention but it is also inducing high hope amongst some. Then there are friends who gravely warn me against this visit and against building any hope on the interview. It is better, therefore, for me to take the public into my confidence and tell them why and how I am waiting upon Shri Jinnah on the 28th instant.



Mahatma Gandhi at 1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta.
From a pencil sketch by Bhunath Mukherji

"He has himself published my first letter to him showing my attitude on the question of communal unity which is dear to me as life itself. In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was praying for light. If anything, the darkness has deepened, and the prayer become intenser.

"Add to this the fact that for causes, some of which I know and some I do not, for the first time in my public and private life, I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and *Ahimsa*. I am going through a process of self-introspection the results of which I cannot foresee. I find myself for the first time during the past fifty years in a slough of despond. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment.

"There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my despondency. It is purely internal. It comes from within. It must be now clear that if I regarded the forthcoming interview as between two politicians, I should not entertain it in my present depression. But I approach it in no political spirit. I approach it 'in a prayerful and religious spirit, using the adjective in its broadest sense.' Hinduism is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism. I approach politics as everything else in a religious spirit. Truth is my religion and *Ahimsa* is the only way of its realization. I have rejected once for all the doctrine of the sword. The secret stabbings of innocent persons, the speeches I read in the papers are hardly the things leading to peace or an honourable settlement.

"Again I am not approaching the forthcoming interview in any representative capacity. I have purposely divested myself of any such. If there is to be any formal negotiation, it will be between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League. Nor do I approach it as a Hindu. Orthodox Hinduism will most assuredly repudiate me. I, therefore, go as a lifelong worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It has been a passion with me from early youth.

"I count some of the noblest of Muslims as my friends. I have a devout daughter of Islam as more than daughter to me. She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it. I had the son of the late Muazzin of the Jama Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram. I have not met a nobler man. His morning *azan* in the Ashram rings in my ears as I write these lines during midnight. It is for such that I wait on Shri Jinnah. I may not leave a single stone unturned to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. God fulfils himself in strange ways. He may, in a manner least known to us both, fulfil himself through the interview and open a way to an honourable understanding between the two communities. It is in that hope that I am looking forward to the forthcoming talk. We are friends, not strangers. It does not matter to me that we see things from different angles of vision. I ask the public not to attach any exaggerated importance to the interview. But I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that God of truth and love may give us both the right spirit and the right word and use us for the good of the dumb millions of India."—(*A. P.*)

It is to be noted that Gandhiji has stated very politely that he will *wait upon* the President of the Moslem League, and that that personage is *Shri* Jinnah.

Viceroy's Recognition of Person, Not of Institution

Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, has had interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, but neither with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru when he was president of the Congress, nor with Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose when he is president. Therefore, it is a person who is recognised, not the Congress as an organization.

So the interview with Mr. Jinnah will be with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president.

Similarly, Lord Irwin as Viceroy had interviews with Gandhiji, not with the Congress president.

We do not in the least suggest that Gandhiji is not the fittest man to represen Congress or carry on negotiations on its b What we wish to be noted is that British cracy recognizes the autocratic element in Congress, not its democratic element character. Congress-minded people also to have that kind of mentality.

Shri J. B. Kripalani on Some Modern Indian Movements

Navavidhan quotes two passages Shri J. B. Kripalani's book, *The Gandhian* (which we have not seen) and criticises

> In the first piece he points out that we a adjust ourselves to a double revolution. "The began with the advent and establishment of the Bri Raj * * * Fired with zeal, we with hard cruel produced a bastard, which could be distinguished the west by its inferiority, by the colour of its skin the blood in its veins. Like the mule it looked and serviceable but uncreative."

We are not inclined to comment on coarse, if not vulgar, passage. The writer the article in *Navavidhan* in which it has quoted says that the reference in this pass is to the Brahmo movement, and Mahatma Gandhi has done the author honour to write a foreword to his book.

The second passage quoted is:

> "I shall take some example from Bengal to m my point clear * * * The first western impact religious people produced a religious ferment resul in the establishment of a new sect, the Brahmo Sa But it could not create a movement India-wide permeate the masses or draw the busy world's atten to itself. This was done by a purely Indian move I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Ramkrishna unfolded by the genius of Swa Vivekananda."

We will not comment on this passage Perhaps if the author studies the Ramakrish Vivekananda movement, which goes by name of Ramakrishna *Mission* even in Bengali language, he will discover that it not a narrow and parochial nationalist m ment, which a "purely Indian moveme would be.

For his information, we quote the fol ing passage from Sister Nivedita's *Notes* *Some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekan* edited by the Swami Saradananda, author edition, 1913, page 19:

> **"It was here, too, that we heard a long talk Ram Mohun Roy, in which he [Swami Vivekan pointed out three things as the dominant notes of teacher's [Ram Mohun Roy's] message, his accep of the Vedanta, his preaching of patriotism, and love that embraced the Mussulman equally with Hindu. In all these things, he claimed himself to taken up the task that the breadth and foresight Ram Mohun Roy had mapped out."**

Perhaps Shri J. B. Kripalani does not know that the Congress took up anti-untouchability work at the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde, a Brahmo missionary of Maharashtra, who is the founder of the Depressed Classes Mission in Bombay Presidency, and that a Brahmo organization conducts 400 schools among the masses in Assam and Bengal.

Women in Soviet Russia

We read in *The Month* for April, 1938 (Longmans):

> Miss Helen Iswolsky, whose work on *L'Homme 1936 en Russie Sovietique* was recently rendered into English, has now turned her attention to the problem of man's partner under the same regime. In FEMMES SOVIETIQUES (Desclee de Brouwer: 9.00 fr.) she studies the position of women under the Soviets. More women are employed in industrial concerns, this is true: but it is a shallow basis for the boast that the Russian woman is now emancipated. This supposed emancipation was accompanied in the first years of the Revolution by an attempt to "liquidate" family life and by open encouragement given to immorality and abortion that the despised "bourgeois" sanctions and feelings of restraint might be forgotten. But the appalling consequences of this "integral communism" have forced even the Soviet rulers to re-establish anew the idea of marriage and the family. The Soviet woman has in a sense won through and recovered something of the position and respect which is her womanly due. Miss Iswolsky's book is well documented with references to legal enactments and the Russian Press.

Philippine Independence and Japan

The Living Age for April, 1938, notes that

> "For good or ill, the Philippines are to be completely independent of the United States in 1945. For some time following the adoption of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which established a transitional period of ten years during which the Islands were to be prepared for independence, some Filipinos agitated for a shortening of the period and others for immediate independence. Since the summer of 1937, however, these voices have subsided, for the Philippines lie very much in the shadow of Japan, and what happened to China might happen to them."
>
> "The Filipinos are watching the struggle in China from a box seat, and they are not enjoying the spectacle."

The same periodical asks:

> "Would the United States go to the defense of the Philippine Republic if it were to be attacked by Japan? Many Americans believe that we should not do so; but a far from negligible factor in determining the attitude of the United States is the extent of American interests in the Islands. In 1934, American investments totalled 257,000,000, or nearly twice the stake in China. Even after the United States 'withdraw' from the Philippines, these economic interests—among the most binding of ties—will remain, and must never be neglected in formulating American policy."

In other words, the call of world freedom and humanity need not or may not be responded to, but "economic interests" "must never be neglected in formulating American policy."

This observation applies to the formulation of British and other great powers' policy also.

What Is Ethics Among Nations?

Another American periodical, *The Catholic Herald*, discusses the question, What is Ethics Among Nations? in its editorial comment in the April issue. The editor writes:

> I think it was the late Stuart P. Sherman who said "No government ever had an ethical ideal." When the statement first appeared in print I was young enough and naif enough to be shocked at its apparent synicism . . .
>
> But if the Professor had explained that he was dealing with fact rather than theory, and if he had modified his statement to read "No government *follows* an ethical ideal," we might have to confess, now after a lapse of some twenty or twenty-five years that his contention seems unanswerable. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in an address delivered two weeks ago, speaks of "an unparalleled public immorality in regard to practically everything which relates to national and international life and relations"; an echo, as it were, of Anthony Eden's complaint, "we are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations." The man-in-the-street would say it more simply: "The nations don't give a continental for solemn oaths, pledges, treaties. International morality is hopelessly on the rocks."

The editor continues:

> The *Manchester Guardian* warns Mr. Chamberlain that the Dominions and the United States are gravely shocked by the revelation that England has no more moral principle than the Fascist or the Communist nations. It is true: even the most fervent Anglophiles on this side of the ocean have been grieved and—let it be said though it will sound pharisaical—scandalized at the discovery that "democratic" England which in 1935 cried aloud to heaven against the "rape of Ethiopia" could in 1938 come to terms with *Il Duce* whom she had a thousand times denounced as a brigand, a robber, a murderer, and whom she had held even beyond Hitler a threat to European peace and civilization.
>
> Close on the heels of the Chamberlain-Mussolini *rapprochement* came the debacle in Austria, and once again the confirmation of the fear in Europe and America that, as Mr. Eden had said, "We are in the presence of a progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations."

The maintenance of the independence of Austria was an international obligation of Britain, France and other signatories to the Versailles peace treaty, which has been treated in this respect as a scrap of paper.

Whitewashing Premier Chamberlain

A defence—is it quite serious?—of Premier Chamberlain of Britain has appeared in the editorial columns of *Unity* of Chicago, edited by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, to whom the world is indebted for the dictum that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest man in the world. Says he:

> Nothing so completely explains the policy of the English Premier, Chamberlain, as the desire at almost any price to gain time. Time is a solvent of many problems, as it is a cure of all woes. Why should it not be trusted to solve this European problem of war and peace? Few problems have to be solved upon the instant—why not leave them to solve themselves in course of time? In the case of Britain, it is assumed that the government is playing for time, in order to allow for the building of armaments of such size and power as will once again enable the Empire to dominate the world. But such assumption is superficial, since the time has passed when any nation can hope to rule sea or land again. Furthermore, there remains the stern realistic fact that all the great states are today arming themselves as rapidly and terribly as possible, and thus making time a negligible element except as all are affected together. No, Chamberlain is basing his policy on other and surer considerations. What he sees is that time is working against Italy and Germany in the sense that they are inwardly weak. These countries have no resources upon which they can indefinitely feed. Their very exertion to arm themselves is itself exhausting. Their intense aggression is a measure of their instability. Sooner or later, something has got to happen! It may be war, in which case it must be met, and can be met as effectively tomorrow as today. But it may be—collapse! The Fascist powers, if given time, may simply overplay their hands, strain themselves to the breaking point, blow up. Also, if given time, all sorts of things may happen. A dictator may drop dead, an assassin may run wild, an army corps may revolt—who knows? So—play for time! Anything to keep things going, anything to avoid a war in the possibility that what is not fought today may not have to be fought tomorrow! This may not be the most heroic attitude in the world, but it is wise. The British lion may yet save us all not by his claws and fangs but by his cool head. At any rate, there is a pacifist maxim about "peace at any price," and this present price, as named by Chamberlain, seems not too heavy.

The Problem of India's Safety

Mr. Richard Freund writes in the *Spectator* of London :

> Very few Indians have grasped the need of India to think of her safety. Even at Congress headquarters I found an incredible indifference to questions of defence. The British Army, they say, must go because it is too expensive [and a symbol of India's bondage?—Ed., *M.R.*] and quite unnecessary. A national militia can do the job just as well. Now it is just conceivable that a national militia, if the whole Punjab joined it, might check the frontier tribes ; but who is to check Italy or Japan? 'Airplanes can be bought,' they say glibly. Who is to fly them? And can battleships be bought as well? If so, from whom?
>
> It would be unfair to blame Indians for inexperience, but there can be no excuse for indifference, on the part of people who hope to rule a free, sovereign India within five years or so. . . . . As long as the problem of Indian defence, which is serious and complex, is not even tackled by the Nationalist leaders, it is hard to be sanguine about their struggle for freedom.

No pleasure and consolation can derived from the fact that we are unabl defend ourselves owing to the facts that Bri has demilitarized the bulk of the people of I by recruiting the sepoy army from only a f limited areas, that the Royal Indian N (not manned by Indians) is a standing even to fifth-rate South American States, for a vast country like India the number military airplanes is quite insignificant even they are not manned by Indians, that the British Government is very reluct to teach Indians even civil aviation, not speak of military aviation.

Are we to believe that, if a foreign ene invades India after Britain's withdrawal fr it, and if the above-mentioned facts the fact that we are friendly harmless ahims are displayed before that enemy printed very big type on large posters, the enemy quietly withdraw, being frightened by formidable facts?

Before the days of non-violent n co-operation, Congress leaders used to agi for recruiting soldiers from all parts of Ind for admitting Indians to Volunteer Corps, the like. But Congress does not do th things now. It is perhaps possible to gu some of the reasons.

The creed of *ahimsa* or non-violence perhaps one. Personally and individual this writer is a ahimsa-ist. But we do n think that at the present stage of human ci lization any nation can do without a po force and a defensive army, navy and airfor Hence the people of all provinces of Ind ought to learn all about all means of defen the country. Even as individuals men m be prepared to use force even to the death some occasions. For instance, if a man s a brute trying to ravish a woman, he m attempt prevention even by killing t scoundrel if necessary, or himself being kil

Just as in the case of individuals, so in t of nations, non-violence can be consid genuine only when the parties practising it a strong and brave, not when they are helpless weak and cowardly.

Perhaps another reason why Congress d not press for a really efficient and sufficie large native army, navy, and airforce, is th these will under present circumsta strengthen British imperialism, and the Bri Government will use them for imperialis purposes. But may they not be used for national purposes as well—at any rate wh India is free or practically free? In any cas it is the bounden duty of our nationalist leaders to point out in what other way India can have a sufficiently strong defensive army, navy and airforce, or, in the alternative, to demonstrate how mass-*ahimsa* can prevent armed invasion.

We can imagine that for the promotion and realization of the ideal of non-violence by nations in their collective capacity, some nation may have to risk its independence and even lose it. But such supreme sacrifice, to be genuine and effective, must be made by a powerful and brave nation.

It may also be that Congress does not pass any resolution urging Government to make adequate provision and preparations for India's defence by India's sons, for fear of being guilty of following a "mendicant" policy. But cannot the resolutions moved by members of the Congress party in our legislatures be construed as begging? For Congress has not been and is not able to *force* the Government to give effect to any resolution carried by the most overwhelming majority. It is a humiliating fact, but a fact none the less, that we have to depend on the good sense of the foreign rulers for the carrying out of our resolutions in the legislatures.

Governors and Ministers' Responsibility re Release of Politicals

Bengal continues to be exercised over the question of the release of her politicals. The Bengal Civil Liberties Union has been assiduously rendering the only service which it can render in the matter—it has been giving detailed accounts of the woes of the politicals and detenus—still in detention or released—and of the relatives of some of them. Public anxiety can end when all of them are released and when the released persons can feel that they are like other members of the public who have never been deprived of their personal liberty.

Owing to the number of the politicals in Bengal being larger than elsewhere, the question of their release is more serious here than in other provinces. It is also a serious matter that a considerable number of them still remains to be released. Who is responsible for their non-release? The Governor, or the Ministry? A passage in Lord Lothian's lecture on "Impressions of the Working of the Constitution in India" given at a meeting of the East India Association of London held in March last, as published in the *Asiatic Review* for April, seems to afford a clue to the answer. Said he:

> "The only other point is about the political prisoners. One of the oldest controversies in the British Commonwealth is the degree to which in the early stages of self-government full responsibility should be transferred to Ministries and the degree to which the Governor should exercise over them a veto or controlling force. If you look at the history of Cape Colony or Australia, you will find equivalent disputes of this kind going very far back, and I think the "crisis" [over the resignation of the Bihar and U. P. Ministries] which has just arisen has cleared the air and been of benefit to everybody. It has made it clear that the primary responsibility for law and order must rest with the responsible Ministers; that is the key to the whole business. But it has also made it clear that the responsible Ministry must discuss with the Governor each individual case. My own view is that the right course is that in doubtful cases the Governor should leave the responsibility with his Ministers, but warn them of what he believes to be the consequences of their action. If he then finds that he is right and they are wrong, he then is in a position to invoke his special responsibility with a reasonable chance of getting the support of public opinion. I think that it is the lesser evil to run the risks involved in that course than to do anything which will undermine the responsibility of Ministers themselves. Further, I believe that in the future more and more the question of whether a Governor can use his special responsibilities will depend on whether his exercise of them commends itself to dispassionate and independent public opinion in the community itself."

Lord Lothian is not a radical or a labourite in politics. He defends the Government of India Act of 1935 and advocates federation as laid down in it. His view of the respective share of the responsibility of the Governor and his Ministers is, therefore, most probably, the official view. That being the case, it would not be unfair to conclude that the reason why Bengal politicals have not yet been all released is, not that the Governor is opposed to their release, but that the Ministers have not shown any strong determination to release them and to take the responsibility of their release on their own shoulders.

Mr. Jinnah at the Muslim League

In the course of his presidential speech at the special session of the Muslim League held in Calcutta last month to consider the Shahidganj affair, Mr. Jinnah advised the Sikhs to rise above prestige and *amour propre* and the Muslims to realize that the way to settlement is not achieved by dictation from one community to the other. To those who do not know the history of the Shahidganj affair, this piece of advice and its giver may appear very reasonable and considerate. But considering that the Muslims have tried every means, non-legal and legal, to obtain possession of Shahidganj and failed, the appropriateness and acceptability of the advice to the Sikhs would appear very doubtful. And as regards the advice to the Muslims, it would have been timely if it had been given before they had begun to take non-legal and legal steps to gain their object.

But assuming that his advice was quite appropriate and timely, we wonder why he did not and does not follow it himself in a matter far more important and involving far wider interests—we mean bringing about a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress. If a settlement cannot be achieved by dictation from one community to the other, neither can it be achieved by fulminations against the Hindus and the Congress, with which his speech was mainly taken up.

We wonder when the leaders, or rather the misleaders, of the Muslim community will allow it to wake up to its internal weakness and to realise that its backwardness is due to a great extent to the absence in its midst of progressive religious and social reform movements started and conducted by Muslim reformers themselves, regardless of their personal interests, comfort and safety. If the Hindus have made a little progress, it is due not a little to the efforts of reformers who risked their all, including their lives, for the good of society.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq at the Muslim League

If Mr. Jinnah did not acquit himself well at the Muslim League session, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq perhaps did worse. As fellow-Indians and fellow-Bengalis we are ashamed of his speech. In his own characteristic way he indulged in worse than childish braggadocio. What sense was there in saying that the Muslim League was worth a thousand Congresses? Does he expect anybody to take such assertions seriously? And how can one characterize the jealous complaint that the Viceroy has recognised the Congress by asking Gandhiji to see him but had not extended the same recognition to the Muslim League?

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq declared that the members of the Muslim League were all lions and tigers ready to shed the last drop of their blood! The speaker need not be reminded that these royal animals are more famous for shedding the blood of others than for shedding their own blood. The strength of organizations—particularly of those whose *modus operandi* is unsanguinary—lies, not in tigerly qualities, but in gregariousness and the te spirit.

The Bengal Premier contrasted the happy lot of the Hindus in Bengal with the oppressed of the Muslim inhabitants of Hindu majority provinces under Congress ministries. Mr. Huq seems to be incorrigible.

Let us take the allegation that Muslims are oppressed in Hindu majority provinces.

Some months ago he mentioned what he considered a specific instance of oppression of Muslims in Bihar. He was corrected by Dr. Syed Mahmud, a Bihar minister. Mr. Huq was unable to substantiate his charge.

Again, some time later, he publicly declared that he could give numerous instances of Muslims being oppressed in Congress-governed provinces. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad asked him to publish these instances, and the Maulana's challenge was published in the press. The Bengal Premier was silenced for the nonce. He could not mention a single instance.

But he has again repeated his charge!

As regards the happy lot of Hindus in Bengal, since the days of Sir John Anderson there have been specific public complaints of the oppression and persecution of Hindus. Recently 19 such cases have been publicly described in Pabna district alone. If there have not been many riots, it is because the Hindus—particularly the Bengal Hindus—are not a dynamic people. The recent sanguinary riots in some places in the United Provinces were authoritatively ascribed in the U. P. legislature to the writings in the Urdu press and the Muslim League was stigmatized in that connection. There were people in the U. P. who wanted to discredit the Congress government. As in Bengal there is no Congress government to discredit, they or their confreres here had no reason to engage in a similar game.

Madras Muslim Women's Conference

The Guardian of Madras writes:

> The proceedings of the Madras Muslim Women's Conference offer a pleasant contrast to the effusions at the Special Session of the Muslim League at Calcutta. In declaring that their interests were the same as those of other Indian women, Madras Muslim women have made a statement which the leaders and gatherings of Muslim men have not had the courage to declare, though true. Recognising this main fact, they offered an apology for holding a communal conference and as proof of their good spirit invited Hindu ladies to participate in their proceedings. The position is understood well by the public who will therefore extend their full sympathy to

> such efforts. The Muslim League on the other hand find suppression of the fact of identity of interests as necessary to sustain their indignation against Hindus. It does not suit the temper of the League to admit that it can have only limited aims of the type mentioned at their Women's Conference.

The Madras weekly continues:

> The Women's Conference protested against the exemption of Muslim girls from the scheme of compulsory primary education. For this favour done to the community, they must thank their men Councillors, who in all corners of India talk as though compulsion of girl pupils would be an outrage. It is interesting to note that disapproval was expressed of the dowry system and expensive marriage customs. Other resolutions speak of several measures of Social Reform necessary for the community, whether they affect women in particular or apply to the men as well. On another page we have referred to the lack of reform movements in the community. It seems that the defect will be remedied through the efforts of Muslim women without the help of or even against the wishes of their men. We doubt if in a League Conference, the Madras resolutions would all of them be passed or if any of them would secure unanimous approval. An impartial public will conclude that Muslim women are building on better foundations than their men.

Lord Lothian On The New India Act

In the course of an article in the *Observer* on "The New India" Lord Lothian expresses the opinion that the Government of India Act of 1935, "with all its defects and anomalies, corresponds far more closely to the present-day realities in India than its Indian critics are willing to admit."

If by "realities" Lord Lothian means the actualities brought about and sought to be brought about after the "command performance" given by the Aga Khan in the form of the Muslim deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Minto in the first decade of the present blessed century, we fully and quite readily admit that Lord Lothian is right.

Unemployment Among Lawyers

Increasing unemployment among lawyers has been noticeable in many—perhaps in most or all—provinces. Part of this unemployment may be due to overcrowding in the profession. But it is due in part also to measures like those aiming at debt conciliation and debt cancellation, which have brought in their train the evils of bribery and the loss of credit of farmers and peasants. Lawyers have done and are still doing their bit in the national struggle. While it would be undesirable for lawyers to flourish at the expense of the general public—particularly of the masses—by increased litigation, their legitimate grievances should be enquired into and remedied.

Premature Release of a Ravisher in C. P.

We shall await the publication of Sir M. N. Mukherjee's decision on the point referred to him by the Congress Working Committee, namely, whether Mr. Shareef, minister of justice in C. P. and Berar, "committed a grave error of judgment amounting to a miscarriage of justice" in releasing prematurely Khan Bahadur Jaffar Hussain who had been convicted for committing rape upon a girl.

In the meantime we feel bound to say that the reference was entirely unnecessary, as the Working Committee have several members who have sufficient intelligence and knowledge of law to decide the point themselves. Did they want not to incur the responsibility and the odium of a decision themselves?

It is necessary also to give wide publicity to some facts mentioned in *The Servant of India*, April 14, 1938, which are printed below.

> The facts of the case are well known to the public by now. But it seems to us that the gravity of the offence in all its heinousness is not sufficiently known. Jaffar Hussain was a highly placed officer in charge of education of a whole division in the C. P. *viz.*, Berar. He was promoted to that office over the heads of many seniors, probably to satisfy the so-called Muslim claims. It was revealed during the trial that the offence committed was the culmination of a carefully arranged "party." So much so that Jaffar Hussain, who was stationed at Amraoti, was summoned by telegram to Wardha for the purpose after the hapless girl was enticed to the police inspector's house. Jaffar Hussain's offence was not the lustful outburst of a suddenly inflamed mind, but a deliberate, planned and cruel enterprise of sexual perverts. Pleas for mercy in such cases ought to be rejected ruthlessly. There can be no excuse for indulgence or prevarication, nor can there be any question, not only of a grave error of judgment, which the Minister has admitted, but of a miscarriage of justice in its ultimate effect.
>
> The fact of the matter is that both the C. P. ministry and the Working Committee find themselves in a difficult position on account of their desire to truckle to the Muslim element in the provinces.

The facts of the case, as already known to us previously, had led us to conclude that a man of Jaffar Hussain's character was entirely unworthy of clemency, and that the minister of justice who had shown clemency to him, being incapable of forming a correct idea of the heinousness of that man's crime, was unfit to hold the office he held. That conviction of ours is strengthened and confirmed by the facts narrated by the Poona weekly.

Working Committee's Resolution On Ravisher's Release Case

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the release of Jaffar Hussain concludes with the following sentence :

> "The Working Committee appeal to the public and the press not to give the case communal character and assure women who are rightly agitated over the case that the Committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they."

As regards giving "communal character" to the case, the members of the Working Committee must have read with great interest the following sentence in the statement of Sir Mohamed Yakub on the coming Gandhi-Jinnah unity talks, issued by the Associated Press from Bombay on April 25 last:

> "The impeachment of the Congress Muslim Minister of C. P. by the Congress High Command, may be considered as the limit of aggressive communalism."

The Working Committee have assured "*women* who are rightly agitated over the case" that the committee hold dear the honour of womanhood. Perhaps the Committee, too, may be assured that *men* also are agitated over the case, provided of course they are men, not beasts.

"Congress Working Committee Hold The Honour of Womanhood Dear"

The Congress Working Committee have assured women that the committee hold the honour of womanhood no less dear than they. Whether the comparison here indicated is correct or not, we will not say. Nor do we challenge the sincerity of the committee's declaration. What we are here concerned with is to enquire what practical proof members of the Working Committee of the Congress and other Congressmen have given of their anxiety to safeguard the honour of womanhood.

We do not know the details of all the activities of Congressmen even in Bengal, and certainly not of Congress members in other provinces. But so far as Bengal is concerned, we have an impression that, from Deshbandhu C. R. Das downwards, no leading Congressman has taken any part in the efforts made to prevent crimes against Muslim and Hindu women in the province and to bring to justice those guilty of such crimes. Bengal has become notorious for such crimes. They still go on. So there are several organizations here to combat the evil. We shall be very glad to know that Bengal members of the present or past Congress Working Committee or of the present or past All-India Congress Committee, or some of or any other Congressmen, are or have members of any of these organizations for protection of women and their honour, no ma to what community or caste they may be It is possible for Congressmen to help in good work without joining any such organi tion. If they have done so, the facts req publicity.

How A Congres Woman Held Woman's Honour Dear

The following paragraph is taken *The Servant of India*:

> Incidentally the same situation is responsible for grotesque ruling which Mrs. Kale, the Deputy Spe of the C. P. Assembly, gave when she presided over Thana Women's Conference last week. When a resol condemning the release of Jaffar Hussain was sough be moved, Mrs. Kale ruled it out of order. This is same Mrs. Kale who led the agitation against the a of Mr. Shareef. Probably the alarmed High Comm had rapped her on the knuckles with the rod of discip for creating an embarrassing situation for her party in province. But not only did Mrs. Kale cease to take in the agitation which she had led, but gave a r which muzzled otners. And thus the honour of wo is sacrificed for political exigencies!

Some Congressites Exhibit Lack of Soul-Force in C. P.

It appears that some meetings were he in Nagpur by Hindu Sabha people to conde the premature release of criminals guilty crimes against women in C. P. and N.-W. F. P and that these were broken up by some Congres men—of course by the opposite of soul-for The Hindu Sabha people, too, could not ha recourse to soul-force. Some of them us offensive, defensive, or retaliatory violence.

Some meeting or meetings convened the Congress party had the same luck.

So, the two parties are quits, in a way.

"What State Is This?"

The Servant of India writes under th above caption:

> Newspapers give the news that, immediately af his release from jail, Jaffar Hussain crossed into a adjoining Indian State and is now employed in t Education Department of that State. If the story h any truth in it, it is the duty of the men and wom in the State concerned to rise in protest against t employment of this criminal in a responsible post. The Indian States have been the asylums of many pers from British India, pensioners, superannuated politi and pampered civil servants from British India. But the Princes are going to assume the role of prote and friends of known sexual perverts, the limit of endurance of even the States' people might be rea sooner than the Princes think possible.

> We have no desire to pursue Jaffar Hussain with a vendetta and do not wish that the man should be starved. What we object to is his employment in a department where he is bound to come into daily touch with young boys and girls. There are other ways of providing employment for a released convict than placing him in a position of responsibility.

An Offender Against Womanhood Patronized

The following news appeared in *The Tribune* of the 29th March last and continues to agitate at least a section of the public:

> Bannu, March 28.
>
> Master Mir Abdullah Shah, a teacher of the Government High School who was convicted under Section 368, I.P.C. for wrongfully concealing an abducted Hindu girl, has been re-instated in his old post of schoolmaster.
>
> The kidnapping of this minor Hindu girl was the cause of Hindu-Muslim tension and tribal operations. Both the Sessions Court and the High Court rejected the appeals of Master Abdullah.
>
> The Frontier Government has now accepted his application, re-employed him in his old post and paid him for the period of one month spent in jail.—*A. P. I.*

The Hindu Outlook of Delhi has recapitulated the facts of the case. The girl in question was Ram Kumari, whose abduction caused great excitement at the time and obliged even Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to issue a statement on the subject. For keeping the girl concealed Abdullah Shah got two years' imprisonment and a further term of two years for getting the mother of the girl to sign a false declaration that she had got back her daughter. His appeal against the conviction was rejected. He petitioned the Judicial Commissioner to reconsider his case. This, too, was rejected. So, the man was held guilty of serious offences by three successive judicial authorities. The release and the re-instatement *in the post of teacher* of such a criminal and the payment to him of his salary for the period he was in jail, is a scandal of the first magnitude and a defiant outrage on public decency. Why has not the Congress Working Committee taken any notice of this case or referred it to Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee for his opinion?

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

> When the matter came to our notice a fortnight ago, we referred to the Frontier Province Prime Minister for light. He has not cared to reply!

Bengal Hindu Sabha's Request to Gandhiji

The Bengal Hindu Sabha has asked Gandhiji not to accept any terms of settlement with the Muslim League as formulated by Mr. Jinnah without previous consultation with representative Hindu organizations. We consider this request reasonable. In the past we have more than once made similar suggestions.

Sir Mohammad Iqbal

In Sir Mohammad Iqbal India has lost one of her greatest poet-philosophers. A poet's tribute to a brother poet is worthy of the greatest note. Rabindranath Tagore speaks of him as a man whose death has created a void in our literature that like a mortal wound would take a very long time to heal and as a poet whose poetry had such universal value that India, whose place today in the world is too narrow, can ill afford to miss him. It has been said that he infused masculinity into Urdu poetry and brought into the literature of India the strength and vigour and the freedom of the desert air of Arabia.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who is unsurpassed in his devotion to Urdu literature, has spoken of him as one of the greatest poets of the world at the present time and a master craftsman in Persian and Urdu poetry whom he has admired for the last thirty years as a poet and thinker of the first magnitude.

Hindu and Musalman leaders of political organizations and parties, like Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Raja Narendranath and Sir Gokal Chand Narang, have also bestowed unstinted praise on the departed great litterateur. The official world, too, has paid its tribute of homage through the Governor of the Panjab. Sir James Addison, the acting Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court has said, "The Panjab to-day mourns the death of a distinguished master of the legal profession, a great poet whose name will live through the ages, and a great man."

These encomiums prove the universality of the appeal of his poetry and encourage the hope that he will go down to posterity as a brother-man whose real features participation in communal politics in the closing years of his life could not effectively and permanently conceal.

Some of his Urdu nationalistic songs are very popular for their genuine ring of patriotism.

K. Nageswara Rao

With the passing away of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao on the 11th of April last, Indian nationalism has lost one of its fervent devotees and Indian journalism one of its worthy workers and champions.

He was a successful man of business, who placed "Amritanjan" in the market. He spent his wealth for the promotion of journalism, national literature and art and for advancing the cause of the country's freedom. He suffered and sacrificed much for the Congress cause. He started the *Andhra Patrika* (first a weekly and afterwards a daily). To it were added a pictorial weekly, the cultural Telugu monthly *Bharati*, and a sumptuous Annual published on every Telugu New Year's Day. He was the editor and publisher of the Telugu Encyclopaedia. His Durga Kalamandiram is a beautiful theatre. He was a friend and patron of scholars and of learning in different branches. The Andhra University bestowed on him the honorary degree of "Kalaprapurna". The Andhra Mahasabha conferred on him the title of "Viswadata" for his generosity and that of "Deshoddharaka" for his patriotic services to the country. We have been told that, if Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the Brahmo religious and social reformer and litterateur, was the maker of modern Andhra social life, K. Nageswara Rao may be rightly described as the maker of modern Andhra political and public life.

Swami Vijnanananda

With the passing of Swami Vijnanananda, President of the Ramakrishna Mission, the Mission loses another direct disciple of Paramahansa Ramakrishna Dev. He started life as an engineer in Government employ but, after a few years, renounced the world and became a sannyasin. He lived for the most part in Allahabad, where he had founded a *Matha*, a charitable dispensary and a hospital. He translated the Sanskrit astronomical work, *Suryasiddhanta*, into English, and was the author of two Bengali books, *Engineering-Siksha* (or Elements of Engineering) and *Jal Sarbaraher Karkhana* (or Water Works). The last book, profusely illustrated, and the translation of *Suryasiddhanta* were published from the Panini Office, Allahabad, by his friend, the late Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. The Swami had much to do with designing and constructing the Belur Matha and its superb temple de to Ramakrishna.

His demise brings sad thoughts to th of this writer. We were classmates toget St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. It is a choly satisfaction to recall that our rel were cordial and genial to the last. So as Major Basu was alive not a year without our meeting Swamiji at least year in Allahabad. Latterly also whenever went to Allahabad we tried to see him happened to be there. Of us two he was younger in age. So many of our class younger in years, have gone beyond mortal leaving a few older friends behind strand the shores of this world!

A Memorial of the Bengalis of Orissa

We have received a copy of a mem addressed by the Bengali inhabitants of O to the minister of education of that prov Substantially, what the memorialists ask f that Bengali school-boys and school-girls Orissa may continue to enjoy the facilities have hitherto enjoyed of receiving educ and being examined through the medium their mother tongue in all those subjects up to those standard in and up to which th Oriya brothers and sisters will be educated examined through Oriya. This is a legitim minority right.

We hope in this matter the Orissa minis will exhibit that wise statesmanship w they have been displaying in so many matters.

Hardwar Calamities

The terribly destructive conflagration the Hardwar Kumbha Mela which has been cause of the loss of so much property an many lives, has cast a gloom over many a in all parts of India. The railway disast the same place of pilgrimage has been an tional cause of sorrow. We deeply symp with the sufferers.

The Bihta Railway Disaster

The enquiry into the Bihta Ra disaster has been carried out by the C Justice of the Allahabad High Court w thoroughness and impartiality which is de ing of all praise. The type of locom which has been condemned should be scrapped without delay and Government should lose no time in compensating the sufferers and the relatives of those who lost their lives owing to the disaster.

Communal Riots in Bombay and Lucknow

It is very depressing to record that there were communal riots again in Bombay (between Hindus and Moslems) and in Lucknow (between the Sunni and Shia sects of the Muslim community). When will there be an end of the foolishness and fanaticism leading to these disgraceful doings?

It is some consolation that both in Bombay and Lucknow the police got the situation under control with commendable promptitude and efficiency.

Centenaries of Great Authors in Bengal

Bengal has been celebrating the centenaries of two of her great authors, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the great novelist, and Hem Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, the poet. In addition to being a novelist, Bankim Chandra was an essayist, a humorist, a poet and a theologian. He wrote on political subjects, too.

Hem Chandra is not much known to non-Bengalis, as none of his works has been translated into any Indian language. Though he wrote an epic, *Britra-samhar*, he is best known as the author of the stirring, patriotic poem, *Bharat Sangit*, which in our boyhood we used to recite with zest. His satirical and humorous poems are free from venom and quite enjoyable. He was in his day the Grand Napoleon in the realms of rhyme.

A poet of the name of Krishna Chandra Majumdar was born 103 years ago in a village called Senhati in the district of Khulna. The people of that village celebrated his centenary last month. They have erected a memorial pillar in his honour on the banks of the river Bhairab which flows by. Though he was not a great poet, there was genuine poetic fire in him. He is best known as the author of *Sadbhab-Shatak*, a collection of poems many of which are adaptations in Bengali of some poems of the Persian poet Hafiz. He composed many fine religious songs. He was an erudite Persian and Sanskrit scholar. By profession he was a teacher. He was very truthful and dutiful and was possessed of an unbending spirit of independence. Entirely free from the lust of gold, he had the unique distinction of having petitioned the education department to cancel an increment to his pay, as he said he was already getting good value for his work! He retired on a pension of only Rs. 8-6-3, and continued to teach many boys privately without any remuneration.

Bratachari Dances For Girls

Last month the Bratachari Training Class for girls in Calcutta was closed for the summer vacation. The girls gave a demonstration on the occasion of what they had learned. Though we were not able to attend the meeting, we can form some idea of what the girls showed, from a picture of the demonstration, from the words of appreciation spoken by some orthodox Hindu and Moslem ladies, and from what we have seen of Boys' Bratachari dances.

On account of the tendentious dances of professional danceuses in India and their imitators, voluptuousness and sensuousness—if not occasionally lasciviousness—have come to be associated with dancing. Bratachari dances are entirely free from such objectionable features. They are characterised by vigorous rhythmical movements, are health-giving, and promote a team-spirit.

Some Muslim girls also have joined the Bratachari class.

The Germans in Czechoslovakia

The German inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are restive. When we were in Prague in October, 1926, we came to know that they had some reasons to be discontented. That discontent has come to a head.

Carlsbad, April 24.

Declaring that the policy of the Sudeten Deutsch Party was inspired by principles and ideas of National Socialism, the leader Herr Henlein, in an aggressive speech at the party Congress here, said:

"If Czech statesmen want to reach a permanent understanding with us, Germans and the German Reich, they will have to fulfil our demand for a complete revision of the Czech foreign policy, which has hitherto ranked Czechoslovakia among the enemies of the German people."

Herr Henlein made the following demands on behalf of his two and a half million followers:—

"Firstly, full equality of status between the Czechs and the Germans; secondly, guarantee thereof by the recognition of the Sudeten Deutsch Party as a legal entity; thirdly, determination and legal recognition of German regions within Czechoslovakia; fourthly, full autonomy to these regions; fifthly, legal protection for every citizen living outside the region of his own nationality; sixthly, removal of injustices inflicted on the Sudeten Deutsch Party since 1918 and reparation for them; seventhly, recognition of the principle of German officials for German region; eighthly, full liberty to profess German nationality and political philosophy.

These practically amount to a demand that the Germans in Czechoslovakia should be allowed to form a State within a State.

Herr Henlein's announcement has come as a profound shock, his demands being far beyond anything expected.

President Benes, in an interview at Prague yesterday, asked the Chairman of the National Council, hitherto an entirely Czech organisation, to collaborate with him for the pacification of nationalities in Czechoslovakia.—*Reuter.*

Another Menace to Czechoslovakia

Budapest, April 24.

The Hungarian Revisionist League, previously banned, held its first meeting for five years and unanimously adopted a resolution in favour of breaking up Czechoslovakia.

A large crowd of ex-servicemen and delegations from all over the country demonstrated in sympathy outside the hall.—*Reuter.*

Anglo-French Talks "Re" Czechoslovakia

London, April 24.

The Czechoslovak question is likely to be one of the principal subjects of discussion during the forthcoming Anglo-French talks, says Reuter's Diplomatic Correspondent.

It is understood that Dr. Benes is doing his utmost to reach an amicable settlement with the Sudeten Germans and Britain and France are ready to give their advice or assistance in smoothing the approach to the problem.

At the same time a possibility of trouble in Czechoslovakia cannot be excluded and the British Government are anxious to know exactly how France will react towards it. It is expected that M. Deladier will explain the measures which the French Government will take to implement the Franco-Czech Pact if necessary.

There is reason to believe that and he will probably be informed of the policy which the British Government intend to follow at present.

Herr Henlein will not be called on by Germany to press his claims to extremes at present and thus a breathing space for a few months at least may ensue in that part of Europe.—*Reuter.*

Does Germany Want Hegemony Over Central Europe?

Paris, April 25.

Herr Henlein's demands have caused anxiety in the Paris Press. Dormesson writing in the "Figaro" says:

"Germany is willing to allow nominal independe Czechoslovakia as a State but conditionally she its guardian. In other words, Germany is beginni organise a German hegemony over Central Europe truth is that Europe is already embarking on the diplomatic trial of strength for twenty years.—

Anglo-Irish Agreement

Though the Anglo-Irish agreement signed does not bring about the ending of tion and the restoration of the unity of Ir which, according to Mr. de Valera, was essential foundation for the establishment of understanding and friendship between the peoples," it settles the question of land an completely and of defence to a great extent, will end the economic war between Britain Eire and establish more profitable comme relations between the two countries. The will and amity now established between the peoples will make it possible later to of measures to end partition in a atmosphere.

Firing on Mysore Villagers with Fatal Results

According to the Associated Press:

Bangalore, April

Thirty-two persons were killed and 48 seri injured in a police firing last night at Viduras village in Kolar district (about fifty miles from Bang when villagers, who were assembled at a public in a garden, moderately estimated at ten thousand, the ban on hoisting the National Flag and making speeches.

The gathering was declared an unlawful assembl the District Magistrate, who gave five minutes fo meeting to disperse. On the expiration of the minutes the meeting did not disperse and the police op fire, with the above result.

The official account of casualties varies, the es being between six and ten killed and some injure

Enquiries made in official circles show that a exceeding five thousand in Vidurasvatam village night was very violent and refused to disperse orders of the District Magistrate, who along with police and revenue sub-divisional officers were police and revenue sub-divisional officers were in by the mob. The police thereupon opened fi self-defence, as the result of which seven persons killed and some injured.

Whatever the technical justification for steps taken by the District Magistrate, the cannot but be deplored.

The Mysore authorities will be held res sible for it by the public. There is no on the hoisting of the "national flag" "Congress flag" in British India. In fact flies even on government buildings in

The Mysore Government's banning of it is an example of being more royal or loyal than royalty itself.

Annexation of Ethiopia and The League

Britain is not contented with merely herself recognizing Italy's conquest of Ethiopia but will try to get the League of Nations to recognize this act of international brigandage. Among the great powers perhaps Soviet Russia will raise a voice of protest. Some small nations may also do so. And if the United States of America had been a member of the League, there would have been another protester. Of course, if protest were likely to affect the political or economic interests of the potential protesters adversely, their attitude would be different.

The Emperor of Ethiopia would have his say, either in person or through a representative. But he would be crying in a wilderness where the law of the jungle prevails.

Major Yeats-Brown's Caricature of India

Major Yeats-Brown's caricature of India, printed in this issue on another page, will be read with amusement mixed with some resentment. A caricature must bear some resemblance to the reality. To that extent the Major is truthful.

The reader will be able to spot the exaggerations and the falsehoods in his lectures without much difficulty. So we will content ourselves with only some words of comment on a few points.

India and Britain "Continuously Ruled by Foreigners"

Major Yeats-Brown has said that "India has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries," and the first conquerors were the Aryans, the next the Moslems, and the last the English. So India has never been independent!

The prevalent theory, of European origin, is that the Aryans came from outside India as invaders and conquerors and settled in the country. But there is another theory which makes the Aryans autochthons. But assuming the correctness of the first theory, the Major's contention is that, in spite of the Aryans and their descendants living in India for centuries and getting mixed with non-Aryans, they continued to be foreigners. He also holds that the Arabs, Pathans and Turks (known as Mughals) who conquered parts of India, settled there and converted numerous non-Moslems to Islam and got mixed with them, their descendants continued to be foreigners though living in the country for centuries.

Taking it for granted that his theories and contentions are correct, it would be quite easy to prove that "Britain has been continuously ruled by foreigners through the centuries" and has never yet been free and independent!

According to the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,*

> "Geologists are not yet agreed when and by whom Britain was first peopled. . . . . Real knowledge begins with two Celtic invasions, that of the Goidels in the later part of the Bronze age, and that of the Brythons and Belgae in the Iron Age. . . . . . .By the age of Julius Caesar all the inhabitants of Britain, except perhaps some tribes of the far north, were Celts in speech and custom."—Vol. 4, pp. 158-159.

So the inhabitants of Britain whom the Romans conquered were themselves foreigners, and their descendants, pure or mixed, are still foreigners today (May 1, 1938).

When the Romans withdrew from Britain, it was conquered by the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, who settled in the country and ruled it for centuries, *of course as foreigners.*

This conquest was followed by the Danish, Norwegian and, again, Danish conquests. These foreigners also settled in the country and ruled the parts they had conquered for a good many years, *and certainly as foreigners.*

Then came the Norman conquest of England. With the conquerors came numerous Normans who settled in the country. Some of the descendants of the Norman Kings were known as Anjevin and Plantagenet. These are foreign names. William of Orange, who came over from Holland to reign over Britain, was a Dutchman. The first four Georges, the Hanoverians, were Germans, as the name of the dynasty shows. The descendants of Queen Victoria, whether ruling kings or mere princes and princesses of the blood royal, were and are Germans by descent, as her husband, Prince Albert, came from Saxe-Coburg Gotha.

However, even if there had not been any admixture of foreign blood in the veins of the Kings and Queens of Britain after the Norman conquest, its rulers must be considered foreigners according to the theory applied in the case of India by Major Yeats-Brown.

"Tyranny" of the Provincial Governments

According to Major Yeats-Brown, the provincial governments, particularly the Congress governments, are tyrannous. If so, why do not the Governors intervene? They have ample powers and "special responsibilities".

"Hundreds of agitators, trained in Moscow, are working among the people." If so, why are they not rounded up?

In the opinion of this major "the advocates and the money-lenders are being given opportunities to oppress the farmers"! But the landlords bring forward proofs to show that they are being expropriated in order to favour the Kisans, the farmers. As for the advocates, there is increasing unemployment among them. The money-lenders consider themselves fortunate if they can get back what they have lent—such is the operation of the debt settlement, conciliation and cancellation laws passed within the last year or so. Even if all the alleged grievances of the advocates and money-lenders be unfounded, it is a travesty of the truth to say that the Government of India Act of 1935 has given them opportunities to oppress the farmers.

Growth of Population in India

Major Yeats-Brown said in Germany that the population of India was increasing "at a surprising rate." As India is a large country its increase of population is also large. But the *rate* of increase is not surprising. There are many other civilized countries of which the population has increased faster and at a more surprising rate than that of India. If Government educated the people and taught them scientific agriculture, and made adequate arrangements for irrigation and short-term loans, India would be able to fully feed a larger population than now.

Form of Application for a Certificate of Domicile in Bihar

Most of our readers have not seen the form of application for a certificate of domicile in Bihar and the documents and various particulars an applicant has to submit. So, these are given below, as per typed copies sent by a correspondent. It is to be noted that it is only Bengalis who are required to obtain domicile certificates.

FORM NO. D.

(Referred to in Rule 7.)

Application for a Certificate of Domicile.

1. Name of applicant and father's name.
2. Place in which domicile is claimed.
3. The number of generations for which the family has been domiciled in Bihar.
4. Whether he or any member of his family has made an application previously for a domicile certificate. If so, whether the certificate was granted.
5. The purpose for which the applicant requires certificate.
6. Whether the applicant or his parents possess a residence in the Province. If so, the situation and date of acquisition must be stated.
7. State all the educational institutions at which the applicant has been educated.
8. Grounds upon which a certificate is claimed.

Note :—Applicants are warned that all particulars stated in this application must be given in full and that if any incorrect statement is made in the application any privilege or appointment given in consequence to the applicant will be liable to be cancelled summarily.

Documents and particulars an Applicant is required to submit.

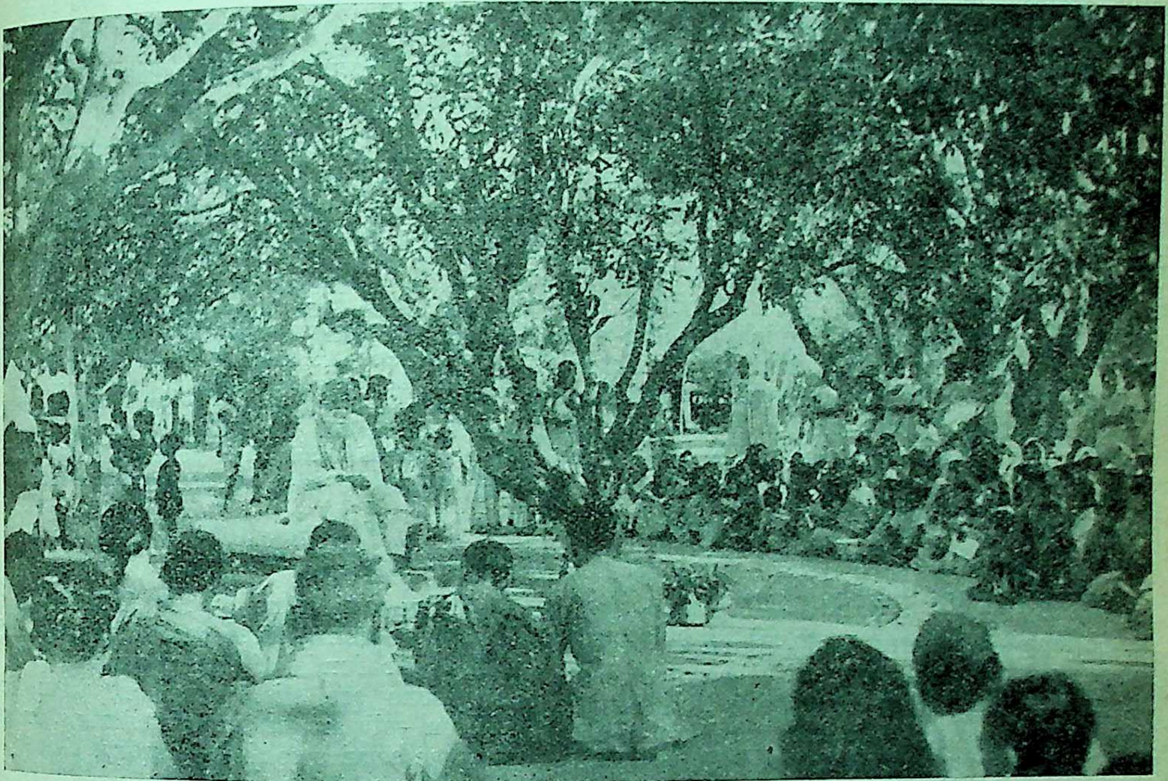
He is required to file the municipal rent receipts as also the title deed of his house. He should also file the original domicile certificates granted to his father and brother as also furnish the following data. In this connection his attention is drawn to the foot-note of the prescribed form of application for domicile certificate.

1. The full particulars, Post Office, Pargannah, Police Station, Sub-Division, etc., of his ancestral native place after consulting his elders and relations.
2. The name with full particulars of the place if any where his ancestors possessed any real property at the time of living at or leaving . . .
3. The name and numbers of brothers, paternal cousins and the number of sisters with their occupation and full address. If married, the name and full details of the place where *they* have been married and the names of relatives living there.
4. The full particulars of the place where the applicant himself is married and the name of his relatives living there.
5. The full particulars of the place where he usually spends and used to spend his vacation with nature and degree of relationship and the name of relative living there.
6. The name and number of paternal uncles with their occupation and full address.
7. The name and full address of the relatives who have obtained domicile certificate of Bihar with nature and degree of relationship.
8. The immediate purpose for which he requires the domicile certificate.
9. Whether he has received his education wholly or partly outside Bihar? If so, the reason why, and the name of relations, if any, with nature and degree of relationship, with whom he stayed during the course of study.
10. Whether he, his father, mother or any member

of his family own any real estate at his ancestral native place or anywhere within or without this Province in their own names or in the names of their relations jointly or solely.

Birthday of Rabindranath Tagore

According to the European Christian month and day, the birthday of Rabindranath Tagore falls on the 8th May. But as this year he had to go up to the hills earlier for reasons of health, his 78th birthday was celebrated at Santiniketan on the 14th April. He delivered an inspiring address on the occasion, of which the authorized version will be published in the next number of *Prabasi*.



Celebration of Rabindranath Tagore's birthday at Santiniketan

"Calcutta Municipal Gazette" Health Number

The health number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, issued last month, is as attractive and instructive as its predecessors. It contains a good many articles on public health, hygiene, and the prevention and eradication of the diseases which are sapping the vitality of the Indian people. The articles on tuberculosis in Bengal, the treatment of diabetes, filarial infection and high blood-pressure are of special interest at the present time. Physical culture has received due attention. These are only a few of the notable features of the number. The coloured and other plates and the general get-up are excellent.

Appointment of Officiating Orissa Governor

The announcement that when the present Governor of Orissa goes on leave, Mr. Dain, I.C.S., who is employed in that province and takes his orders from the Ministry, will officiate as governor there and will occupy an official position superior to that of the ministers, has met with public criticism and been condemned by the Congress Working Committee. It may precipitate a ministerial crisis. What the ministers will do has not yet (April 28) been announced.

A solution would be to give the officiating job to some senior Civilian from some other province. Or, why not appoint some leading Indian nationalist public man to the office?

That would be very popular and would not be contrary, we believe, to any law.

The Press in Indian States

Indian States, not even the most advanced, do not possess a strong press. And its growth is being hampered, checked, prevented by various restrictive and repressive devices in many states. It does not possess even the degree of freedom which newspapers have in British India. Autocracy and a free press cannot co-exist.

Jaipur and Sikar

Sikar, in Rajputana, is tributary to Jaipur in the same region. There is a dispute between the Maharaja of Jaipur and Rao-raja of Sikar, in relation to the latter's son's marriage and education, in consequence of which the Rao-raja has shut himself up in his walled town. Actual fighting between the two parties was apprehended for some days, but the latest news in the morning papers of the 28th April are reassuring.

We do not understand this affair at all.

Campaign Against Illiteracy

So long as Congress had nothing to do with governing the country, it had a non-"reformist" mentality and education of the people had either no place or a very subordinate place in its programme. But now Congress has become "reformist"—at any rate in this matter, and we read in the papers news of campaigns against illiteracy in C. P. and Berar, Bihar, U. P. and Orissa. We wish victory to these campaigns.

In Bengal, the non-Congress ministry has been gradually announcing the inclusion of more and more districts in the "free" primary education scheme and declaring that these districts will have to pay the prescribed education cess or rate. So "free" is to be understood in Bengal in a Pickwickian sense.

That the need for adult education is being increasingly felt in Bengal is evident from the numerous enquiries received at the Students Hall, College Square, office of the Bengal Adult Education Association. The Association, of which the Poet Rabindranath Tagore is the President is conducted by a representative C of officials and non-officials including Sj. Satish Das C Prof. Nripen Banerji, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Sj. Jn Niyogi, Sj. Nepal Roy, Sj. Sudhir Lahiri, Dr. H Mookerjee, Miss S. B. Gupta, Rev. A. Cameron, Sj. K Dutt, Syed Hasan Ali Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur H Ali Khan. The Association is non-political and sectarian and Professors A. N. Basu, H. Kabir, B Banerji and B. C. Mukerji are the Secretaries.

Recently two training classes have been hel students who will use their vacation for the furth of the campaign and several centres have been op

Congress Claim to Represent Indian Nation

At the second annual session of the Fed tion of Indian Student Societies in Gr Britain and Ireland, held in London on t 12th April, Mr. Palme Datt said:

> Now it is alleged by British politicians that Congress cannot claim to be representative of the I people as a whole, but we have before us certain c troversial facts. At the last elections, with a restri franchise, the Congress polled 20 million out of a t of 30 million votes cast. But the "National" Gov ment of Mr. Neville Chamberlain claims to speak for people of Britain and yet it polled but 11½ million o of 20 million votes at the last general election.

Chinese Patriotism

There are some 10,000 Chinese in Indi They have contributed more than Rs. 1,50,0 to the war funds of their country up to d Collections are still going on. Men, wom children—all are either contributing or rend ing some service to their country.

Lepers in the British Empire

London, April 26.

There were at least 2,000,000 lepers in the Bri Empire, declared Sir William Peel, Chairman of British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, speakin the annual meeting at the India Office. He said it was believed in some colonies that the disease w tending to increase. The Association had obtained services of a number of young lay workers who w ready to go abroad to devote their lives on a bare s sistence allowance to the lepers of the Empire. T Association could not at present afford to send out workers, though many places needed such workers.

Sir Curthbert Sprawson attributed the disappea of leprosy from England to a country-wide campaign said that "we should now try to arouse a similar in throughout the Empire."—*Reuter.*

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY LAKSHMINARAYAN NATH, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

NEW (2nd) EDITION

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, M R.C.S. (Lond.), I.M.S.; Lt.-Col. K. R. KIRTIKAR, F.L.S. I.M.S.

Revised, Enlarged and Greatly Re-written

By Rev. FATHER E. BLATTER, S. J., Ph. D., F. L. S. and

Rev. FATHER J. F. CAIUS, S. J., F. L. S., M. S. C. I. (Paris)

With the Collaboration of Dr. K. S. MHASKAR., M. D., M. A., D. P. H., D. T. M., etc.

Complete in 8 volumes

Letter Press, Size 7"×10", in 4 Vols. — *Plates, size 10"×12½", in 4 portfolios.*
Price Letter Press 4 Vols. Rs. 120. — *Price Plates, 4 Portfolios, Rs. 200*

PRICE COMPLETE SET Rs. 320

This book contains Botanical descriptions, vernacular names and names in foreign languages as far s could be available, properties, uses and habitats of over 1900 plants used in medicine by the medical rofession all over the world. The work is useful to Botanists, Medical Men, Drug Manufacturing Chemists, Forest Officers and all those interested in the development of the economic resources of India.

Professor **Suessenguth** of the *University of Munich* writes in ***Botanisches Centralblatt (Jena)***, among other things as follows:

"In the **New Edition** the editors have modernized the nomenclature in keeping with the present sition of Systematic Botany. The descriptions of the plants have been taken from the contemporary tanical literature. The therapeutic effects of the different species have been specially attended to. This xtraordinarily detailed work will be fundamental for the appraisal of all Indian drugs."

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

Second Edition, Revised and Illustrated.

A Big Volume of 1011+xvi pages of about the size of *The Modern Review*

With 120 Illustrations and Four Maps

The Portrait of Sivaji, in colours, is from an old painting

PRICE Rs. 15/-; POSTAGE AND PACKING Re. 1-8; PER V.P.P. Rs. 16-12.

Has been praised in **The Tribune, The Hindu, The Hindustan Review, The Sind Observer, The Leader,** ety (of America), **The Christian Register** (of America), **The Servant of India and the Japan Chronicle.**

Major B. D. Basu's

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

Praised in **The People, The Modern Review, The Leader, The Servant of India, Advance, The Hindustan Review, The Mysore Economic Journal, The Indian Nation, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, etc.**

Price Rs. 10. Postage Extra

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

SECOND EDITION

BY MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (Retired)

Excellent printing & get-up. Cloth, gilt letters. *Price Rs. 2 As. 8 net.*

Highly praised by—THE TRIBUNE, THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES, FORWARD, THE HINDU OF MADRAS, THE GUARDIAN OF MADRAS, NEW ORISSA, and others.

The Second Edition of this Remarkable Book has been recently Published.
It is an improvement on the First.

To be had of:
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, Calcutta Or of Dr. L. M. BASU, 49, Leader Road, Allahabad.

JABAKUSUM

HAIR OIL

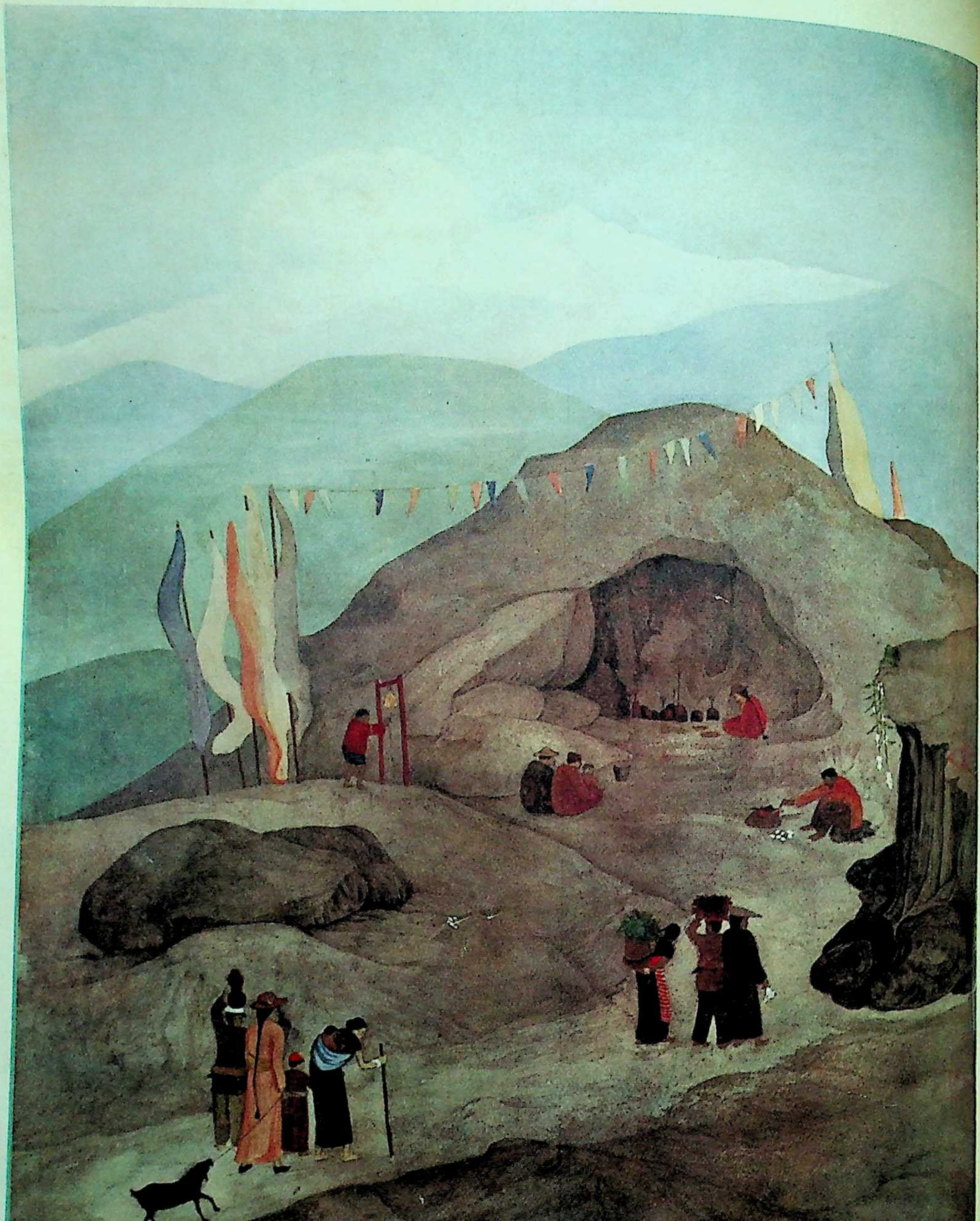
JABAKUSUM TAILA

A PRODUCT OF THE GLORIOL'S FAST

JABAKUSUM stands out as the world's best brain cooler & hair-grower.

Available at your favourite stores.

C. K. SEN & Co., LTD.
CALCUTTA.



PILGRIMS
By Suhas Dey

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1938

VOL. LXIII, No. 6

WHOLE No. 378

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

WITHIN the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius, personality and achievements of Rabindranath Tagore;—they are so great and varied. But, as owing to his serious illness last year, this year's celebrations of his birthday on the 8th May acquired special importance, an attempt is made in the following pages to give some idea, however inadequate, of his varied achievements, as a humble token of the participation of *The Modern Review* in the festive functions of the occasion.

The poet writes in one of his poems:—

"Do not in this way see from the outside—
Do not look for me in externals!
You will not find me in my sorrow and my happiness,
Do not seek in my bosom for my anguish,
You will not find me in my joy,
The poet is not where you seek him!
* * * * *
You will not find the poet in his life-story."
(Free translation)

If he cannot be found in his biography, perhaps then he may be discovered in his works? True, but "the self-concealment of genius in literature" may baffle the seeker sometimes. The poet's autobiographical *Reminiscences* are of some help. But as they cover only the first twenty-seven years of his life, they do not help one to understand the growth of his personality during the next fifty years. And few, if any, of his intimate friends are alive today from whom personal information could be obtained.

All this explains why the reader is not to expect here a vivid intimate pen-picture of Rabindranath Tagore the man.

He is our greatest poet and prose-writer. There is hardly any department of Bengali literature that he has not touched and adorned, elevated, and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius. He has not written any epic poem. The age for epics is dead and gone. Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of his multifarious achievements from early youth upwards, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he has touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., said of the poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations:

> He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, opera, *kirtans*, *palas*, and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded

in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us.

Tennyson, in his poem addressed to Victor Hugo, callled that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears," "Lord of human tears," "Child-lover," and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken....." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

By way of supplementing and elaborating what Pandit Haraprasad Sastri has written of Rabindranath's literary productions, it may be observed that he has written much on religious, educational, social, political, historical, economic, and philological subjects, and on music. He is an authority on metre. He is perhaps the greatest literary critic in Bengali. As a writer of letters he is unrivalled in Bengal in the number, volume and excellence of his epistles. In the production of charades in Bengali he perhaps stands alone. Then there is that unclassifiable work *Pancha Bhuter Diary* ("Diary of the Five Elements"), imaginary conversations which are like a transcript of his own talks in Bengali. He is the creator of some Dance-Plays, too. The aggregate of what he has done for the Bengali language and literature exceeds what any other author has done.

This he has been able to do, not merely because he is a man of genius but also because he is a scholar whose range of reading is very extensive and varied. In addition to what he has read in Bengali and Sanskrit, and of English literature proper and of the literature of other countries in English translations, he has read English books on the following and other subjects:

> Farming, philology, history, medicine, astro-physics, geology, bio-chemistry, entomology, co-operative banking, sericulture, indoor decorations, production of hides, manures, sugar cane and oil, pottery, looms, lacquer-work, tractors, village economics, recipes for cooking, lighting, drainage, calligraphy, plant-grafting, meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour-games, Egyptology, road-making, incubators, wood-blocks, elocution, stall-feeding, jiu-jitsu, printing.

Milton wrote in his day, when knowledge was neither so vast nor so varied and specialized as today, that the poet should take all knowledge as his province. Rabindranath Tagore seems to have followed that ideal.

An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize. It is quite wrong. On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal, combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before, or, has been since. There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion. And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him. The fact is, he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event.

Many works and some kinds of works of Rabindranath in Bengali, *e.g.*, those which are full of humour and wit, have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In the translations, moreover, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the original has been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas—particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations as well as his original works in English, like *Personality, Sadhana, The Religion of Man*, etc.

His hymns and sermons and some of his other writings on spiritual subjects let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. His hymns and other writings in a spiritual vein have, therefore, brought healing to many a soul in anguish.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers, too, thither. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Currents of universal thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder. He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925, and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures, which appeared subsequently as *The Religion of Man*. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy.

But he is not simply a literary man, though his eminence as an author is such that for a foreigner the Bengali language would be worth learning for his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he is not an *ustad* or "expert" in music, as that term is usually understood, though he was trained in Indian classical music. He has such a sensitive ear that he appears to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, which one may call the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct are such that his achievement in that art has extorted the admiration of many "experts." This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and the tunes to which he has himself set them, or to his thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life, but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He is not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but is also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

It is said that among European musicians Franz Peter Schubert holds the record for the number of songs composed by him.

> "..........his special and peculiar eminence lies in the department of song writing, in which he reached the highest limit of excellence,........although his years were fewer than those of any other masters of the first rank, he composed more than 500 songs, ten symphonies (including two left unfinished), six masses, a host of sonatas and other works for the pianoforte, a number of string quartets, as well as several operas, cantatas, and overtures."—*Chambers's Encyclopaedia.*

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "He was the greatest songwriter who ever lived." His songs "number over 600, excluding scenas and operatic pieces."

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed more than 2,000 songs, all of which he has set to music. I do not know how many songs have been composed by each one of the other famous musicians of India of modern times or of ages past.

About twelve years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he recited some of his poems. His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request. Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters. No wonder, he shines also as a conversationalist.

He is a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he has been in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents come into play.

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respectable women goes to the Brahmo Samaj, that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore. They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girl students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances.

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adored in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in Bengal more than three decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the *Katha-O-Kahini* ballads which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of her people, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village-folk, and their culture and civilization.

But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he has taken part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, are part of the same national service. He has worked earnestly for the revival of weaving and other arts and crafts of the country—particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

His scheme of constructive "non-co-operation," or, properly speaking, of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, village reconstruction, etc., as outlined in some of his writings and addresses more than thirty years ago, was part of his Swadeshi movement politics. It is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal provincial conference at Pabna, 1908. The "no-tax" movement adumbrated in his plays *Prayaschitta* ("Expiation") and *Paritran* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by its hero, Dhananjaya Bairagi, embody his idea of what the attitude of leaders and the rank and file should be on such occasions. Both plays are dramatic renderings of an earlier work, a historical romance named *Bou-Thakuranir Hat* ("The Bride-Queen's Market"), published in 1884. Of these plays *Prayaschitta* is the earlier one, published in May, 1909. Free translations of some portions of its dialogues and of some of its songs are given below.

Dhananjaya Bairagi, a Sannyasi, and a number of the villagers of Madhabpur, going to the King.

Third villager.—What shall we say, Father, to the King?

Dhananjaya.—We shall say, we won't pay tax.

Third villager.—If he asks, why won't you?

Dhananjaya.—We will say, if we pay you money starving our children and making them cry, our Lord will feel pain. The food which sustains life is the sacred offering dedicated to the Lord; for he is the Lord of life. When more than that food—a surplus, remains in our houses, we pay that to you (the King) as tax, but we can't pay you tax deceiving and depriving the Lord.

Fourth villager.—Father, the King will not listen.

Dhananjaya.—Still, he must be made to hear. Is he so unfortunate because he has become King that the Lord will not allow him to hear the truth? We will force him to hear.

Fifth villager.—Worshipful Father, he (the King) will win, for he has more power than we.

Dhananjaya.—Away with you, you monkeys! Is this a sample of your intelligence? Do you think, the defeated have no power? Their power stretches up to heaven, do you know?

Sixth villager.—But, Father, we were far from the King, we could have saved ourselves by concealment,—we shall now be at the very door of the King. There will be no way of escape left if there be trouble.

Dhananjaya.—Look here, Panchkari, leaving things unsettled in this way by shelving them, never bears good fruit. Let whatever may happen happen, otherwise the finale is never reached. There is peace when the extremity is reached.

Let us take next what passes between Dhananjaya, the Sannyasi, leader of the people, and King Pratapaditya.

Pratapaditya.—Look here, *Bairagi*, you can't deceive me by this sort of (feigned) madness of yours. Let us come to business. The people of Madhabpur have not paid their taxes for two years. Say, will you pay?

Dhananjaya.—No, Maharaj, we will not.

Pratapaditya.—Will not? Such insolence!

Dhananjaya.—We can't pay you what is not yours.

Pratapaditya.—Not mine!

Dhananjaya.—The food that appeases our hunger is not yours. This food is His Who has given us life, how can we give it to you?

Pratapaditya.—So it is you who have told my subjects not to pay taxes?

Dhananjaya.—Yes, Maharaj, it is I who have done it. They are fools, they have no sense. They want to part with all they have for fear of the tax-gatherer. It is I who tell them, "Stop, stop, don't you do such a thing. Give up your life only to Him Who has given you life (that is, die only at the Lord's bidding, but not by depriving yourselves of the food which He has given you); — don't make your King guilty of killing you (by allowing him to take from you the food which is necessary for keeping your bodies and souls together)."

I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting similar passages from the play *Paritran*, based on the same story. Let me take some other passages from *Prayaschitta*.

Pratapaditya.—Look here, Bairagi, you have neither hearth nor home; but these villagers are all householders—why do you want to lead them into trouble? (To the villagers) I say, you fellows all go back to Madhabpur. (To Dhananjaya). You, Bairagi, have to remain here (that is, he will be arrested and jailed).

Villagers.—No, that can't be so long as we are alive.

Dhananjaya.—Why can't that be? You are still lacking in sense. The King says, Bairagi, you remain. You say, no that can't be. But has the luckless Bairagi come floating like flotsam (that is, is he not master of himself with a will of his own)? Is his remaining here or not to be settled by the King and yourselves?

(*Sings*)

Whom have you kept by saying. 'he remains'?
When will your order take effect?
Your force will not endure, brother.
That will endure which is fit to endure.
Do what you please —
Keep or kill by bodily force —
But only that will be borne which *He* will bear
Whom all blows strike.
Plenty of coins you have,
No end of ropes and cords,
Many horses and elephants, —
Much you have in this world.
You think, what you want will happen, that
You make the world dance to your tune;
But you will see on opening your eyes,
That also happens which doesn't usually happen.

(*Enter Minister.*)

Pratapaditya.—You have come at the nick of time. Keep this Bairagi captive here. He must not be allowed to go back to Madhabpur.

Minister.—Maharaj —

Pratapaditya.—What! The order is not to your liking;—is it?

Udayaditya (Pratapaditya's son and heir).—Maharaj, the Bairagi is a saintly man.

Villagers.—Maharaj, this cannot be borne by us! Maharaj, evil will follow from it.

Dhananjaya.—I say you all go back. The order has been given, I must stay with the King for a few days; the fellows can't hear this (good luck of mine)!

Villagers.—Did we come to petition his majesty for this? We are not to have the Yuvaraj (heir-apparent), and are to lose you, too, to boot?

Dhananjaya.—My body burns to hear what you say! What do you mean by saying you will lose me? Did you keep me tied up in a corner of your loin-cloths? Your business is done. Away with you now!

Owing to an accidental conflagration, the jail where Dhananjaya was imprisoned is reduced to ashes. He has come out.

Dhananjaya.—Jai, Maharaj, Jai! You did not want to part with me, but from where nobody knows, Fire has come with a warrant for my release! But how can I go without telling you? So I have come to take your leave.

Pratapaditya.—Had a good time?

Dhananjaya.—Oh I was so happy. There was no anxiety. All this is His hide-and-seek. He thought I could not catch Him concealed in the prison. But I caught him, tight in my embrace; and then no end of laughter and songs unending. I have spent the days in great joy—I shall remember my Brother Prison.

(*Sings*)

O my chains, embracing you I enjoyed
The music of your clanking.
You kept me delighted, breaking my pride.
Playing games with you,
The days passed in joy and sorrow.
You encircled my limbs
With priceless jewellery.
I am not angry with you,—
If anybody is to blame, it is I,
If there be fear in my mind,
I regard you as terrible.
All night long in the darkness
You were my comrade.
Remembering that kindness of yours
I salute you.

Pratapaditya.—What do you say, Bairagi! What for were you so happy in prison?

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj, like your happiness in your kingdom was my joy in prison. What was lacking (there)? (The Lord) can give *you* happiness, but can't he give *me* any joy?

Pratapaditya.—Where will you go now?

Dhananjaya.—The road.

Pratapaditya.—Bairagi, it strikes me at times that your way is preferable, my kingdom is no good.

Dhananjaya.—Maharaj, the kingdom, too, is a path. Only, one has to be able to walk aright. He who knows it to be a path (to the goal), *he* is a real wayfarer; we sannyasis are nothing in comparison with him. Now then, if you permit, out I go for the nonce.

Pratapaditya.—All right, but don't go to Madhabpur.

Dhananjaya.—How can I promise that? When (the Lord) will take me anywhere, who is there to say nay?

All the passages quoted above are free translations from the original. It is to be noted that the poet has named the leader of the people in these two plays "Dhananjaya", which means, "He who has conquered (the desire for) riches." One may take that to indicate the poet's idea of the essential qualification of a leader of the people.

As the poet has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples, by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of what is, not quite appropriately, called Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland, both as expressed in words and as manifested in action, has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

> "with love far-brought
> From out the storied Past, and used
> Within the Present, but transfused
> Thro' future time by power of thought."

His penetrating study of and insight into the history of India and Greater India have strengthened this love. Especially noteworthy is his essay on the course of India's history.

The origin of what is called his Internationalism has sometimes been traced to his revealing and disappointing experiences during the Anti-partition and Swadeshi movement of Bengal of the first decade of this century. Such experiences are not denied. But his love of the whole of humanity and interest in their affairs are traceable even in the writings of his boyhood when he was in his teens. And in maturer life, this feature of his character found distinct expression in a poem, named *Prabasi,* written thirty-eight years ago, which begins with the declaration that his home is in all lands, his country in all countries, his close kindred in all homes there, and that he is resolved to win this country, this home and these kindred.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt of the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence.

He writes in "Our Swadeshi Samaj":—

> "The realization of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the *sanatana,* Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none, she abjures no methods, recognizes the greatness of ideals, and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony."

Again :

> "In the evolving History of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity; nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right."

Tagore's ideal is the same as that of Rammohun Roy, who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West."

This statement of India's ideal is supported by Mr. C. E. M. Joad in the following passage in his book, *The Story of Indian Civilization,* published, much later, recently:

> "Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and of peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity."

The poet has never denied other countries, too, may have their special messages and missions. He does dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, respects it for its spirit of enquiry, its sc its strength and will to face martyrdom in cause of truth, freedom and justice (now al gone to sleep), its acknowledgement and acceptance of the manness of the common (now also alas! not manifest), and its acti ties for human welfare, and wishes the E to take what it should and can from the We not like a beggar without patrimony or as adopted child, but as a strong and healthy may take wholesome food from all quar and assimilate it. This taking on the part the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than rather than learning, borrowing or imitati The West, too, can derive advantage fr contact with the East, different from material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that West can cease to dominate in the East on when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing self-possessed and self-respecting, no long requires any blister or whip and leaves department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reach out to the West and East, to all humanity, not as those of suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salu He is, by his literary works and travels, among the foremost reconcilers and uniters of rac and continents. He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China, Si Islands-India, Iran and Iraq by his visits those lands.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted India by the British nation, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he never refrained from being just and ev generous in his estimate of the British peop

It will be recalled that he was the first publicly condemn the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre, and that he gave up his knighthood protest.

His politics are concerned more with moulding of society and character-buildi than with the more vocal manifestations that crowded department of national activ Freedom he prizes as highly and ardently the most radical politician, but his concep of freedom is full and fundamental. To the chains of inertness, cowardice and ig ance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priestcraft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prizes and insists upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view has largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wishes to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar, so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desires that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merge in each other.

Age and bodily infirmities have not made him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit is ever open to new light. He continues to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers are still at their height. His latest poetic creations of the month—perhaps one may sometimes say, of the week or the day—do not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility, nor are there in any of them signs of repetition. He continues to be among our most active writers. This is for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loves his kind, and human intercourse is dear to his soul. His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enable him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the conscious master in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, he threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible ways. But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to violence, though, as I understand him, abstention from the use of force under all circumstances is not with him a religious principle. He has been equally unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He has never believed that war can ever be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer has repeatedly given in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the *Isopanishad*:

> **"All this whatsoever that moves in Nature is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what hath been allotted to thee by Him. Do not covet anybody's wealth."**

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet has expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he holds that private property has its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he sees and states clearly the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his following cabled reply to a query of Professor Petrov, of V. O. K. S., Moscow:

"Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity."

How the poet feels for the humblest of human beings may be understood from many of his poems and utterances; *e.g.*, the following from *Gitanjali,*

> "Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest, and lowliest and lost."
>
> "My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost."
>
> "He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil."

Twenty-eight years ago he wrote a poem, included in the Bengali *Gitanjali*, addressed to the Motherland, referring to the treatment accorded to the "untouchables." Its first stanza runs as follows (in translation):

> "O my hapless country, those whom thou hast insulted—
> To them shalt thou have to be equal in thy humiliation.
> Those whom thou hast deprived of the rights of man.
> Kept them standing before thee, not taking them in thy lap,
> All of them shalt thou have to equal in humiliation."

As regards the poet's ideal of womanhood, the passage in *Chitra,* beginning,

> "I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self.",

is well known. But to get a complete idea of what he thinks of Woman, many other poems and prose writings of his have to be read. For instance, among poems, "Sabalā" ("The Strong Woman") in *Mahua,* not yet translated, written with reference to the word "Abalā" ("The Weak"), a Sanskrit word denoting woman.

Regarding our unfortunate sisters, stigmatized as fallen women, though their betrayers, ravishers, and exploiters are *not* fallen men, read the poet's "Patitā" ("The Fallen Woman") in *Kahini,* and "Karunā" ("Compassion") and "Sati" ("The Chaste Woman") in *Chaitali.* These, too, have not yet been translated into English.

As an educationist, he has preserved in his ideal of Visva-bharati, the international university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *tapovanas* or forest retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its practical touch with nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The poet's mental outlook is universal. He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever their origin, as their province. Hence, while he wants the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he has been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permits, he has also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. China's response has taken the concrete shape of the Cheena-Bhavana for the study of Chinese culture. Chinese, Tibetan and Islamic studies —and, of course, the study of Hindu and Buddhist culture and of the teachings of the medieval saints of India, have long been special features of Visva-bharati. All this has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wants that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visva-bharati stands neither for m literary, nor for merely vocational educ but for both and more. Tagore wants t man the knower and man the maker. H wants an intellectual as well as an artistic a aesthetic education. He wants the growth a personality equal to meeting the demands society and solitude alike. Visva-bharati comprises a primary and a high school college, a school of graduate research, a sc of painting and modelling and of some cra a music school, a school of agriculture village welfare work, a co-operative bank w branches and a public health institute. H students of both sexes have their games a physical exercises. The poet's idea of a v lage is that it should combine all its beaut and healthy rural characteristics with t amenities of town life necessary for full of life and efficiency. Some such ameni have already been provided in his scho There is co-education in all stages. It is o of the cherished desires of the poet to give g students complete education in a wom University based on scientific methods, so of which are the fruits of his own insight a mature experience.

When he is spoken of as the founder Visva-bharati, it is not to be understood th he has merely given it a local habitation and name and buildings and funds and idea That he has, no doubt, done. To provi funds, he had, in the earlier years of the scho sometimes to sell the copyright of some of h books and even temporarily to part with so of Mrs. Tagore's jewellery. His subseque efforts to collect funds are well known. In t earlier years of the institution, he took cla in many subjects, lived with the boys in th rooms, entertained them in the evenings story-telling, recitations of his poems, ga of his own invention, methods of sense-trai of his own devising, etc. Many a day at t time would Mrs. Tagore regale the boys a their teachers with dishes prepared by hers In those days when the number of teachers a students was small, the institution was lik home for them all. Even more recently the p has been known to take some classes. And continues to keep himself in touch with t institution in various ways.

Tagore is an independent thinker in edu tion. This has been recognised. But o the group of institutions constituting Visv bharati, namely, Siksha-Satra, has not rec due public attention, and is perhaps practi unknown even to Indian educationists. It w founded in 1924. Its origin and principles were stated when it was founded, and re-stated by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst in Visva-bharati Bulletin No. 9, December, 1928, from which I make a few extracts below.

> "To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter-of-fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots to polish, a fire to light, or some dough to knead and bake—these were our keenest joys; yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens; or, if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts.
>
> "The aim, then, of the Siksha-Satra, is through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life, its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences; to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds both training and happiness."

As regards the age at which the child's education at the Siksha-Satra should begin, it is stated:

> "It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell, hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters the Siksha-Satra as an apprentice in handicraft as well as housecraft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands; whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and maintain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community."

Some of the crafts which the pupils can learn are mentioned in the Bulletin. It is stated that, "from the earliest years it is well to introduce to the children some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value. The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside, . . ." "In the carrying out of every one of these crafts, again, some art, some science, some element of business enters in."

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. He has often written with terrible directness. In years past the poet successfully edited several monthlies and contributed, and still contributes, to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He is the only man in Bengal I know who was capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required.

I have been privileged to publish perhaps a larger number of poems, stories, novels, articles, etc., from Rabindranath's pen, in Bengali and English, than any other editor. It has been a privilege without any penalty attached to it, as he is regular, punctual and methodical, and as it is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well-known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

His beautiful handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that I, who have had occasion to see it so often, cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from its imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. That is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of *The Modern Review* in 1912. This is how he came to write in English for publication. Some time in 1911 I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, I.C.S. Of these *Fruitless Cry* appeared in May and *The Death of the Star* in September, 1911, in *The Modern Review*. When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, 'On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears?', the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a school-boy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam school-master I considered them up to standard. These appeared in my *Review*. These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions. Their manuscripts have been preserved.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters; though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as a painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern European paintings. They are unclassed. One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they seldom tell a story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he want to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools of painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* ("Santiniketan Magazine") of the month of Jyaistha, 1333 B.E., published twelve years ago, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the famous artist, described (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindranath writes:

> "Bengal's poet suggested the lines of Art, Bengal's artist (*i.e.*, Abanindranath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day—" (Translation).

It was my happy privilege some twenty years back to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage in which he then lived—only a field intervened between. During that period I could never at night catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself. And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the East, but usually I found that his devotions were already over and he was busily engaged in some of his usual work. At mid-day, far from enjoying a siesta, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry summer days of Santiniketan are unforgettable!

His late serious illness and the infirmities of age have necessitated changes in his habits. But even now he works longer than many young men.

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest *Sadhak*. He is not, however, an ascetic —nor, of course, a lover of luxury. His ideal of life is different.

"Deliverance is not for me in renunciation," he has said in one of his poems.

> "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.
>
> "Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.
>
> "My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flame and place them before the altar of thy temple.
>
> "No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.
>
> "Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love."

BUILD ME A TREE

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

I

Build me a tree! My eyes are tired...
Blurred with cement and needled spired
Towers and warrens....Hutch and den,
Tier upon tier; all filled with men
Coppered with sweat, unkempt and soiled
Covered with grime, where they have toiled
Grooved in the mesh of cogs and gears
Harnessed to lathes and drills and shears—
Bound to the wheels! The vast machine
Grinds down their souls.... Let them be clean,
Healed from the scald of labour's yoke—
Cleansed from the stench and belch of smoke
Spewed from a foundry, fouling skies...
Barring the sun from weary eyes.

II

Build me a tree! Resilient...
Mystical symbol, heaven spent
Arches of beauty. Sprung delight,
Ichored with sap to give it might.
Then let it flourish, bud and swell
Wrought to great music! Plant it well
Anchored to earth and rooted deep—
Cabled and clawed, to sway and sweep
Plenteous branches, bend and form,
Tempered to thunder, gale and storm...
Forked and crotched for birds in spring;
Bless it with sunlight—let it swing
Cadenced to hope! Give the command—
Call on the gods to guide your hand;
Build with a vision....Build inspired—
Build me a tree! My soul is tired—

A LETTER TO AN INDIAN FRIEND IN JAPAN

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

DEAR ANANDMOHAN,

You will know from the following extract from a paper I read to my fellow-countrymen who were living in Japan how deeply my mind was attracted to the Japanese people when I came into personal touch with them during a short visit to Tokyo on my way to U. S. A.

"I have come to discover something very great in the character of Japan. I am not blind to their faults. You may remember that when I first came to this part of the world I wrote a number of lectures upon Nationalism, which I read in the United States of America. The reason why these thoughts came to me in Japan was because it was here that I first saw the Nation in all its naked ugliness, whose spirit we Orientals have borrowed from the West.

It came vividly before my eyes, because on the one hand there were the real people of Japan, producing wonderful works of art, and in the details of their life giving expression to inherited codes of social behaviour and honour, the spirit of Bushido: On the other hand, in contrast to the living side of the people, was the spirit of the Nation, arrogantly proud, suffering from the one obsession, that it was different from all other Asiatic peoples.

Japan was faced with the most difficult trial of suddenly being startled into power and prosperity and had begun to show all the teeth and claws of the Nation, which have been demoralising the civilised world, spreading far and wide an appalling amount of cruelty and deception. I could not specially blame Japan for this, but I heartily deplored the fact that she, with her code of honour, her ideal of perfection and her belief in the need for grace in everyday life, could yet become infected with this epidemic of selfishness and with the boastfulness of egotism.

I frankly confess that I was then deeply mortified. For, though the people of Japan, on this first occasion, accepted me with enthusiastic welcome in the beginning, yet directly they came to know the ideas that I had, they felt nervous. They thought that idealism would weaken their morale; that ideals were not for those nations who must be unscrupulously strong; that the Nation must never have any feelings of disgust from the handling of diplomatic filth, or of shrinking from the use of weapons of brutal power. Human victims had to be sought, and the nation had to be enriched with plunder.

Nevertheless, I did not blame Japan for considering me to be dangerous. Though I felt the hurt of this evil, yet at the same time I knew that beneath the iron mailcoat of the Nation the living spirit of the People had been working in secret. Today I feel sure that these people have the promise of a great future, though that may not be evident in the facts of the present. Truth is often hidden behind the obstacle of facts.

I deem myself fortunate in having noted certain characteristic truths in the Japanese race, which I believe will work through their subconscious mind and one day produce great results in a luminous revelation of their soul. It fills me almost with envy at their profound feeling for beauty, their calm sense of perfection, that is expressed in various ways in their daily conduct. The constant exercise of patience in their daily life is the patience of a strength, which revels in the fashioning of exquisite behaviour with a self-control that is almost spiritual in its outward expression. It has required strenuous discipline and centuries of civilisation. I shall have to confess that the Japanese possess a monopoly of certain elements of heroism,—a heroism which is one with their artistic genius. In its essence, it has a strong energy of movement; in its form, it has that perfect proportion which comes of self-mastery. It is a creation of two opposing forces, that of expression and that of repression.

These people have come to believe in a heroism which is not in self-exaggeration, but in a resigned spirit that can quietly accept either action or inaction as honour or duty might dictate. Therein lies the beauty of their strength; it is in that detachment of mind, which does not forget the ideal of excellence in its greed and hurry for result. Their perfect heroism finds its inspiration in the music of truth which is in beauty.

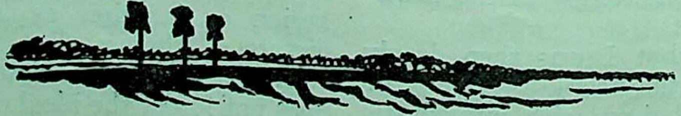
Japan must prove to the world that the present utilitarian spirit may be wedded to beauty. If Science and Art, necessity and joy, the machine and life, are once united, that will be a great day. At present, Science is shamelessly disassociated from Art. She is a barbarian, boastful of her immense muscle and superficial nature. But has she not come at last to the gate of the truth, which gives us the mystery of the beautiful? Has she not proved that it is in Rhythm itself which is in the heart of Reality? She has suddenly stumbled upon the dance-music of creation. It has been revealed to her, that every atom is a ring-dance of light round a luminous centre. Only a difference in their dance measure is responsible for the difference in elements. It is through the chain of these varied dances, which are the cadence of beauty, that this universe of reality has its play in the courtyard of time and space. Any torture of the chain of beauty, any break in it, is evil; because it hurts the very spirit of reality, which is one in its physical appearance and in its moral and spiritual meaning. By killing the best expression of reality, which is beauty, we enfeeble its soul which is moral and spiritual.

Though we often find in Japan of today a hysteria of violence in her politics, an unscrupulous greed in her commerce, and an undignified lack of reticence in her public life, which makes us anxious for the moment, yet let us feel certain that all these have been borrowed from the outside, that they have no deep root in her mind. Let us hope that the truth which they have in their inner being, will work through all contradictions and express itself through unaccountable ways in some sudden outbreak of revelation.

Great periods of history are periods of eruption, unlooked for and seemingly against the times, but they have all along been cradled in the dark chamber of the people's inner nature. The ugly spirit of the market has come from across the sea into the beautiful land of Japan. It may, for the time, find its lodging in the guest-house of the people; but their home will ultimately banish it. For it is a menace to the genius of her race, a sacrilege to the best that she has attained and must keep safe, not only for her own salvation, but for the glory of all humanity."

This was in 1916 when some of the great nations in Europe went mad in their mutual destruction, and I fondly hoped that such a defamation of humanity could never happen in that beautiful country inhabited by a people who had inherited their ancient tradition of heroism that is chivalrous, a perfect combination of beauty and manliness. Though I had my glimmer of doubt yet I felt sure that the whole mind of this poeple would indignantly reject the hideousness that shamelessly unmasked itself in Europe at that murderous moment, the ruthless display of barbarity indulging in indiscriminate manslaughter, using torturous weapons finished in laboratory, cowardly in their mechanical efficiency and soulless ravage, revealing a diabolical callousness in their deliberate destruction of centres of culture with scientific abominations rained from the sky. I could never dream in those not very distant days that I should ever have woefully to revise my estimate of the geatness of this people whose co-operation we had eagerly expected in building up of a noble future in Asia by their sympathy and true love of freedom at this period of changing scenes in world's history when the lamp of Europe in its last flicker seems to produce more poisonous fume than flame.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) RABINDRANATH TAGORE



SYMPOSIUM ON RIVER PHYSICS

[Held under the joint auspices of the Indian Science Congress, the National Institute of Sciences and the Indian Physical Society at the Senate Hall, Calcutta University on January 10, 1938].

In his opening address, Professor M. N. Saha, President of the National Institute of Sciences for India, pointed out that from the dawn of civilisation and probably even earlier, rivers have formed, in India as well as elsewhere, the main centres of civilised life and in India particularly, most of the cities famous in history and civilisation arose on river banks.

This was due to the fact that rivers supplied all the main needs of early communities whose existence depended upon agriculture, and whose civilisation depended to a large extent, upon maintenance of lines of communications. Since time immemorial, rivers have been used in India as well as elsewhere, for irrigation and navigation, but here, owing to the vast extent of the country, all types of irrigation have been practised, *e.g.*, flood time canal irrigation in the precarious areas of the Punjab, and Sind, tank-storage irrigation in the Deccan Plateau, and perennial irrigation in the plentiful areas of the lower Ganges and other river basins, with other minor forms of irrigation in particular areas. The ancient and medieval rulers of India took particular care for the construction and proper maintenance of irrigation works.

The classical use of rivers has been for irrigation and navigation, but since the advent of the railway (1857) navigation has been very much neglected. Most of the rivers have within the last hundred years been spanned by a large number of railways at different crossings, and embankments have been constructed to protect these railways. This has led, in certain regions, particularly in Bengal and Orissa, to a total dislocation of the natural system of drainage, resulting in the deterioration of rivers, formation of swamps, frequent outbreaks of malaria in epidemic form, and great damage to rural prosperity. A critical analysis of the past happenings showed that much of these evil effects could have been avoided by proper planning, but in most cases, interest of the rural population were sacrificed to the needs of railroad expansion.

DEFECTIVE PLANNING

The effects of defective planning have been most apparent in the delta of the Ganges and he Brahmaputra (Bengal) and in the delta of the Mahanadi river (Orissa) After the opening of the East Indian Railway in 1859, the Burdwan division of Bengal was practically ruined by the dislocation of the drainage system, a fact which is now admitted officially. Another glaring illustration of defective planning is the Hardinge Bridge over the Lower Ganges at Sarah, which, at the risk estimate, was to have cost Rupees one crore and a half (1.2 million pounds). It cost actually about four and half crores of rupees (3.6 million pounds), when it was completed nearly 25 years ago; but even with such huge expenditure the bridge is not considered safe. The Ganges river had several times shown a tendency to cut through the flanks, open a new channel, and leave the bridge on dry grounds. To combat the destructive action of the river, the Government of India had to spend over several crores of rupees on several occasions and it cannot be said that the danger is over. Sir F. Spring, the engineer, who was entrusted nearly forty years ago with the task of making preliminary survey of the river and drawing up plans for the construction of this bridge openly expressed the opinion that the time alloted to him, and to other engineers was too short to arrive at a working knowledge of the life of the great Indian rivers without which no proper planning can be done. These problems are unique, as in spite of their rather comparative shortness, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra carry, next to the Amazon, the largest volume of water. The maximum discharge of the lower Ganges is, according to Spring, several hundred times that of the Thames, seven times that of the Nile, and exceed that of the Mississipi near South Pass. The maximum discharge of the Brahmaputra is estimated to be one and half times as much. Spring strongly recommended in 1903, the establishment of a river physics laboratory where all data regarding Indian rivers would be collected and analysed, and on the basis of such knowledge, model experiments should be carried out before any engineering project which may interfere with the existing rivers (such as spanning a river by bridges, cutting a canal from a river, putting an embankment to keep out floods), is actually put into execution.

But in spite of strong representation by Sir F. Spring, Mr. Reakes and other persons who have studied the problems of river changes in the lower Ganges delta first hand, neither the Central nor the provincial Governments of India have shown any inclination to establish properly equipped River Physics Laboratories excepting the Punjab Government, which has the largest length of irrigation canals to maintain. There also, the official mind was first directed to the necessity of having research laboratories from the fact that a large part of the irrigated land was turning alkaline, and when engineers found themselves baffled by this problem, they referred it in 1927 to some pure scientists, including Dr. Wilsdon, then Professor of Physical Chemistry at the Government College, Lahore. In course of his investigation, Dr. Wilsdon and his successor Mr. Mackenzie-Taylor gradually found that the problems were multifarious and complicated enough to require services of physicists, mathematicians, statisticians, and physical chemists. In course of the years, the Irrigation Research Laboratories of the Punjab have grown up into a very useful organisation. The Central Board of Irrigation has established a hydraulic research laboratory at Poona, where small scale model experiments on rivers are being carried out under the guidance of Mr. Inglis. But India is a vast country; not only is her area and population equal to that of Europe minus Russia, but the length of her watercourses is almost the same, and the problems of one region are quite distinct from those of another. It is therefore obvious that one or two research laboratories cannot serve the interests of the whole country. More laboratories are required in different regions. Nowhere is the need of a river physics laboratory more actually felt than in the lower Ganges and Brahmaputra

Delta (Bihar, Bengal and Assam) which is intersected by a labyrinth of watercourses, which are constantly changing their channels, eroding cities and villages, causing destructive floods, and by their frequent change of course, forming swamps which turn into beds of malaria. Even the existence of the great city of Calcutta is threatened. As a port, the Hugli river on which stands Calcutta is receiving, for the major part of the year, no fresh supply of water from the Ganges, while tidal water from the Bay of Bengal rushes up the Hugli estuary, twice a month, and forces back the silt, and cause it to be deposited along the river bed. If this process goes on, sea-going vessels would not be able to reach Calcutta at no distant future, and her fate as a seaport would be sealed like those of other old cities in the deltaic regions (Pataliputra, 500 B.C.—500 A.D.). Gaur (500 A.D.—1575 A.D.) and Tamralipti. As a city, the level of Calcutta has relatively gone down, within the last hundred years of its existence, by two to four feet, the sewerage does not flow freely by gravity, but has to be pumped out artificially, and the once tidal river (Bidyadhari) which once used to carry the Sewerage, is checked up by silt, and is for all purposes dead. If the situation is not remedied, Calcutta may be buried in its own sewerage at no distant epoch. It has often been urged, said the lecturer, that the problems of any particular region can be tackled in a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory situated thousands of miles away, say at Delhi or Poona. According to Professor Saha, such proposals were rather unwise, for if a particular problem, concerning a region is ever to be successfully tackled, there should be constant and frequent contact between workers in the field, and the research workers in the laboratory. The research workers must in addition possess a background of knowledge of local conditions which are widely different in different regions of India. How can all these conditions which are necessary for a successful solution of the problem be secured when the laboratory is situated thousands of miles away from the region whose problem is to be attacked? The speaker therefore strongly opposed the idea of a Central Irrigation Research Laboratory, and advocated the establishment of regional laboratories, one for the Panjab, one for the United Provinces and Bihar, one for Bengal, Assam and Orissa, and two for Southern India.

In the further part of the address, the problems of poverty and unemployment of the Indian masses were analysed, and it was pointed out that the only solution was large scale industrialisation of the country. It was also pointed out that by virtue of her natural resources India was eminently fit for industrialization. One of the greatest impediments to successful industrialization was the high price of power, and total neglect of the problems of development of the power resources of the country by the state. The speaker pointed out that the average price of power in India was nearly four times that of European countries, and the consumption of electricity per capita was only seven units in the year. The average Indian is poor because the average production of work per capita in India from all sources (manual, animal, steam oil, electricity) is only 90 to 100 units; while in the modern world, it ought to be nearly 2,000 units. These figures show lack of organisation, planning, and need of beneficent legislation. The speaker pleaded strongly as a first step towards successful industrialization for the establishment of a power survey and research laboratory on the lines of the Krizhanovski Power Survey And Research Institute at Moscow established by the Soviet Government. The concluding parts of the speech shows the impatience of the modern Indian mind with the existing state of affairs. The speaker quotes a passage from Dr. Vera Anstey who in her *Economic Development of India* remarks :

> 'Here is a country of ancient civilization, with rich and varied resources, that has been in intimate contact with the most materially advanced countries of the West, but which is still essentially mediæval in outlook and organization, and which is a byword throughout the world for the poverty of its people.'

Then she quotes Mr. M. L. Darling:

> 'The most interesting thing about India is that her soil is rich and her people are poor' and adds herself:

> 'Can India be called "Mediæval" when it is organised under a modern form of constitutional Government, possesses a great system of mechanical transportation, a unique sysem of irrigation, no less than seventeen modern Universities, and has several large-scale industries producing with the most up-to-date machines that have yet been invented?'

The answer, however galling to our pride, must be that in point of poverty, ignorance and disease, India of today can only be classed with China and Abyssinia countries which are still steeped in mediævalism, and have paid the price for continuing mediævalism.

If we desire to fight successfully the scourge of poverty and want from which 90% of our countrymen are suffering, if we wish to remodel our society and renew the springs of our civilization and culture, and lay the foundations of a strong and progressive national life, we must make the fullest use of the power which knowledge of Nature has given us. We must rebuild our economic system by utilizing the resources of our land, harnessing the energy of our rivers, prospecting for the riches hidden under the bowels of the earth, reclaiming deserts and swamps, conquering the barriers of distance and, above all, we must mould anew the nature of man in both its individual and social aspects, so that a richer, more harmonious and happier race may people this great and ancient land of ours. Towards the realization of this ideal, we must adopt ourselves to the new philosophy of life and train the coming generations for the service of the community in scientific studies and research.

D. N. WADIA—ON THE RECENT GEOLOGICAL CHANGES IN THE COURSE OF INDIAN RIVERS

Mr. D. N. Wadia of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in course of Indian Rivers during the latest geological epochs. According to Mr. Wadia, whose opinion reflects that of the Geological Survey, the continent of India, particularly of the Gangetic plains, has been subject to great tectonic movements in the past geological epochs, and even now the movements appear to be operative.

In the early Pleistocene times, there appear to have existed in India north of the Vindhya range a great river, called Indobrahm by Pascoe, and Siwalik river by Pilgrim, which comprised the waters of the present Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. This river appears to have taken its rise in Eastern Assam, and flowed north-west through the Punjab and Sind into the Arabic sea. Later, the Indus separated owing to rise of the eastern Punjab watershed, and the Ganges and the Brahmaputra through other upheavals. The Soan, a small river in Rawalpindi district, is the sole remnant of the Indobrahm. In historic times too, the rivers have changed greatly. The Saraswati river, famous in the Vedas, was once a large stream and flowed through the Eastern Punjab to the sea; it is now represented by a small stream which rises near Simla, and gets lost in the desert sands. Probably the Jumna used to flow into it, and the degeneration of the Saraswati is due to several courses, notably the deflection of the Jumna river to join the Ganges in the east. Throughout historical times, the Hakra river (or the Great Mihran), which was probably a continuation of the old Saraswati, used to carr· the waters of the Sutlej and flow in a channel parallel to the Indus to the Run of Cutch there an inland Area. This river according to C. F. Oldham dried up between the 12th and the 13th centuries. The Beas and other Punjab rivers have wandered widely within the plains of the Punjab, most probably due to surface deposition of heavy silt during floods.

On the east, the Himalayan rivers have a tendency to work backwards, and capture other river systems. It is surmised that the Brahmaputra was originally a comparatively small stream, unconnected with the Tsangpo of Tibet. This river presumably discharged itself eastwards either into the Salween or at some lake in western China. But the Dihang, a tributary, cut its way backwards, captured the Tsangpo thus rendering the Brahmaputra the mighty stream it is now. These tendencies are still at work. It is stated by Sven Hedin, that the Kali Gandak, a tributary of the Gandak, a river which after traversing the Himalayas flow through north Bihar and discharge itself into the Ganges above Patna, is near its source perilously near the Tsangpo, and if left to itself, may capture in course of a few thousand years, the Tsangpo. This process, according to Sven Hedin, may be achieved even by ordinary engineering process, at no prohibitive cost. The consequences of the Brahmaputra flowing through the Gandak into Bihar may be easily imagined. In Bengal, the river changes are more rapid, probably owing to the soft nature of the soil, (on this point Mr. S. C. Majumdar had a separate paper), and the Geography of the country changes so rapidly, that the map prepared by Major Rennell in 1786, is entirely different from the present map of Bengal.

DR. S. L. HORA, ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA—ON EVIDENCE OF RIVER CHANGES FROM EXAMINATION OF FAUNA OF DIFFERENT RIVERS

Dr. S. L. Hora, of the Geological Survey of India spoke on changes in the drainage of India as evidenced by the distribution of fish fauna, and the light they throw on the paleshydrographical problems. He said:

The position of the main river during the mesozoic period can be inferred to some extent from the occurence of ancient fish fossils (*e.g.*, of the Dipnoan and Ganoid fishes) in the Upper Gondwana beds of Kota Maleri. The Sea was then probably not far removed from the trappean beds of the Central Provinces and covering the whole of northern India. This state continued till the Eocene times when the lava overflow covered Southern India, forming the Deccan trap, and obliterating the channels forming the existing drainage of India of those times. But from fish remains at several intertrappean beds in the Central Provinces, it is inferred that the main drainage channels in the Eocene Age was the same as during the Mesozoic epoch, but the predominantly Ganoid fauna was replaced more or less during the intertrappean periods by modern bony fishes.

As practically all the principal genera of bony fishes had already appeared during the Tertiary, further changes in the drainage of India are adduced from the Geographical distribution of the modern fishes. The orogenic movements that gave birth to the Himalayan chain of mountains produced a succession of changes in the drainage pattern of India. The distribution of fishes shows that for a considerable time, the longitudinal basin formed as a foredeep at the base of the Himalayas served as the main drainage channel. This channel was discovered by Pascoe and Pilgrim simultaneously and designated as 'Indobrahm' or 'Siwalik River' respectively. This river is believed to have flowed from east to west and carried the combined waters of the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In the author's opinion its headwaters were probably in Southern China, and in support of this contention several instances are cited from the distribution of allied general of fishes.

Certain localized orogenic movements resulted in the dismemberment of the 'Indobrahm' into at least three drainage systems the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Indus. In this process the once continuous fish-fauna became segregated into definite regions. A detailed study of some of the elements of this fauna shows that the Brahmaputra portion was the first to be separated and that the Ganges and the Indus flowed together as a combined river for a considerable time afterwards. The fish-fauna of the Ganges and the Indus are almost indentical and this would indicate that the two rivers probably became separated, geologically speaking, not very long ago. Attention is here directed to the fact that the Jumna river, a tributary of the Ganges, was a tributary of the Sutlej within historic times.

One remarkable fact of distribution of Indian fresh-water fishes is the close similarity between the fauna of the Eastern Himalayas and that of the hills of the Peninsula in the extreme south. This is explained in terms of the geological changes that may have occurred at the time of separation of the Brahmaputra from the 'Indobrahm' of the Tertiary period.

The probable mode of evolution of the present-day drainage pattern of the Himalayas is discussed and evidence is adduced to show that it has developed from a consequent drainage, *e.g.*, rivers draining north and south of the crest.

The fish-fauna of India is probably derived from that of Southern China and Indo-China and its transference towards the west and south appears to have been facilitated by longitudinal valleys, river-captures, etc. In South-Eastern Asia, the southern and western portions appear to have been sinking and this has made the north fauna migrate towards the south and west. The present-day distribution of fishes strongly supports such a hypothesis. The eastward flowing rivers of the Peninsula probably assumed their present direction after the rise of the Western Ghats; their antiquity is apparent from their broad valleys.

NATIONALISM AND MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.Sc. Pol. (Rome).

NEVER has the Czechoslovak Republic passed such anxious moments over its national sovereignty and territorial integrity since its foundation (29th February, 1920) as during the few weeks following the *anschluss*. The new political order which emerged in Europe from the devastations of the Great War has received a rude shock at the gradual rise of Germanism under the leadership of Herr Hitler, and the boundaries of Central European States, drawn according to the principle of self-determination by President Wilson, are threatened once again under the Nazi cry of *Drany nach Osten*. The heart of European peace is palpitating at Prague.

Historians will differ as to the soundness of the policy of self-determination (a phrase borrowed from the Bolsheviks), so far as its consequences in Central European politics are concerned. The principle was indeed a just and laudable one, but it led to the erection of five new States of questionable stability for it involved large transfers of territory and population at the expense of the Teutonic and Magyar races. The reduction of Austria to a proportion in which she could hardly maintain her existence as an independent State is one of the prices that has sometimes to be paid for the wrong application of a good principle. But the vindication of Czech nationalism which had been suffocated for centuries under alien rule and the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, as much as the independence of Poland, are some of the moral victories that were bought by the huge wastes of war. Prof. H. A. L. Fisher[1] thus describes the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic :

> "Czechoslovakia is the child of propaganda. How two able exiles, Masaryk, the son of a Slovak coachman, and Benes, the son of a Czech peasant farmer, set alight an agitation for the liberation of the Czechs and the Slovaks, with what wholesale desertions from the Austrian army their efforts were rewarded, how French and English brains were enlisted in their cause, with what enthusiasm the evangel of Czech liberation was received in Chicago and with what sympathy by President Wilson, how 45,000 Czech war captives in Russia formed themselves into an army, marched across Siberia, and were then transported into their native country—the narrative of these events constitutes one of the most surprising chapters in modern history."

The Czechoslovak Constitution which was determined by the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic on 29th February, 1920, declares that this democratic Republic is a unified and not a federative State. This principle has subsequently become a source of great misgivings among the German minorities of the Republic. At the head of the Charter of the Constitution stands the motto: "The people is the sole fountain of State authority in the Czechoslovak Republic." The unity of the State is recognized *inter alia* in Article 10 of the Treaty of St. Germain, and the oneness and uniformity of citizenship is recognised for all members of the State in the Constitutional Charter with full political and civic rights. A special section (Part V) of the Charter of the Constitution is devoted to the so-called fundamental rights and liberties of citizens. Privileges derived from birth, sex or calling are not recognized, private ownership is declared inviolable, and a Supreme Administrative Court guards the administration against any breach of these rights. Part VI of the Constitutional Charter deals with the protection of racial and religious minorities, and the stipulations of the Treaty of St. Germain in regard to the question of minorities have not only been ratified by the Czechoslovak Constitution, but also Articles 131 and 132 of the Charter have been declared as fundamental constitutional articles, although the above Treaty in no way required this. The Czechoslovak language was adopted as the State language, although provisions were made for the teaching of other languages spoken by the minorities.

In order to have a precise idea of the present crisis it is necessary to be familiar with the way in which the State has, during the twenty years of its existence, tried to reconcile the interests of the minorities with those of the political integrity of the Republic. The percentages of minority populations in Czechoslovakia, according to the 1930 census, were as follows:—

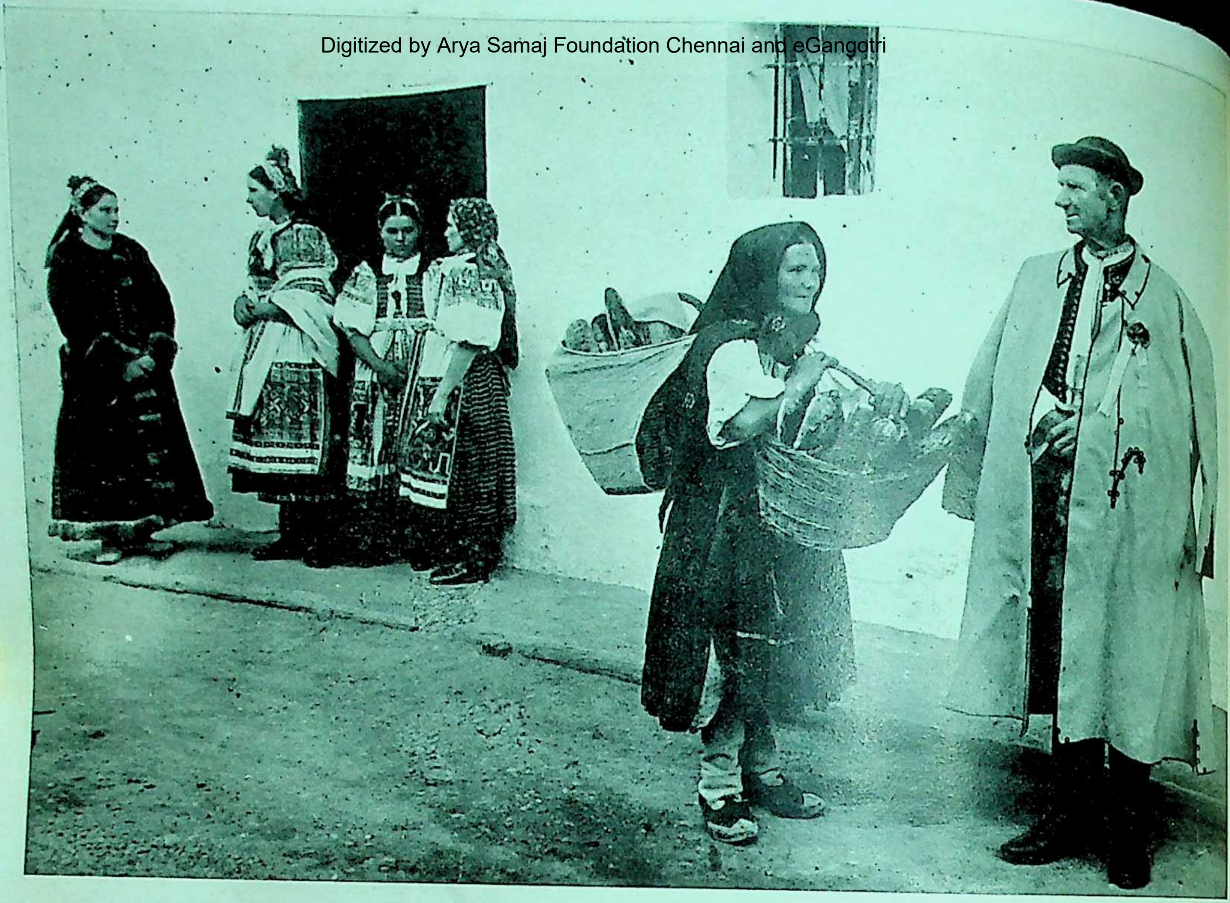
Czechoslovaks ..	9,688,943	62·92%
Germans	3,231,718	22·32%
Magyars (Hungarians)	692,121	4·78%
Ruthenians ..	594,043	3·79%
Jews	186,474	1·29%
Poles	81,741	0·56%
Other nationalities ..	49,645	
Foreigners ..	250,031	

---

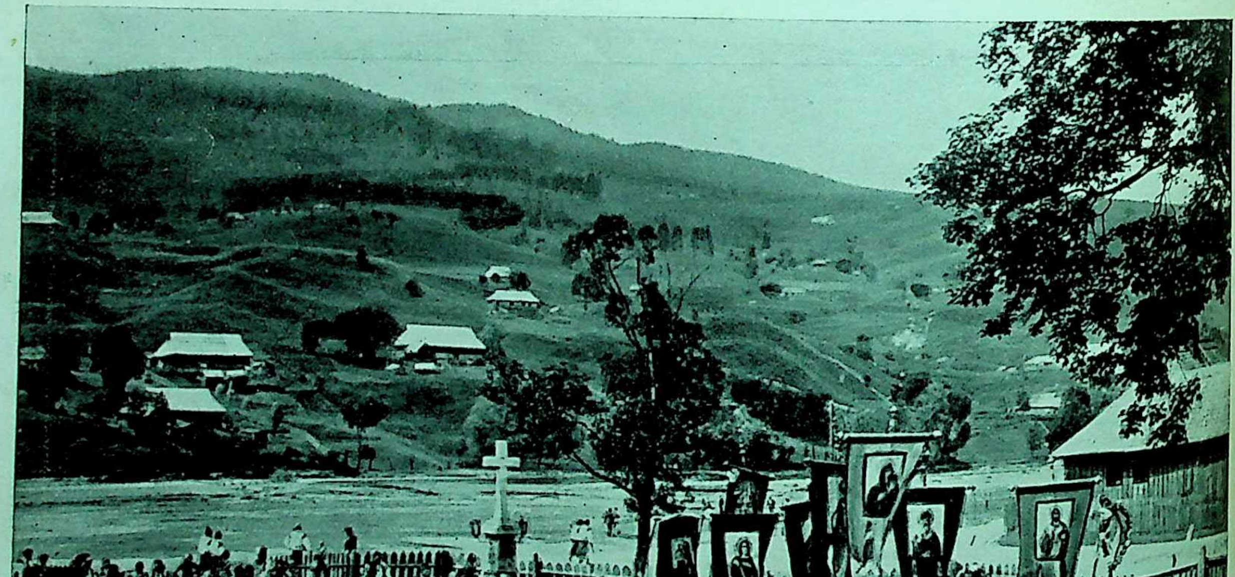
[1] *History of Europe*, p. 1155.

"Aussig", one of the principal cities of "Sudeten" Germans. In the distance is seen the frontier of the Reich

A wayside halt in a Czech village



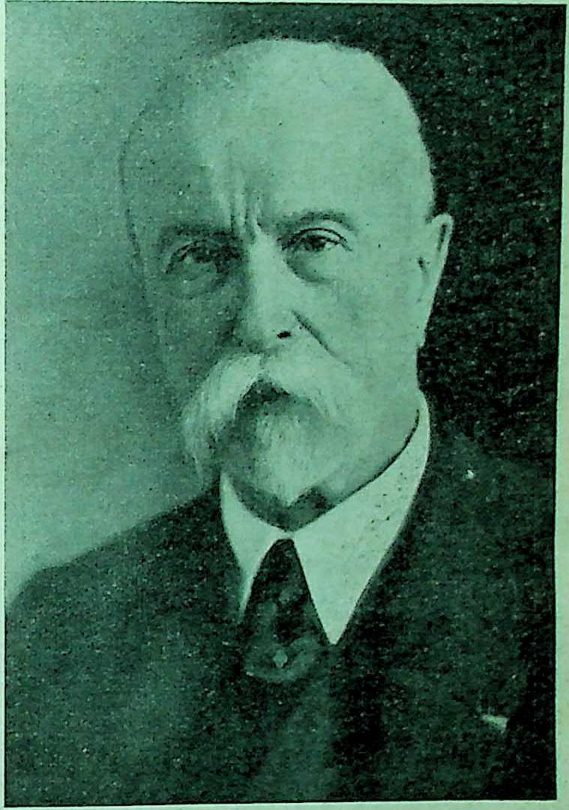
Gay scene in a Slovak village: picturesque costumes of Slovakia



A village procession in Carpathian Ruthenia, near the Rumanian frontier

Thus it will be seen that in a population of 14,732,644, there are as many as five different nationalities, of whom the Germans constitute the most formidable single minority. But it is not only in Czechoslovakia that national minorities have been constituted as a result of the revision of boundaries in Europe according to the Peace Treaty. There are nearly two million Hungarians (Transylvania) who are under the Rumanian rule, more than half a million under Jugoslavia. There are Germans in the Polish Corridor and Danzig. Then there is the subjection of some 230,000 German Tyrolese and 1,300,000 Jugoslavs to Italian rule. Yet the new political frontiers of Europe were considered to be more satisfactory than any previous ones; they were so drawn that only three per cent of the total population of the continent live under alien rule.

The Government at Prague became alive to the baffling nationality problems of the Republic as soon as it came into being. While on the political side Czechoslovkia was successful in making alliances with the other two new States that had profited by the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, that is, with Jugoslavia (August, 1930) and with Rumania (April, 1921), thus forming what is known as the Little Entente, the Republic was faced at home just at the outset with two urgent problems, namely, religion and nationality. Memories of the Hussite past were revived, the conviction that Habsburg Vienna in its hostility to the Czech nation had had an ally in Papal Rome led to a mass secession from the Catholic Church, and many thousands adopted Protestantism. How these movements embittered the early relations of the Republic with the Vatican, to which not a little was contributed by the dispute as to the commemoration of the Huss Day as a national holiday, and how a new religious brotherhood called "Protestant Church of Czech Brethren" came into being, how a Protestant Church was established in Silesia, Moravia and Bohemia, is quite familiar. The national minorities, on the other hand, adopted a negative attitude towards the State, and a healthy collaboration towards the evolution of a united Republic was completely lacking. Germans in Silesia had their eyes turned towards the west, Hungarians in Slovakia were hoping for their redemption through the restoration of Hungarian monarchy and the violent propaganda for Hungarian revisionism, and the Slovaks too were hungering for autonomy. The principle of federation with autonomy of the different nationality groups was being urged from all quarters. Over and above that, there were factions in the population in regard to their allegiance to different political ideologies, and there emerged a large number of political parties. The Czechoslovak Republic seemed to be threatened with all forces of disruption just from its very inception. But the selfless personality of Masaryk, the far-sighted political genius of Benes (pronounced Benesh) and the most clean dealings of the leaders of Prague with the minorities, contributed to the survival of the storm. The Czechoslovak Chamber of Deputies, which consists of 300 members, was composed of the representatives of different national minorities exactly according to their proportions to the total population. Thus the Germans who constitute 22 per cent. of the total population have 66 deputies in a Chamber of 300. Even in the Cabinet, representatives of the national minorities were given their respective importance in the body-politic, and thus as early as 1926 the Germans have been represented by two members of their race in the Czechoslovak Cabinet. As the political parties were organized rather on a national and not racial



T. G. Masaryk (1850-1937)
First President of the Czechoslovak Republic

basis, they were a source of strength for the Government since they created divisions among racial groups which could not offer a united front to the central authority. The alignment of political parties in the present Chamber will give an idea as to the complexity of the situation. The following figures relate to the situation prior to the recent changes.

Coalition Parties:—	*Deputies*
Czechoslovak Agrarians	45*
" Social Democrats	38
" National Socialists	28†
Popular Catholic Party	22
Small Employees Party	17
United National Party	17
Total	167

German Parties:—	*Deputies*
Sudeten German (Henlein) Party	44
German Agrarians	5
German Christian Socialists	6
German Social Democrats	11
Total	66

Other Parties:—	*Deputies*
Communists	30
Slovak Popular Party (Catholic)	20
Magyar Party (Hungarian)	9
Total	59
Others	8
Grand total	300

From the above table it will be seen that when the German parties are united they become the largest single party in the Czechoslovak Republic. If Czechoslovak democracy would have been merely a play of political parties there would have been little concern for its future. When in spite of the French party system, the French Republic has survived many major crises of post-War Europe, Czechoslovakia too could have assured itself of its national sovereignty for the future irrespective of the instability of Cabinets inherent in the multiple party system. But the real menace to the integrity of Czechoslovakia as a European State lies in the different racial minorities who feel themselves subjected to foreign rule and refuse to co-operate with the Government. Thus Czechoslovakia offers the most complex experiment of democracy in the heart of Europe, and its survival or effàcement will decide one of the most debated political questions of the present century. While the different national minorities of Czechoslovakia has been looking forward at one time to the Swiss ideal and the prospect of federation, the Sudeten Germans under the leadership of Herr Henlein have formulated their demands at their last conference at Carlsbad a week ago which surpass the limits of that ideal.

Today with the redemption of Austria by the Third Reich there is a general irredentist cry in Central Europe which concerns greatly the future of Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten Germans want to secede from the Republic. Poland wants to redeem her minorities in Czechoslovakia, and even Hungary is beating an anti-Czechoslovak drum. But the most imminent problem to solve is that of the Germans who have not only demanded autonomy, constitutionally recognized by the State, but have openly professed their spiritual allegiance to the Nazi *weltanschauung* (or world-outlook). Konrad Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Deutsche Party, declared at Cheb on the 21st of June 1936:

> "It is essential that Prague should create a new decent relationship with the entire Germanic race and particularly with the German Reich.... I prefer to be hated in company with Germany than to draw any advantage out of hatred for Germany."

Now it is reported from Berlin (*Times*, April 27, 1938) that at the recent Carlsbad meeting of the Sudeten Germans (23rd April), Herr Henlein would have gone farther to declare their membership of the German National Socialist Party and to demand a plebiscite on the issue of union with the Reich had he not been dissuaded by Berlin which could not take any direct responsibility in the matter. The demands of the Henlein Party formulated at Carlsbad as a basis for negotiation with the Government at Prague and their reactions at home and abroad, which consitute, till today (27th April) the latest phase of Czech-German relations, will be discussed immediately.

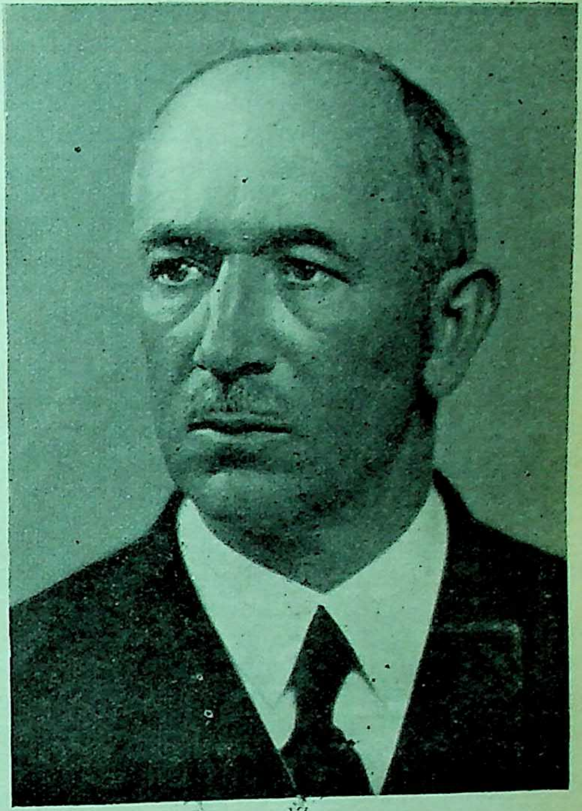
It should be made clear at this stage that the Czechoslovak Government have tried with scrupulous care to give effect to their undertakings in regard to minorities. The economic development of Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia undertaken by the State by means of improving communications and gradual industrialization bears witness to this fact. On the other hand, in the matter of elementary and technical education, in the matter of taxation relief, in the matter of participation by all sections of the population in administrative services, the executive and the judiciary, the State has had always a vigilant eye. The lengthy accounts of these achievements may be found in the official publications of the publicity department at Prague and cannot be summarised here for reasons of space. But a few facts may be cited here. On the 18th of January, 1937, the Government passed a resolution by which the rights of different minorities for a proportional representation in the administrative services of the State were statutorily recognized. Prior to the February resolution, the State employees pertaining to the minority groups did not in all sectors represent such a proportion of posts as would correspond with their numerical share in the entire population of the country, but sometimes the proportion was more than what would be legitimate according to the new law. For example, among the judges and public prosecutors the German proportion was 22·6 per cent ; among the district school inspectors for Bohemia and Moravia-Silesia the German proportion was 34·11 per cent, although among professors, teachers and other staff of the schools and institutions pertaining to this department only 21·11 per cent were Germans. In the matter of tax remission the Germans have profited more than any other national groups, since the largest amount of tax remission was granted in the industrial areas which are, as is well known, inhabited by Germans. In another respect the Germans have received more than what their proportion would entitle them to. In Moravia-Silesia the German secondary schools received a far larger share of State grants than they would be entitled to according to the "proportion" principle. Of the expenditure on technical schools the German institutions in 1936 and 1937 received in Bohemia 31·9% and 30%, in Moravia-Silesia 27% and 27·3%, in Slovakia 1·8% and in Carpathian Ruthenia ·01%. In these cases too German education received a higher share, except in the case of Slovakia where technical education is less important since industry declines as one goes eastwards. Since the February resolution, however, the Government has been trying to achieve in all departments of the State a balance of the different nationality groups according to their proportions in the population, but when minority rights are used as pretexts for political propaganda, that balance, often reached at the cost of efficiency, does not serve to pacify agitation.

---

*M. Hozda belongs to it.

†President Benes belongs to this party.

Czech-German relations in Czechoslovakia have been in the past, as at present, largely subject to psychological influences and have been rather chequered. Both sides admit having made mistakes in the past ; the Germans by splitting up their ranks into numerous political parties which were playing a game of tug-of-war among themselves instead of presenting a united front and the Czechs by accepting this state of affairs as a permanent feature which did not call for any special efforts on their part. The advent of the Hitler regime in Germany, the consequent rallying of the Sudeten Germans under Herr Henlein's leadership, and particularly the incorporation of Austria in the Reich, have fundamentally changed the situation. Upto 1926 all the German parties remained in opposition. In that year the German Agrarians and the German Christian Socialists joined the Government. In 1929 the German Social democrats also entered the Government ranks. All the three parties remained in the Government until the last general election in May, 1935. After the election the German Christian Socialists for a short time remained outside the Government ranks, but later on all the three parties came to be represented by a Minister each in the Czechoslovak Cabinet. During the end of March last, after the *anschluss,* the German



Dr. Eduard Benes
President of the Czechoslovak Republic

parties resigned from the Coalition Cabinet, although the German Social Democratic Party is expected to support the Government in its policy of bridging the differences between Czechs and Germans. Thus at the present moment there are no German *Activist* parties, and the Coalition is much narrowed down. The Czech parties are combined, and attempts are being made to win over the Slovak Clerical Party, which demands autonomy for Slovakia, and the Czech Fascist Party. In the meantime, in spite of the friendly declarations of policy to the Sudeten Germans made by President Benes and Premier Hodza, the Henlein Party have been gradually becoming more insistent on their demands which betray a curious inspiration drawn from the west. On March 28th last, Dr. Milan Hodza, the Prime Minister, declared in a broadcast that the Government was preparing a 'Minority Statute' (which is now being called 'Nationality Statute' in compliance with the desire of the Henlein Party who maintain that the Germans are not a minority in Czechoslovakia), which would meet any reasonable demands within the framework of the Constitution, provided the minorities show their loyalty to the State. The State will have ample scope for the legal regulation of innumerable minor questions, such as local self-administration, proportional employment in the public services, and share in proportion of Government contracts, and guarantees for the just administration of its provisions might be given by the appointment of mixed commissions of supervision. The minority policy of Czechoslovakia is based on the spirit of its constitution and was emphatically reiterated by Dr. Hodza before the Budgetary Committee of the Chamber of Deputies on the 17th November, 1937. He said:—

> "The Czechoslovak Constitution is broad enough that in it is easily to be found a place for every just, moral, national and social interest. If the spirit of the Czechoslovak Constitution were to express itself in the concrete characteristics of our nationality policy it would be formulated approximately in the sense that Chechoslovakia does not desire, indeed rejects, every kind of denationalization, that she guarantees in this respect all her inhabitants their own particular process of development supported by all the primary conditions of cultural, moral and economic advance. The Czechoslovak Republic does this on the basis of its sovereignty as a State. A nation which in the course of its history has had to overcome so much oppression as we have, will never lend itself to conduct that wrongs others, and will always be conscious of the fact that the strength of the State and its own position in the State will be the more permanent and durable the more organically it works into the fabric of the State as a sense of justice and of equal rights for all, irrespective of differences of nationality, class or religion."

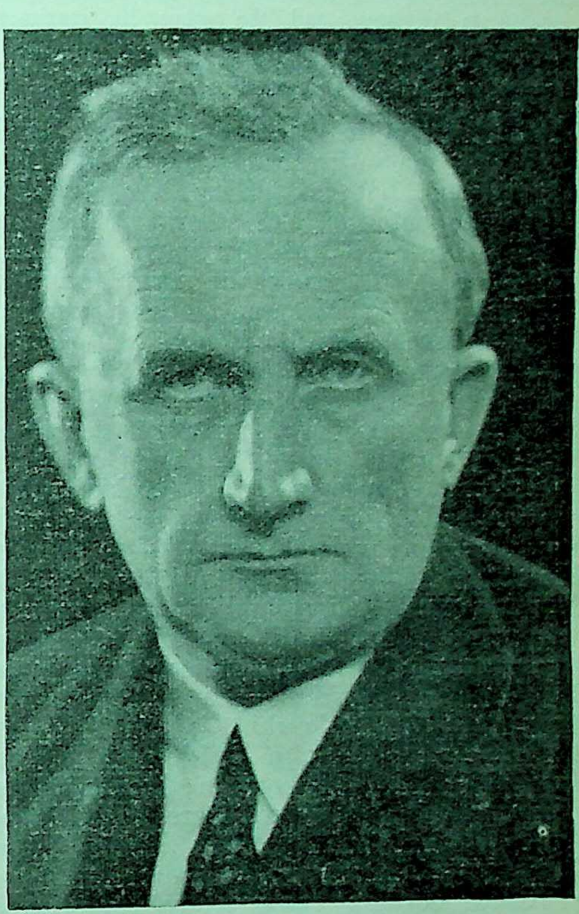
After the promise of the Nationality Statute came an amnesty for political and other minor offenders, which was proclaimed on the 16th April last, including the discontinuance of political prosecutions under the Defence of the Republic Act. The amnesty applied to all political offenders except those who were convicted of military treason. Of the 2,8[illegible] persons benefiting by the President's clemency over 1,200 are Germans, some 900 are Czechs and Slovaks, about 500 Hungarians, 20[illegible] Ruthenes, and 30 Poles ; and after their release nearly 1,300 persons still remain in prison having been condemned for or charged with military treason and being outside the scope of the amnesty. President Benes, after promulgating the amnesty, appealed to all parties and races to make their contribution to general peace. He claimed that nowhere on the Continent do minorities enjoy greater freedom than in Czechoslovakia. The Sudeten Germans, within the limits of a mild censorship, have liberty of the Press, of speech, and of assembly, and use it freely to criticize the Czechoslovak Government. The Hungarian minority have enjoyed, at least until the last few months, more political rights than their brethren in Hungary itself. Czechoslovakia is certainly the most liberal State in Europe apart from the Western democracies and the Scandinavian countries. But what was the reply of the Sudeten Germans to President Benes's "change-of-heart" gesture and appeal for truce in Czech-German relations? Although they were sensible enough not to disturb the "Easter Peace," a time-honoured Czechoslovak Red Cross ceremony, they assembled at Carlsbad on the 23rd April last and formulated their demands "in order to pave the way for peaceful development." Herr Henlein made a speech which was enthusiastically received by the members of his party assembled there, and put forward the following eight demands as a basis for negotiation with the Government :

(1) Full equality of status for Czechs and Germans.
(2) A guarantee for this equality by the recognition of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorporate..
(3) Determination and legal recognition of the German areas within the State.
(4) Full self-government for the German areas.
(5) Legal protection for every citizen living outside the area of his own nationality.
(6) Removal of injustices inflicted since 1918 and reparation for the damages thereby caused.
(7) Recognition of the principle : within the German area German officials.

(8) Full liberty to profess German nationality and German political philosophy.

The Prague Cabinet rejected as a basis for negotiations the Sudeten German demands on April 26 last, although another attempt is being made to reach an agreement before drawing the Nationality Statute. The principal obstacles to an understanding are the avowal of Nazism by the Sudeten Germans in a country which has a democratic Constitution, and the attempt to alienate Czechoslovakia from her friends and allies, which would subject her entirely to German influence. The first point in the party programme of the German Reich is "the union of all Germans to form a Great Germany." The logical consequence of the adoption of the Nazi *weltanschauung* in Czechoslovakia would be an agitation for the union of the German-speaking parts with Germany ; and the transfer of the Germans would, in the eyes of the Czech Government, be the beginning of the disruption of the State. The prospect of a solution on the basis of granting autonomy to the Sudeten Germans, implied in the second and fourth "points" of Herr Henlein, is not favoured by Prague, since besides the difficulty of reconciling a totalitarian theory of the State with the principles of democracy, there is another practical difficulty of putting together all Germans in one single area. The Germans are scattered all over the Republic, and the granting of territorial autonomy to the Germans of Bohemia (Sudeten Germans) would mean sacrificing 380,000 Czechs domiciled on territories peopled by a German majority, and sacrificing 730,000 Germans on the remaining territories of the State. Neither of this would appeal to the sense of democratic justice of the Czechs who love liberty. On the other hand, the present Czech-German frontier has been that of the historic Crown Lands of Bohemia-Moravia, which President Masaryk always intended to be the north-western boundaries of the State he was to create. The Germans have filtered into this land in the course of time as the Czechs had passed into Slovakia. The secession of Bohemia would also mean a great industrial loss for the country and would set a bad example before the other minorities which would finally lead to the disruption of the State. The autonomy move of the Slovaks is nothing but a remnant of Hungarian imperialistic propaganda and of the policy of donationalization of the Slovaks resorted by the Hungarians until they were masters of Slovakia. The Slovaks are only two and a half millions whereas the Czechs are seven millions in the Republic.

The attitude of the Reich press on the Czechoslovak question requires a brief mention here, although it cannot be taken for granted that their opinion is necessarily that of Wilhelmstrasse. The Czechoslovak question is considered very urgent in Berlin, and Nazi leaders want to see it settled before autumn. It is hinted that after twenty years of spiritual and cultural distress the Sudeten Germans are in no mood to be patient, so that delaying tactics on the part of Prague must create an "intolerable situation" in Czechoslovakia. Although the German newspapers do not attempt to explain how the totalitarian and democratic systems are to operate side by side in the same State, they remark airily that if two nationalities can get on together, so can two *weltanschauungen*. In any event, it is pointed out, Herr Hitler is not likely to surrender the divine right of Germans to be National Socialist, or to permit Czechoslovkia to continue to exist as an "approach road" to Bolshevism in the heart of the German



Dr. Kamil Kroffa
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czechoslovakia

Lebensraum (living space). The *National Zeitung* of Essen, believed to be the mouthpiece of Field Marshall Goering, took the London *Times* to great task a few days ago for its leading article which suggested a democratic solution of the minority problem. The Essen writer says:

> "As for the usual democratic compromise suggested in the leading article, whereby one side would state its maximum demands and the other its maximum concessions, this is dismissed with the recommendation that the method be employed in Northern Ireland after its incorporation in the Irish Free State."

The annexation of Austria to the Reich has not only made the Henlein party's demands more insistent, but has placed Czechoslovakia in a disadvantageous economic position in regard to its trade with Germany. Germany now will be able to control the entire Danubian basin and Central European markets once she has established herself firmly at Vienna. Czechoslovakia runs the risk of being strangulated economically if France and England would not furnish markets for those Czech goods which will not be bought any more by Germany. Much of Czechoslovakia's trade with Austria is likely to disappear, and it is extremely improbable that Austria will go on buying one million tons of coal a year from Czechoslovakia. Her finished goods will be replaced by goods of German origin. Moreover, the dependence on Germany of Jugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria, which are buyers of goods from Czechoslovakia, is so great that Austro-Germany is in a position to impose new clearing arrangements on these countries which will make it even more difficult than before for them to buy goods from Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia faces today the gravest of problems that have ever presented themselves since the foundation of the Republic, as was openly acknowledged by President Benes in his speech on April 16 last. He said:

> "In our neighbourhood some changes have occurred which influence in a marked degree European policy, and particularly policy in Central Europe. We must not close our eyes to the fact that we are passing through the biggest political, social, and cultural revolutionary process in the history of Europe. The whole of Europe is asking whether this situation will lead to another European or world war."

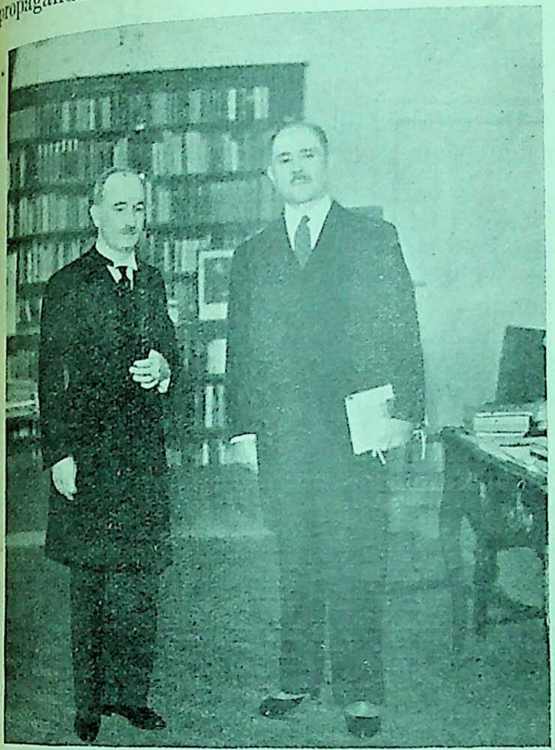
But Czechoslovakia is not afraid to face the situation or to defend its own rights of State sovereignty and its popular institutions if they are attacked from outside. Czechoslovakia is heavily armed, and can boast of good soldiers too. France has reaffirmed her Treaty obligations with Czechoslovakia, the latter is allied also with Soviet R the greatest and most powerful Slav S Although there was nothing very categor in the declarations of Mr. Neville Chamber in the House of Commons in regard to Brit attitude in the event of an aggression Czechoslovakia by the Germans, his statem was very well received in Prague. M Chamberlain said:

> "The inexorable pressure of facts might well p more powerful than formal pronouncements, and that event it would be well within the bound probability that other countries besides those w were parties to the original dispute, would al immediately become involved. That was true of countries like Great Britain and France, with long associations of friendship and common ideals were determined to uphold."

The Little Entente stands discredited day, and the alliance of its three compon States has become too weak to be of any ful assistance in favour of Czechoslovak But the Anglo-Italian agreement signed weeks ago at Rome, and the Franco-Ital conversations that are since taking place Rome, have brought great encouragement the supporters of the Czechoslovak State, w believe in a peaceful solution of the Sude German problem.. The powerful mediat influence of Great Britain may be of imme value to the cause of Czechoslovak dependence. The cool reception that has Herr Henlein's demands at Paris and Lon has encouraged the hope that their reject by Prague would be regarded in those capit as not justifying intervention by the Rei That Czechoslovakia would resist with all might such intervention and would defend rights was very clearly laid down by D Hodza in a speech before the two Chamb of Parliament at Prague on the 4th Mar 1938. He said with a heroic optimism:

> "The Czechs and Slovaks throughout their historical past have stood for truth and fought justice. In the common State which we establ twenty years ago we have no intention of betra the aim of our endeavours in the past centuries virtue of the collective will of our whole people are today as strong as we never were before in his In the spirit of our history, in the spirit of the and intellectual qualities of our people, we are buil up our restored State with all our forces as a real ho for all its ethnical elements. It is in a conscio of this that is anchored our calm, our certainty our full determination to maintain and courageous defend the heritage that has come down to us our Kings who were the protagonists and defenders peace and of agreement among the nations of Eur who were determined champions and warriors Christian culture in Central Europe. A thousand

> we have not been afraid, nor have we any fear today, certain as we are of the unity of heart and mind of all sections of our people and of collaboration with that Europe whiuch like ourselves has no wish for conquest or aggression but desires tranquillity and peace."



President E. Benes (*left*) with Dr. Milan Hodza (*right*), the Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic

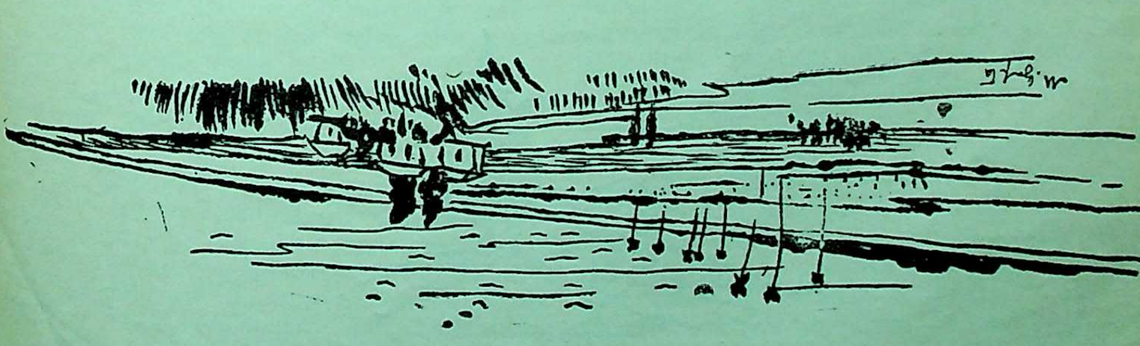
But this does not mean that the Henlein propaganda will cease. The agitation of the Sudeten German Party which is the greatest menace today to the integrity of the Czechoslovak State will continue its inspired movement for autonomy. There is going to be a general election in the Republic in May and June, and a new Cabinet will come into power. Negotiations with the Henlein Party will wait till the elections are over. In the meantime Herr Hitler will be able to devote himself more deeply to the Czechoslovak question after he will have returned to Berlin from his Italian tour. The peace of Europe is depending on the attitude which Herr Hitler will finally take to this question, and a policy of peaceful negotiation suggested by Hitler to Herr Henlein would assure European peace in the same way as his provocations and ultimate intervention may disturb it with disastrous consequences. In front of that catastrophe the pretext of upholding minority rights in Czechoslovakia would provide the poorest consolation. But it must be admitted that the Germans of Bohemia constitute the most inflammable material in the hot-house of European politics. It is too early to blame the makers of Peace Treaties for this sore spot which they have left, and we can only speculate without forecasting. Prof. Fisher's remarks made in connection with the new national boundaries of Europe long before the present crisis arose, throw interesting light on the verdict that history has yet to give on the destiny of Czechoslovakia:

> "It is too soon to pass a final verdict on the work of the treaty-makers. They will be judged by the success of the States which they brought into being or greatly augmented, by the new Poland, the new Czechoslovakia, and the new Greece. A hundred years hence the historian will know. We who are passing through the zone of maximum friction and uneasiness, when the war passions are still alive and the minorities are wincing under new masters, and before the oil of habit has begun to smooth the springs of the newly-made chariots of State, can hardly with any show of confidence formulate a guess."[2]

Rome, 27th April, 1938.

---

[2] *A History of Europe.* P. 1169.



AN INDIAN MATERNITY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By Dr. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.,
Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Reference to the Medical Science is found in the early literature of the Hindus, and, as a matter of fact, Ayurveda (literally, knowledge regarding longevity) belongs to the *Sruti* and is known as one of the *Upavedas, i.e.,* the secondary *Vedas*. That this Science was highly advanced in India even as early as the sixth century B.C. is proved beyond doubt by the story of Dr. Jivaka who was a student of the Taxila University and is known to have cured the Buddha of a serious disorder of the bowels in no time. There were hospitals and *Pinjrapols* in India from very early times. The great Maurya emperor Asoka (273-32 B.C.), claims in his second Rock Edict to have established hospitals of two kinds, for men and for animals, not only throughout his own kingdom comprising almost the whole of India and Afghanistan, but also in the Tamil States in the southern border of India, in Ceylon, and in the countries of the Greek kings of Syria, North Africa and Greece. Asoka also claims to have caused to be imported and planted medicinal herbs, and roots and fruits, wherever they were wanting.

So long however we did not know if there were any thing like maternity in ancient India. I have recently noticed a reference to *prasúti-sálá, i.e.,* maternity or lying-in hospital, in a thirteenth century record of Andhradesa. It is the Malakápuram stone pillar inscrip which bears a date corresponding to Saka 11 or A.D. 1262, and belongs to the time of Kákatíya queen Rudrámbá (1261-96 A.D The text of this record has been published the Telugu work *Kákatíya-samcika*, Raj mundry, 1935, inscription No: 31. It rec the activities of a Bengali Saiva *ácha* named Visvesvara who was a native Cúrvyagráma or Púrvagráma in Dakshi Rádha in the Gauda country. Visvesvara the Pontiff of a Saiva monastery cal Gomulakímatha, and was the *diksha-guru* Kákatíya Ganapati (1199-1261 A.D.), fath of Rudrámbá, and also of the Chola, Mála and Kalachuri kings. This Bengali Sai Pontiff received from Kákatíya Ganap and his daughter Rudrámbá two villages call Mandara and Velangapudi, situated in t Kandravátí division of the Velaváda distri to the south of the great river Krishnaveni, i. the Krishná. He divided the villages i three shares, the third of which he gran equally in favour of a Prasúti-sálá (maternity an Árogya-sálá (hospital), and a Satra (fe house) to be used by Brahmans. The mat nity and the hospital were established eit by the Pontiff himself or by one of his pre cessors, and were evidently attached to t Saiva monastery of the locality.

CULTURAL INTERCHANGE AND MINGLING

Being the Presidential Address delivered at the Second All-India Cultural Unity Conference held in Calcutta
April 20, 1938

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

* * * * *

The object of this conference is to stress the importance of cultural unity and promote it. It is not, therefore, necessary for me to define and discuss culture, or to differentiate between the various meanings of culture and civilization.

The subject of culture may be considered under three heads, anthropologically speaking: language (and literature); material culture, comprising arts and crafts; and moral culture, comprising such social institutions as religion, marriage customs and rites, ethical codes, government and laws, etc.

Anthropologists and archaeologists deal in detail with the material culture of the palaeolithic, neolithic and subsequent ages, as evidenced by their weapons of war and chase, their implements of agriculture and domestic economy and their decorations and dress, and the like. I presume this conference is not concerned with material culture of this description.

It should be the endeavour of the Association holding this conference to study material culture to the extent that it relates to the arts of music, painting, sculpture and architecture, and such crafts as require the aid of the last three. Though anthropologists include them technically under material culture, they have a notable intellectual and aesthetic aspect also. Music is correlated to dancing and the various forms of the mimetic and histrionic arts.

Coming to what has been technically called moral culture, we are struck with the great part which language plays in it.

Culture is a social inheritance. It is communicable intelligence. And the communication is made mostly by means of language. Each man's experience is at first locked up in his own mind. If he wishes to communicate it to another man—may be sometimes to evoke a response, he must choose and use a medium of communication, such as a gesture, a sound, or a piece of paper, leaf, leather, bark, etc., with marks on it—these last being what we call writing or script. I use writing in a broad sense, including some kinds of drawings and pictures. If and when that is done, the other man, the man communicated with, is placed in a position to share the experience of the first man, the communicator, and can respond to the extent that he can translate into terms of his own consciousness the first man's outward sign, namely, his gesture, sound or writing.

The reason why man alone among animals has culture whereas other animals have none worth the name, is that their powers of intelligent intercourse are slight. Moreover, they can hold intercourse, by means of gestures and sounds, only with living animals and such as are near them. On the other hand, man can communicate his experience by means of language and writing to contemporaries living at a distance and to future generations also. Just as we can hold intercourse with posterity, so can we hold intercourse with the dead by reading and understanding what they have left for us in words orally transmitted or in writing. Thus is man able to defy time and space.

Literature in its comprehensive sense includes philosophy, history, science, and what we understand by literature proper.

Religion is vitally connected with philosophy and ethics, as also to some extent with science. The prevalence in ages past and present, and in various countries, of religious music, religious dances, and of religious play-acting of various kinds, such as our *jatras* and *kathakatas* and the mysteries and miracle plays of Europe, suggests a readily understood connection between religion on the one hand and music, dancing and some kinds of play-acting on the other.

What connection, interchange and unity there may have been between the material cultures—the arts and crafts, of the primitive and pre-historic races inhabiting different parts of the earth cannot properly be discussed here. And even if it were a relevant subject of discourse at this conference, I could not pretend to be competent to speak on it. But in order just to indicate how old may be the process of, perhaps unconscious, cultural exchange and unification, or of independent evolution of similar types of culture in regions situated far apart, I may mention that some of the motifs of the decorations on some pre-historic ancient earthen vessels found in Bihar are very similar to those on such objects found in the south of Europe, and that seals of the Mohen-jo-Daro type have been found in what was ancient Sumer. That even so far back as 5,000 years ago or more, people used to undertake distant travel or migration, was brought home to me when Colonel Seymour-Sewell, late Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, showed me in the Indian Museum a skull, found among the ancient artifacts excavated on a site in the Indus Civilization region, which in his opinion was certainly of a Mongolian or Chinese type.

In later times Greek plastic art influenced Indian plastic art in Gandhara and its neighbourhood—though mainly in externals, as Sister Nivedita showed in *The Modern Review,* the motifs for the most part remaining Indian.

The very finely polished Asoka pillar, with its magnificent capital, found at Sarnath, has been the occasion for a discussion as to whether this branch of Mauryan art was indebted to Persian art, or *vice versa,* or whether there was mutual indebtedness for influence and consequent unification. I merely refer to this topic and pass on, as this is not the occasion to dwell longer on it, nor am I qualified to do so.

Art critics and historians of art will be able to say in what relation the frescoes at the Ajanta and the Bagh caves and those at Sigyria in Ceylon stand to one another, and in what relation again the frescoes in some monasteries in Tibet, which are distinctly Indian, recently discovered by Professor Tucci of Italy, stand to the Ajanta paintings. The paintings recovered from the sand-buried cities of Central Asia bear witness to ancient India's far-flung cultural influence.

That the ancient sculpture, painting, architecture and the drama of both China and Japan were influenced by ancient Indian art is an admitted fact. That many of the ancient specimens of art in Burma, Anam, Cambodia, and Siam, bear unmistakable signs of their direct or indirect Indian origin, is well known. I need not pause to dwell on the profound influence which was exercised on the culture of these countries by Hinduism and Buddhism.

I just refer in passing to the probable migration of some Buddhist Asiatics to Mexico and some other parts of America in ancient times.

That the ancient cultures of Java, Bali, Sumatra and Borneo, incuding their architecture, sculpture, and some of their religious ritual, were of Indian origin, every school-boy ought to know now-a-days. Most of the people of Java have become Musalmans, but they have all kept their Hindu and Buddhist culture. Manuscripts of the Gita and parts of the Mahabharat have been found in Java. Its shadow-plays relate to episodes from the Mahabharat. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi, the famous anthropologist, told me that the *Chho* dance or masked dance of some Chota Nagpur aborigines may be genetically connected with the shadow-plays of Java. The story of the Ramayana is sculptured on the stone walls of some ancient monuments of Java and Cambodia. The ancient script of the Philippine Islands was taken from the Pallava script of South India.

All these show how Indian culture has travelled, co-operated with and influenced many foreign cultures.

Coming to more recent times, we find art critics dwelling on the origins of what has been called the Mughal school of medieval Indian painting, which was essentially Indian. Here, as well as in the edifices built during the Mughal period of Indian history, there was cultural unity and co-operation between the Hindus and Moslems. On this subject, writers like E. B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy are reliable guides. Besides Persian, some Chinese influence is also found in some of the water colours of this period.

In the paintings of Ravi Varma and his followers and of Bombay presidency painters in general, except those like Kanu Desai, the influence of European art is predominant. In what has been called the Bengal School of Painting, originated by Abanindranath Tagore, there was at first some Japanese influence. I am not competent to speak on this subject, but I believe that this influence has been shaken off. Ajanta paintings influenced our painters very much. But they are striking out new paths for themselves. Gaganendranath Tagore stood and stands by himself. So does Mr. Jaminiranjan Ray. In painting Rabindranath Tagore is unclassed and stands by himself.

There are various styles of dancing—Manipuri, Kathakali of Malabar, Kandian of Ceylon and the ordinary north Indian style. Rabindranath has been creating new dance forms. I have seen some 50 photographs of dance poses of Siam in the collection of Mr. Bireswar Ganguly, advocate of Maymyo, Burma. Some of them are very similar to Indian poses.

Ancient Indian music, with variations, is practised all over India by Hindus and Moslems alike. Some of its greatest exponents have been Musalmans. Bengali Kirtan songs are perhaps a special creation of Bengal. Baool, Bhatiali, and some other indigenous kinds of songs are Bengal's own. So are Rabindranath's numerous songs of various kinds.

Languages prevalent in areas very remote from one another influenced one another even in ancient times. In Sanskrit there are words of non-Indian origin. So in old foreign languages there may be words of Indian origin. From the medieval age down to our own times, the languages of different countries have borrowed many words from each other. Modern Indian languages contain words of Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, English and other foreign origin. Similarly English and other European languages have borrowed Indian words. For example, "loot" is an Indian word lifted from India.

Conscious borrowing from European languages has been going on in India in the field of scientific technological terms. All these show linguistic cultural fellowship.

In philosophy, the inter-relations of Hindu, Buddhist, Greek and Arabic systems of philosophy have been discussed by occidental and oriental scholars.

In science, the decimal system of notation has travelled from India to all parts of the world. This is not the occasion to discuss what other original scientific work was done in ancient India. In modern times, we are learning most things in science from the West, but also adding a little to the world's stock of scientific knowledge ourselves.

There has been, therefore, cultural fellowship in philosophy and science from ancient times.

There was a time when some European Indologists used to fancy and say that the ancient Indian theatre and playing were derived from Greek prototypes. But perhaps even they have given up that theory, as it is false and untenable.

From ancient times, literature in the form of fables has performed long and successful journeys. How the stories of Panchatantra and Kathasaritsagara have travelled to distant lands—sometimes *via* Arabia and in somewhat altered forms, is known to scholars. Other kinds of literature have also migrated to distant lands. The stories which are known by the name of *The Arabian Nights* have been translated into all the principal languages of the world, including India. Some Persian works, like Firdousi's *Shah Nameh* and Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*, have been translated into many languages, wholly or in part.

Let me now confine myself to India, particularly to Bengal. Owing to Moslem influence, many Persian books have been translated into Bengali, such as Hatim Tai, Tutimama, Bahar Danesh, Gulistan, Laila-Majnun, etc. Under Mughal influence many Sanskrit works, such as some *Upanishads*, the *Ramayan*, the *Gita*, were translated into Persian. Such work brought about cultural unity between the followers of two faiths to some extent.

In modern times, many books have been translated from one Indian language into another. As far as I am aware, the Bengali books so translated have been greater in number than the books from any other modern Indian language. But Bengal has not neglected the other Indian languages altogether. The Ramayan of Tulsidas and his Dohas have been translated into Bengali, the *Abhangs* of Tukaram have been translated from Marathi, the Kural—that gem of Tamil literature, has been translated into Bengali, and so on.

So, there has been cultural fellowship in the field of literary effort.

As regards literary fellowship with the West, particularly with England, it may be stated here briefly that the modern Bengali novel, drama, short story and lyric are modelled on English patterns and are the indirect fruit of the deep-seated influence of English literature —though this influence has been so assimilated that there is nothing exotic in the works of the principal novelists, short story writers and writers of lyrics in Bengali.

Some English novels, short stories and dramas, some French short stories (mostly from English translations) and other works, and some Russian stories (all from English translations) have been translated into Bengali. Jyotirindranath Tagore translated some French works into Bengali. One of Selma Lagerlof's novels has been translated into Bengali from the original Swedish by Lakshmiswar Sinha and published in *Prabasi*.

We have thus established some sort of literary fellowship with Europe.

A few Japanese stories have also been translated into Bengali. Hence it is not in painting alone that Japan has given something to Bengal.

I have spoken before of India's cultural influence on many countries and islands of Asia. In modern times Europe and America have been influenced to some extent by some of India's great Sanskrit and Pali works and by her Vedanta philosophy. That many Bengali books—notably those of Rabindranath Tagore, have been translated into English, perhaps gives some indication of India's literary and cultural influence, however small, on Britain. Tagore's works have been translated into some other principal European and some Asiatic languages also. Some books written in some other current Indian languages have also been translated into English.

I have already taken up much of your time. I shall now conclude with some words on cultural unity in the sphere of religion. I shall not dwell on other social institutions, such as government and laws, marriage, etc.

It cannot be said with truth that there was never any religious intolerance and persecution in ancient and medieval India ;—of modern times I will not speak. But this can be asserted with truth that the indigenous religions of India and their adherents were not as intolerant and as fierce persecutors as the followers of some other faiths abroad. When Indian kings had the power to prevent the ingress and permanent settlement in the country of foreigners from abroad, even then the Jews settled here, the Parsis settled here, the Nestorian Christians settled here, the Syrian Christians settled here, and some Armenians also came into this country. There were no anti-Jewish, anti-Parsi or anti-any-other-ancient-immigrant purges or riots. That shows the tolerant and hospitable frame of the indigenous Indian mind.

I like the thing denoted by the expression religious tolerance, but not the phrase itself. For we have often to tolerate people who make a nuisance of themselves. I could wish there were a short expression signifying appreciation of and respect for faiths other than one's own. Of this virtue India supplies perhaps the earliest historical example. We all know that the emperor Asoka enjoined and practised equal appreciation and treatment of Brahmans and Sramans (Buddhist monks) alike. It is also on record that when, periodically, the emperor Harsha gave away all that his treasuries contained, Brahmans and Sramans, Hindus and Buddhists, were alike the recipients of what he gave.

But a much earlier example may be given. In the days of the Buddha we find va religious sects mentioned but no mutual pe cution. Some of the sects mentioned a Padaka, Latuka, Nigantha, Puppha-sata Tedandika, Ekasikha, Ajibika, Paribata Siddhipatta, Kondapuggalika, etc.

In the medieval age, the emperor Akbar se an example of cultural fellowship in the sp of religion. Dara Shukoh, eldest son of S Jehan, was also a very liberal-minded m His is the credit for a Persian translation o some of the Upanishads.

In medieval times the spirit of cult fellowship in the sphere of religion gave bi to a Dadu, a Kabir, a Rabidas, a Nanak, a Rajjab-ji, a Ramanand, and many anoth saint and sage of Hindu and Musalman extra-tion. Of Nanak it is on record that he sai "I am neither a Hindu, nor a Musalman; I a the servant of all." Of Kabir it has been sa that when he died, Hindus and Muslims want to perform the funeral rites according to th respective faiths. But on removing the pa only a heap of flowers was found. Perhap that symbolizes religious and cultural fellowsh and unity.

It is to be noted that though these medieva saints and sages were liberal and unsectaria in outlook, they were at the same time essen-tially Indian in spirit.

In modern times, there are records o Hindu-Moslem amity and fellowship. I wi pick out only one. In Dr. Taylor's *Topograph of Dacca*, published in 1839, Ch. IX, p. 257, th following passage is to be found:

> "Religious quarrels between the Hindus and th Mahomedans are of rare occurrence. These two class live in perfect peace and concord, and a majority of th individuals belonging to them have even overcome the prejudices so far as to smoke from the same hookah

Among individuals in India in moder times Rammohun Roy set the earliest and th most illustrious example of scholarly and dee appreciation of and respect for faiths other tha his own. That as a Hindu he studied th Vedas and other Hindu scriptures in the origin may not be surprising—though not man Hindus did it in those days or do it even no But he studied the Jewish and Christian scrip-tures also in the original Hebrew and Greek, t Islamaic scriptures in the original Arabic, and th Jaina scriptures in the original Sanskrit. As a boy of 16, he crossed the Himalayas to Tib to learn all about Buddhism. He wa acquainted with the teachings of the medieva saints of northern India in Hindi. When a Paris, he began to learn the language of th

Zoroastrian scriptures. He respected all sects alike.

With all his wide and deep scholarship in many oriental and occidental languages and his religious catholicity, he was a nationalist to the backbone. That there was no intellectual and spiritual Eurasianism in him is evidenced by his Bengali hymns, by the Sanskrit name, Brahma Samaj, chosen for the society of worshippers founded by him, by its order of divine service instituted by him, and by his editions of many Sanskrit scriptures, with translations.

The Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, deeply imbued with Upanishadic lore, was devotedly fond of Hafiz, too. So was Raj Narain Bose, first president of the Adi Brahmo Samaj and grand-father of Sri Aurobindo. He was a Sanskrit scholar, too.

Keshub Chunder Sen gave the appreciation of other faiths an institutional turn, as it were. One of his co-workers, Bhai Girish Chandra Sen, was the first to translate the Quran into Bengali, and to compile character-sketches of Moslem saints. Bhai Pratap Ch. Majumdar wrote "The Oriental Christ." Bhai Gour Gobinda Upadhyay wrote the *Gita Samanvaya Bhashya,* Bhai Aghornath Gupta wrote a life of the Buddha, and so on.

The essentially national element in Keshub's spiritual constitution manifested itself in his adoption and popularization of Vaishnava kirtan and religious dance.

The late Babu Abinash Chandra Majumdar, a missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, translated the Sikh scriptures, *Japaji* and *Sukhamani,* into Bengali.

The teaching of Paramahansa Rama Krishna Dev, "यत मत तत पथ," "As many doctrines, so many paths to the goal," has popularized the appreciation of faiths other than one's own. This doctrine and the spiritual attitude underlying it have been given greater publicity by his disciples than by any other body of religious men.

The Swami Vivekananda and his co-workers and disciples have combined the monism of the Vedanta with the practical philanthropy of the West to a greater extent than any other modern Indian group of religious workers.

The Theosophical Society has done much for the promotion of appreciation of all faiths.

May we be worthy of the teachings and example of all those teachers, sages and saints of all lands and ages who have stressed the importance of religious fellowship and cultural unity!

20th April, 1938.

THE BUDGET AND THE PACTS

By Major D. GRAMAM POLE

I HAVE heard many Budget speeches in the House of Commons but none I think that was received with less enthusiasm than that of Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was delivered yesterday. The standard rate of Income Tax has been raised to five shillings and six pence in the pound and this rise has certainly startled many of the Government's supporters. When one considers that even at the end of the Great War the highest rate of Income Tax was six shillings in the pound, one realises what a heavy load on industry this tax is in peace time. During the present year it is expected that Income Tax alone will yield no less than three hundred and forty-one and a quarter million pounds.

At the beginning of the Great War the Income Tax stood at one shilling and eight pence in the pound. So that a large potential source of revenue remained to be tapped by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the War. Accordingly it rose from one shilling and eight pence in the pound to the six shillings at which it stood at the end of the War. But if war should come now there seems to be little left for taxation from this source. And one has to remember that it is the principal source of revenue on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer relies.

Our total expenditure in 1913-14 was under two hundred million pounds a year. This compares with our budgetted expenditure for the current year of well over a thousand million pounds. One can only wonder how long this can go on without radically lowering the standard of living of the people. And even the budgetted expenditure does not tell the whole story, as Sir John Simon intimated that various supplementary estimates would be brought in during the year for rearmament expenditure and these would be met by loan. This of course will add to the total of the National Debt which now stands at well over eight thousand million pounds.

The duty on petrol is increased slightly. Twopence a pound added to the duty on tea will make little difference to the more comfortably off people, but will hit the working classes and poorer people very keenly indeed. As one man remarked to me in the House of Commons last night, "it is certainly not an Election Budget."

Meanwhile the Prime Minister has been going ahead with his international pacts. The settlement with Ireland is indeed a distinct score for Mr. De Valera as he has settled over a hundred million pounds of annuities for a payment of ten million pounds. The Agreement, however, is all to the good as it allows trade to flow freely between this country and Ireland. That will help not only the Irish cattle trade but also the British coal trade.

The Agreement with Italy may or may not be a good thing ultimately. Certainly the benefits to Italy are greater than the potential benefits to Great Britain. Mussolini received such a slap in the face from Hitler by the latter's sudden appearance on the Brenner Pass, Italy's northern boundary, that he was glad—and certainly the Italian people were glad—to have an appearance of friendship with Great Britain. To a certain extent it has "saved his face" in Italy. This Agreement, however, does not come into effect until Italy removes her troops and munitions from Spanish territory and there is no indication that Mussolini is in any hurry to do this. Indeed from time to time he publishes in Rome the lists of Italian casualties on the Spanish front. (One Spanish report gave the total number of Italian casualties in Spain at no less than 25,000.)

But the Berlin-Rome axis is now operated from Berlin. And Mussolini has become practically a vassal of Hitler. The Italians have no reason to love the Germans, while the Germans despise the Italians. Indeed no sooner were the Germans established on the Brenner than they began to divert traffic from Trieste (which of course has been in Italian hands since the Treaty of Versailles) to Hamburg.

The next danger spot in Europe is Czecho-Slovakia. Hitler has so far managed to take over the territory now comprised in Greater Germany without war. But it is extremely improbable that he could deal with Czecho-Slovakia in the same way. He can strangle her trade to a very great extent and perhaps force her to her knees in that way. But any direct attempt at incorporating any part of Czecho-Slovakia in the Greater Germany is likely to be met with armed resistance. The consequences of that no one can foresee. France has already said that he would go to the assistance of Czecho-Slovakia. If France is involved in war, as things stand at present, Great Britain would be almost immediately dragged in since, in Mr. Baldwin's words, our frontier is now the Rhine. Russia has also said that she would support Czecho-Slovakia. So that the World War that would ensue might well smash civilization. For the moment the outlook is very threatening. The claims of Herr Henlein on behalf of the Sudeten Germans are of such a nature, so one-sided and so presumptuous (even demanding a reversal of Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy) that they cannot and will not be conceded. But they seem to have the backing of the more or less official German press.

Disarmament, security, peace, all seemed to be possible, and indeed on the horizon, when the late Arthur Henderson was guiding the destinies of this country in the field of foreign affairs in 1931. The advent of the so-called National Government in that year changed the whole atmosphere and we seem ever since to have been drawing steadily nearer to war. And the present Budget, with an expenditure of over one thousand million pounds, is the price we have to pay for our National Government with its policy—or lack of policy—on foreign affairs. No one feels any sense of security now. The bombing aeroplane, for which we are in great part responsible, is an invention of the devil which may yet lay London, the finest target in the world, in ruins.

Great Britain still refuses to recognise Manchukuo as an "independent State" although Manchukuo is much more under the control of Japan than is Abyssinia under the control of Italy. The Italian conquest in Africa is by no means complete and so far is but dead sea fruit to Italy. But after the meeting of the League of Nations Council at Geneva early in May, Great Britain will recognise the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, incomplete as it is, while still continuing to refuse recognition to Manchukuo.

It is a sad reflection that our principles have to be subordinated to our interests. But so it is.

Great Britain has asked the League Council, when it meets on May 9th, to put on its agenda an item to consider "the consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia." As the *Manchester Guardian* has rightly pointed out, the League is being used as a cover for the British negotiations with Italy. Abyssinia of course is still a member of the League and its representatives will attend the meeting. China also is a member of the League so that the decision about Ethiopia will not be unanimous. While China refuses to recognise Manchukuo, which was torn from her by force by Japan, she is not likely to recognise the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia, a situation also brought about by force.

It is interesting to note that in spite of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle neither Germany nor Italy is at all averse to making money at the expense of their ally by supplying arms and munitions to her enemy. The position in China has very much altered in the past few weeks. Japan is by no means having it all her own way and her lines of communication are very vulnerable. China has an immense reserve of man power. Sixty per cent of all foreign war material going into China by way of Hong-Kong is of German origin and twenty five per cent of Italian origin. Russia has also been supplying some arms, although to nothing like the same extent. Japan's strength is gradually being weakened, while Russia is all the time getting stronger.

Italy fears that Germany may one day wish to seize Trieste and so have an important Mediterranean outlet. By her seizure of Austria Germany has alienated Italy and the greeting that Hitler will receive in Rome next week will be more on the surface than real.

Talks are at present going on in London between French and British Cabinet Ministers and their experts. France has inaugurated a series of talks with Italy in an endeavour to come to an agreement somewhat similar to the Anglo-Italian Agreement of last week. Mr. Chamberlain is anxious to have a similar agreement with Germany. But this may be more difficult to bring about and even if it were concluded it is doubtful how much reliance could be placed on the pledged word of Germany's present rulers. One of the most serious questions would be the withdrawal of the Germans and their armaments—and especially the latter—from Spain. France for safety established some of her principal munition works in the South and the Germans have placed heavy batteries along the Franco-Spanish frontier, although Franco has no obvious enemy there for their guns. If Germany is to retain this stronghold on the French frontier it is a very serious menace to France and would mean her keeping there a very large number of troops and munitions that in ordinary circumstances would be employed elsewhere. This makes it all the more urgent for both France and Great Britain to come to an agreement with Germany so that this menace on the French southern frontier may be withdrawn.

To turn now from Europe to India. It is very significant that in newspapers like the London *Times* and *Observer* articles have recently been appearing suggesting that although Provincial Autonomy has been working very successfully so far, the real test will come when it is proposed to inaugurate Federation on the lines laid down in the Government of India Act. When one remembers the attitude of these newspapers, in particular at the time of the passing of the Act, it is interesting to read in the *Times* that the "essential weakness of the Federation as embodied in the Act is that it seeks to unite two different systems of polity in one Government. There are, on the one hand, the democratic Governments of the British Indian Provinces, with Legislatures elected on a wide franchise and Ministries responsible to them. On the other, there are the Indian States, the vast majority of which are governed under a system which is strictly personal and undemocratic. Such an association is without parallel. While it is true that there is no constitutional anomaly in it, there is an element of undoubted danger. In theory the danger could be for both parties, for democratic British India as well as for the undemocratic Indian States. But in practice it is only the States that will have to face a political problem. The reason is two-fold. Personal government in India is on the defensive, while democracy has all the prestige of a political theory in power. Further, the demand for democratic institutions is already gathering strength in Indian States and has to some extent the support (by example) of the Paramount Power. The danger of democratic pressure on the States is therefore inherent, whether the Federation comes into existence or not, and they have to face the problem of constitutional reform without delay."

The article goes on to suggest that the Rulers of the States will undoubtedly be courting serious trouble unless their representatives, one-third in the Lower House and two-fifths in the Upper House, are elected on a democratic basis as representatives of the people and not merely as nominees of the Rulers.

Lord Lothian, in his two articles in the *Observer*, makes much the same point and it is true enough that it would be as easy to mix oil and water as it would be to make a harmonious Legislature out of the elements, democratic and autocratic, as laid down in the Government of India Act.

Although no word of this has yet been raised in Parliament, it is very significant that feelers are being put out, without encountering much opposition, in the very newspapers that were most averse to these proposals while the Act was being hammered out in Parliament.

London,
27th April, 1938

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MONEY?

By RICHARD B. GREGG

II

Now We Can Understand Our Troubles Better

We all of us use money and we are all affected by its qualities. Since in our kind of civilization money is a means to power and economic security, the desire of practically all men for power and security makes them go after money. Since it is a store of value which all men recognize and also since it has all those other functions above-mentioned, it plays upon whatever tendency man has for acquisitiveness, and by frequent and prolonged repetitions of slight stimuli it makes that acquisitiveness grow. Growth is inevitable from a great many repetitions of suitable slight stimuli. That is a law of life, which applies to intangible qualities or powers as well as to living tissues. All of us have impulses towards selfishness. Money plays upon and develops them.

Frequent, regular and prolonged use of tools (tangible or intangible) constitutes the most highly effective way of forming definite habits, —for example, the military, industrial, scientific, and religious disciplines. So the steady use of money creates in us a strong habit of acquisitiveness, the less polite name of which is greed. This happens to the little man as well as to the great man. Other things being equal, the man who uses money most is subject to the strongest stimulus and tends therefore to have his acquisitive instincts most strengthened. Greed develops not because the rich man is bad but because the instrument we all use is defective. We are all directly affected by money in different degrees. In the absence of strong contrary stimuli, it affects us according to the extent of our possession and use of it. Some form of money is necessary, but the present form is very dangerous.

Few of Our Ills Are Caused by Wicked Rich Men. Much of the Fault Lies in the Multiplicity of Functions of Money

Our troubles then,—community, class and national, both economic and social,—are not due to the original, inherent wickedness of scheming financiers and big industrialists, but rather to the defects of our economic counters and symbols. If those who do not possess much money could realize this fact, they could avoid any attitude of personal resentment against individual rich people, or the rich as a class. On the other hand, these same considerations should enable rich people to understand more easily how and why it is that they are blamed for the ill-effects of money. The fault-finding is not all due to envy. Further more, if some sensitive rich men are troubled by the effects of their wealth or by the grave faults of our economic system, they may better understand the causes of these evils and join with others to make effective improvements. Such realizations, if they can become widespread among all kinds of people, should help to lower the tensions of class feeling from both sides, and thus reduce danger of occasional violence.

Rich men are caught in and adversely affected by the same economic tool which we all must use. They are not to be personally blamed for the results, nor are they to be considered as devils. Of course not all rich people are noticeably affected adversely by their wealth. Some are very generous, simple, sensitive and possessed of sympathetic imagination

Nevertheless, with even the finest and strongest of them, money is a strain on their character, just as the sooty air of cities is a strain on the health of city dwellers, or as working in cold, damp places predisposes people to rheumatism.

I am not trying to excuse the abuses of power, the crimes and breaches of trust committed by some rich men; I am trying to explain the causes. Just as slum environment and impairment of family life are the predominant causes of some kinds of crime, so the defects of money are a direct and predominant cause of other kinds of crime. Of course the slums themselves and some impairment of family life are caused by the lust for money profit, and so we may say that indirectly or directly the desire for money profit is a cause of a very large part of all crimes.

Yet again, I am not saying that the acquisitive urge is wholly evil or that we should try to suppress it completely. Just as with most of our elemental urges, it is, within limits, natural and beneficial to mankind, excepting a few saints not subject to ordinary rules. But if any natural powerful tendency or activity of mankind,—for example, sex or eating,—is constantly over-stimulated so that it becomes gigantic or out of all proportion to the others, then there is trouble. That is our difficulty with money. It constantly over-stimulates the normal and healthy tendencies of man toward acquisitiveness, and develops an economic system which facilitates the exercise of every degree of avarice. It over-stimulates men's fears.

Don't Look for a Scapegoat

In this situation no good is done by trying to allocate blame and place responsibility upon any particular group of people. We are all of us jointly responsible for our failures to overcome our intellectual and moral laziness, for our failures to analyse more clearly, and to keep our judgment from being warped by selfish advantage. We ought to understand, to endure against temptation, to invent and apply economic instruments which will produce better moral results.

Present Form of Money Organises Avarice

I used to think that money was the heart of our economic and social system. Now I would say that the essence of our system is not an exterior thing but an inner attitude, a set of sentiments, a complex of several elements dominated by acquisitiveness or greed. Money in its present form is the symbol and instrument that stimulates and organizes acquisitiveness, makes it easy, certain, and limitless.

Trouble Increasing

If we continue to use money in its present form, the continued concentration of ownership and of control of wealth and the consequent growth of monopoly are inevitable. In all business transactions there is the chance of loss, and in course of time losses come to all. The fellows with small capital can't stand big losses, and drop out. The fellows with much can weather the storm, and then they absorb the business of the little men. With our present kind of money, the mathematical laws of frequency distribution necessarily produce concentration of wealth and growth of monopoly.[1] This means, before long, the complete destruction of almost all small enterprizes and of the entire middle class in every country, together with suffering, violence, terror, tyranny and wars. Modern inventions including several new forms of money, have greatly accelerated this cumulative process within the last two centuries. And now in the United States we are painfully realizing, may be too late, that the desire for quick money profit has caused our farmers to use land in such a way that erosion by water and wind has destroyed and swept away vast areas of top soil, leaving a rapidly enlarging desert. This is a danger worse perhaps even than war.

Effect on Spiritual Values

The comprehension of these qualities of money helps us to understand why it has had such a regrettable effect upon the church, upon other religious organizations, upon spiritual values, and upon individual and group morality everywhere.[2] We can better understand why one cannot worship both God and Mammon, and why the rules of Buddhist monks and early Franciscans forbade them to use money and why the *Bauls* of Bengal are also reluctant to use it.

Money hurts truth because it is ambiguous in its meanings, because it makes men try to squeeze all values into its one form, and because it pretends to measure accurately an unmeasurable thing, namely, human trust and faith. It stimulates greed and fear, and hence is divisive. It creates superiority and inferiority complexes. It causes frustrations and barriers of envy and jealousy. It does not stimulate respect for personality, but frequently makes people humiliate and insult personality. It destroys the effectiveness of other values. Christian Church members follow the rest of men in behaving everyday as if they trusted money more than God or more than their fellow-men. Money makes people misconceive wherein their real and enduring security lies. Money tends to warp the imagination and to injure the sense of human unity. It shrivels love and often impedes its outward expression. It creates conflicts in standards and motives. Hence, in so far as purity of heart is synonymous with singleness of purpose, money greatly interferes with purity of heart. The use of money makes integrity of personal character difficult. Its multiplicity of functions operates to create intellectual doubts and indecision, both mental and moral confusion. These inner conflicts create suppressions with psychological and moral effects that we have learned in recent years to recognize.[3]

---

[1] *See* L. Hogben—*Mathematics for the Million*, London, and W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1937, pp. 589-590.

[2] *See* J. A. Hobson—*God and Mammon*, Macmillan, New York and London, 1931; also R. H. Tawney—*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism by* Max Weber, Allen and Unwin, London.

Though money gives power, this power is exterior, and because of the moral effect of money, its possession and use tends to take away as much inner power from men as it gives to them externally. Indeed it probably takes away more than it gives. And it deprives them of the awareness of inner power, and thus detracts from the sense of spiritual reality.

Money tends to create a certain kind of moral irresponsibility, partly because it creates barriers between people, partly because it operates over greater distances than can usually be bridged by human knowledge and sympathy, and partly because it makes its more thoughtless owners feel that they can do anything and then buy their way out.

MORAL LAG IN SOCIETY

In relation to ideals, money is the great inconsistency whose constant use warps all our efforts at improvement. Several years ago Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr in his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*[4] pointed out with great cogency that the individual man is capable of and fairly often does rise to great moral heights, but that groups and societies of men lag far behind in this respect. I believe that one cause for this is that money is the predominating tool, energizer and binding force in the world today, and since it is so defective the group results of its common and constant use must be equally and indeed more defective. Since our civilization can be said to have money as one of its great foundation-stones, we can begin to see one important reason why our civilization is crumbling.

If all these considerations be true, we can readily understand why so many idealistic ventures have failed in the course of a few years. They are brought to naught by the character of the means which they use. We can see why so many men of high promise in their youth fail to make good morally, why their idealism seems to dry up.

RELATION TO DEMOCRACY AND TO NON-VIOLENCE

The believer in democracy must learn to realize vividly that the continued use of present forms of money will destroy his objective. Democracy is based on the belief that the opinion of every person has some value for the direction of the common life of the community and nation. It necessarily implies respect for human personality, a belief that personality, with its responsibility and initiative, is of the highest importance. Since the operation of money overrides respect for personality and promotes economic monopoly, it strangles both the social and political forms of democracy.

We feel helpless in the face of economic forces partly because of the momentum of our habits, but partly also because we are bound to the tools we have used so long that we now find them necessary. Money is the chief of those tools, and its defects make us impotent.

The believer in non-violence must understand the defects and deceitfulness of money, for if he remains ignorant of them he will be conquered. Since deceitfulness is a form of intellectual and moral violence, he must learn how to meet and overcome it in this particular manifestation as well as in the grosser form of physical violence.

Because of the confused way the different functions of money act upon one another and upon people, money is gradually destroying mutual trust among people and among nations. As that process goes on, violence increases, both the violence of individuals and of governments. The decrease of mutual trust and the increase of violence mean before long the end of civilization.

MONEY AND WAR

We all recognize that important causes of modern war are economic. Raw materials and markets are needed in order to make money profit. Munitions makers obstruct peace proposals and fan war scares and general apprehension in order to make money. They realize vast sums out of war when it comes. Newspapers magnify international suspicions, jealousies and resentments in order to sell more papers. The money power of big advertisers warps the news. National prestige is measured largely in terms of money. Modern imperialism is largely motivated by desire for money power. Undue desire for money results in injustices and misrepresentations which in turn create resentments and hatred, with probable overt violence. On all but rare and relatively brief occasions the highly organized power of money and financial concepts dominates directly or indirectly all essential departments of the government. Hence the stimulus that money supplies to greed and excessive competition is considerably responsible for militarism and for the threat to civilization which modern war contains. Because of the ambiguity and diversity of the functions of money, its use does not clarify, resolve and settle conflicts. Instead, it confuses men's minds and ethical impulses, creates resentments, suspicions, jealousies, rivalries and hatreds. Thus it creates occasions for the use of violence.

---

[3] See *The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics* by E. B. Holt, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1921, Chap. III.

[4] Scribwis, New York.

All nations are now engaged in economic warfare with one another constantly, and within each nation economic warfare goes on between different groups. Occasionally when this economic warfare reaches a critical stage it changes its form to military war and thus comes more clearly into the open. The change is more of outer form than of inner purpose or motive. Hence in order to do away with military warfare and its disastrous effects we must somehow do away with or greatly lessen economic warfare. I believe that suitable modifications in our chief economic instrument and stimulus, money, would do a very great deal to accomplish this end.

A Relatively Simple Remedy

When we come to consider possible remedies, we return to the point that a great many of the unfortunate effects of money come from the combination of several functions in one instrument. It is possible, then, that many of the defects of money in its present form could be eliminated by having a different kind of money for each of its present functions,—five or six separate kinds of money,—but linked together somehow so that transfers could easily be made from one form to another.

Separating the Functions of Money

As a matter of fact, this separation into different kinds of money according to function has already been done in part, and for the brief period it was in effect it worked well. I refer to the stamp scrip which was used in 1933 in over a score of towns and cities in the United States, also in Europe earlier. The English economist, Mr. J. M. Keynes, approves of it in principle.[5] Professor Irving Fisher of America urges its adoption. He described it clearly and fully in a little book called *Stamp Scrip*.[6]

The best form of stamp scrip separated the function of medium of exchange from all the other functions of money. It was only a medium of exchange, and it proved able to make the communities where it was used blossom like a rose all through the worst of the depression. Yet it was connected with the other functions of money by a simple device described in Professor Fisher's book. Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money. But it could not be hoarded. The bank had to pass it on.

I am not arguing here for the use of stamp scrip in the exact form that has been used. But I do suggest that it is not past the wit of mankind to extend that idea and split up money into say five or six forms, corresponding to its five or six functions. Simple means could be devised for connecting these different forms and making each one transformable into another as need might arise. All of those modifications and devices are for the experts to work out.

Analogy of Benefits from Improvement in Other Kinds of Symbols and Tools

In all instances of a clarification or other improvement in a set of symbols, a great advance for mankind has resulted. For example, Arabic numerals in place of the clumsy Roman numerals and the limited alphabetic numeral system of the Greeks, constituted a great step forward. The Hindu invention of the zero sign and place values for numbers was another immense advance. Similarly the invention of the symbols of differential and integral calculus proved a vast boon to mathematicians, scientists and engineers. Another great step was made in botany when Linnaeus invented his system of names to fit the classifications of plants. The same thing happened when new instruments were invented, such as the telescope, turret lathe, and spectroscope. The wide adoption and use of the steam locomotive caused great social changes.

---

[5] *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, by J. M. Keynes, Macmillan, London and New York, 1936, pp. 234, 257-8.

[6] Published by the Adelphi Co., New York, 1933. See also *Men Without Money*, by W. Weishaar and W. W. Parrish, G. P. Putnams Sons, N. Y., 1933.

Splitting complex substances into simpler forms has often yielded great benefits. For example, the fractional distillation of crude petroleum into benzine, gasoline, many grades of light and heavy oil, coal-tar, dyes, and parafine, each with well-marked characteristics and distinct standardized uses, developed many more uses than the original substance had, and also produced vastly greater real wealth. In some of their uses such substances can be thought of as tools.

Daylight saving, a simple shift in our time-measuring instrument, changes easily the habits of hundreds of millions of people. An improvement in our money tool could rapidly and easily accomplish for some of our moral habits more betterment, I believe, than centuries of purely moral exhortation and training. The long and ugly history of avarice could be tapered off, and human greed could be reduced to manageable dimensions. The desire for power would be diverted into more direct and open forms which could be controlled by disciplined non-violent resistance.

Relation to Socialism

Socialists would probably say that in all this I am barking up the wrong tree,—that the real remedy for our social and economic troubles lies in having the government, as representative of all the people, take over and own and operate the means of production. Without going into the pros and cons of that remedy. I would point out that for it to operate successfully there must first be a strong and widespread growth in the spirit of co-operation and mutual responsibility. When I say operate successfully I mean a number of things. I mean effectively in relation to the quantity and quality of goods produced and their distribution. Yet also I mean operate without an expensive and tyrannical bureaucracy and the enslavement of all the people. I mean economic justice but I also mean an increase in goodwill and in universal respect for personality, resulting in a vast decrease of violence, both within the country involved and in its relations with other peoples. Such a growth in co-operation, mutual responsibility, liberty, and respect for personality seem to me highly improbable if not impossible in our present Western culture, in which pecuniary values override all others. A money reform of the sort herein suggested is, I believe, an essential precondition to the successful working of socialism, and I say it with all due respect for Russian accomplishments. For those who believe in Henry George's thesis, my answer is the same. Until the harmful stimuli of present forms of money and the moral and intellectual confusions created by its use are removed, I doubt whether any other deep-going economic reforms can be permanently accomplished in the Western world. Modern society is so complex that there is no single root of or remedy for our ills, but there may be a certain chronological sequence or emphasis with which remedies must be applied in order to win permanent, all-round improvement.

Money Reform Not a Panacea

I do not believe that evil comes only from our environment, nor do I consider money the root of all wrong, or that there are no economic wrongs except those arising from its defects. I do not believe that human life was perfect before money was invented, or that some sort of reform of money would usher in on earth the Kingdom of Heaven, or that there are no causes of our present troubles more profound than the defects of money. Money reform is not a panacea. Yet all that I have said remains valid. Money has been of immeasurable service to the human race, and in some form we must and will retain it. Every one of its functions is important and indeed indispensable. Nevertheless, we must realize its present intrinsic qualities and the indubitable effect which the regular and prolonged use of a tool has upon those who use it. I believe it is time to analyze and understand clearly and fully the defects and dangers of our present forms of money, and try to remedy them. Like all man-made things, money has imperfections, and some of these defects can be removed.

Details of the Proposed Remedy

Having now stated the proposal in general terms, we naturally want to examine it in more detail in order to see and weigh its possible implications.

Stamp scrip was invented by a German named Gesell in the Argentine in 1890, was used successfully in Germany in 1919, with marked success in 1931 in Bavaria and Austria, and in 1933 as above stated, in over a score of towns and cities in the United States. In most instances in America the wrong form of it was used and had no great success, but where the right form was used it was very effective. Even the defective forms were decidedly helpful in several cases. In the right form the function of a medium of exchange was separated from all the other functions of money, and a special form for this one function was issued.

A piece of stamp scrip of the effective kind is shaped about like a ten-rupee note but has a distinctive colour and design so that it cannot be mistaken for a ten-rupee note. It bears on its face the name of the issuing community or private organization, its denomination (say one rupee) to make its purchasing power equivalent to that of the regular currency. On the back of the scrip is a set of 52 squared spaces, each dated to indicate the successive Wednesdays of the year. The community or organization which issued the scrip sells distinctive little adhesive stamps for one pice each, and one of these stamps must be stuck on the appropriate square for it each Wednesday in order to make the scrip continue valid. Wednesday is chosen for this so as to be several days removed from industrial pay day. By agreement among most or all of the shops, employers, and, if possible, one bank in the given community, the scrip would be accepted in payment for commodities of all kinds, and in payment of wages, local taxes, etc. But its effectiveness lasts only from one Wednesday till the next, being renewable only by putting a fresh one-pice stamp on the next unfilled square on the back of the scrip each Wednesday as it comes around. At the end of the year fifty-two such stamps have been affixed, meaning that Re. 1-0-4 in "real" money has been paid in to the issuing agency. This redeems the one rupee denomination of the scrip, and the slight excess of four pice pays the cost of printing and issuance, with a possible tiny remainder left to accumulate for a community health fund. Thus the scrip is self-liquidating.

In the towns where it was used this scrip was common medium of exchange and could be banked or invested, but it could not be hoarded in that form. It was good for only one week at a time, and its validity could be extended only from week to week and only by putting on a stamp costing one pice or the equivalent in the currency of the country where it was used. This scrip, you see, is *not* a store of value. The long-time element, necessary for a store of value, has been separated from it by the weekly stamp device.

The communities which used this scrip had their economic life going on busily, no unemployment, and no economic troubles to speak of. Numerous public works were completed by its use. Shops which at first refused to take it found the trade all going to the others, and so they joined the others. The speed of circulation of the scrip in the American towns which tried it was about four times that of the average dollar in normal times and about twelve times that of an average dollar during the depression. People would pass the scrip along so as not to have to pay for the little weekly stamp. The weekly stamp acted like an inescapable, confiscatory tax on hoarding. From the point of view of the tradesman, the weekly stamp was like a small tax, about 2%, on new business which otherwise he would not have had at all.

OPINIONS OF TWO ECONOMISTS

Professor Fisher, in the book mentioned, describes all the details, mode of operation, mode of installation, arguments and history of stamp scrip, and criticises its different forms. He states that the speed of circulation of money is the most baffling factor in the stabilization of the price level, and that stamp scrip would regulate that speed better than anything else. He says that it gives buying power to the consumer, and supplies him the compulsion to use it. He says that it would not constitute inflation because it is tied to actual consumer transactions, is issued only against actual goods and services, and is therefore limited. It may be added that since stamp scrip is not a store of value, but only a medium of exchange, the chances of inflation through it are very slight. It restores exchange to normal, but not being a form of credit it has no tendency to balloon. Nor does it constitute bad money which, under the operation of Gresham's law, would tend to drive out sound money. It does not drive out money but steps into the gap left by the so-called good money when it previously was retired from circulation because it was hoarded. Since stamp scrip supplements the failure of ordinary money in times of great distress, it can hardly be called "bad money." Indeed, the separation of the medium of exchange from the other functions of money would probably put an end to Gresham's law, thus making a new element of stability and security in the new forms of money.

Mr. J. M. Keynes in his latest book above referred to also approves of the idea behind stamp scrip but believes that some modifications should be introduced in order to make it generally successful.

THE LINKAGE OF FUNCTIONS

The stamp scrip, though being only a medium of exchange, was connected with the other functions of money. It was tied to ordinary money by the device of the weekly small stamp. Also it could be deposited in a bank and thus converted into a store of value in the hands of the bank to the equivalent value in ordinary money. The bank of course did not keep the scrip but passed it out to its customers, putting it immediately back into circulation, just as it usually does with the ordinary ten-rupee notes which you and I may deposit, only more quickly. Other connecting devices could be invented for use between the other forms of functional money which I have suggested. These forms could be integrated with our bank checking system, probably through modifications of the present form of checks. The connecting links between the different forms of money would need to be some specific devices acting in definite, uniform fashion.

POSSIBLE DEVICES

The function of a store of value might be represented by specially colored paper bills of several kinds, valid only for stated periods. Then the appropriate kind could be used in relation to the special kind of work to be done. The speeds of conversion of different raw material into finished products, and the speeds of transport of different commodities might be governing factors here. One kind might be valid only for the maximum expectation of life of a person, thus doing away with some of the difficulties of unlimited inheritance of wealth. Perhaps there might be an agricultural scrip valid only for a year or for a season, with of course a mode of translating it into the store-of-value form or some other. Or if all banks were operated by the Government, storage of value might be confined only to bank accounts, with perhaps special arrangements as to the special kind of stored value represented by rights to money income inherent in corporate or Government securities. Especially large amounts or long terms of credit might be limited to community or governmental use.

All of these modifications and devices are for the experts to work out.

Some form of stamp scrip money, by separating the medium of exchange function from all the others, would make it much easier for the Government or the Central Bank System to control the quantity of currency and its speed of circulation. This would in turn make possible better control of fluctuations in the measure of value function, and hence would stabilize prices of all commodities. Since the medium of exchange is, for the great majority of people, the most important function of money, stamp scrip could well be adopted pending the working out of the other forms, thus beginning promptly with the most important change. We do not need to wait until all the forms are worked out in complete detail.

If a separate form of money were created to act only as a measurable symbol of trust and credit, I believe that its divorce from the other present functions of money would do much to release people's minds from the confusion between symbol and reality in relation to money, human trust, faith, credit and belief. The reality of that imponderable state of mind and feeling would become stronger. Also I believe certain other doubts would be resolved.

ONE CRITICISM AND ITS ANSWER

For instance, a critic of these ideas might well say that although the trust which people have in Mr. A. because of his conduct for many years is an undoubted reality and asset to Mr. A., yet as an asset it depends upon Mr. A. having lived in that community for a considerable number of years and his continuing to live there. Suppose he wants to move elsewhere, ought he not to be able to "cash in" on that asset and take it with him to the new place? That is, ought not the symbol to have reality and value by itself? What if his business keeps him always on the move?

My proposals do not really present this difficulty. The means by which value is created or stored need not be the same as that by which it is transferred, yet one form could be translated by appropriate devices into the other. The wise merchant's conduct gradually builds up a fund of individual and community trust in him and that trust expresses itself to a large degree in money tokens. To the extent that it does so, he can transfer it to a new place. That part of it which does not so express itself cannot be immediately transferred to another place. Some of it may later find a transferable expression. Some of it will remain permanently in the community. It will be part of the evidence, part of the foundation of past acts which have given all the people of that community a common faith in humanity. That is the case at present and would continue to be if changes in money were put into effect. Nobody can pump out of the community every bit of trust which his honest deeds have created. We should be glad to leave with the community a considerable part of that trust, for it g to form an environment of security for us our children. Our little daily acts grow like oral reef. Trust is not, and cannot be made, s wholly unilateral affair. An attempt to make so creates resentment and mistrust. Indeed person's willingness to leave behind him some the trust he has created, to "lose" some of to the community, is itself one of his assets. recognizes the truth of life that time and etition are necessary for growth, that all anity is one, so that he cannot act merely and unto himself. The more richly and orously he has lived upon this basis, the less loses when he moves to a new locality. His has become more widely known and his racter is stronger and more quickly realized the new community.

Furthermore, a person's mode of action and results become part of his character and are, careful observers, perceivable in his eyes, uth, voice, carriage, and manners. If he ves to a new town, he takes his character h him and it is perceived by the strangers re instantly and to a large extent the longer stays there. So some of the trust which the community had in him he carries wherehe goes, not in his pocketbook but in his dy and personality. It cannot be stolen m him.

We dare not try to separate ourselves irely from the community in this matter of alth or in any other matter. Nor should we to externalize and express in tangible, nsferable form all the trust which we feel ards others or which they feel towards us would lose both inner and outer security and wer, more important to our life than any gible thing. Indeed, one of the great gers of our present form of money is that it ns into individual fortunes the wealth created the community, and then trust, good will and ral health wither and decline. In this respect ney has acted like private appropriation of munity-created values in land, the effects which were so clearly stated by Henry rge.

SOME RESULTS OF SEPARATING MONEY'S FUNCTIONS

Since so many of the evil results of money come from this combination of many tions in one instrument, it seems highly able that the separation of those functions the provision of a special instrument for function would go far toward solving many troubles which now encompass us. This ration of functions with a particular medium each would also make it possible to see far clearly the problems within the limits of each function and thus hasten further reforms. For example, it would probably then be much easier to solve the difficulties involved in having a tangible measure of so subjective, subtle and fluctuating a thing as value, and to decide more surely the merits of proposals to have instead a measure of energy conversion. We could more readily reach a sound conclusion whether to abandon permanently the gold standard. We could consider with more charity and wisdom the question whether to place a limit on the function of storage of value. Again, the problems whether to adopt the social credit scheme of Major Douglas, or to permit credit to continue to be issued by private banks operating for private profit, could be treated more wisely and perhaps with less heat than at present. The proposed separation of money functions and of their operations would permit sound discrimination and therefore wise choices and decisions, and would make possible a control of results and a vastly sounder moral situation.[7]

Like machinery, money has given man an exterior power of control over his fellows out of all proportion to his inner powers,—his self-control and wisdom. This lack of proportion between his inner and his outer powers makes inevitable many immoral results from the use of money. It would be irresponsible and immoral of me to try to operate an airplane before I had developed understanding of its mechanisms and controls, had acquired skill in handling it, knew where I was going, and cared more for human life than for machines or for the thrill of flying. Without those preconditions, my trying to fly would involve grave danger to others as well as to myself. But the construction of the airplane might conceivably be greatly simplified so that it would be much more nearly fool-proof, self-balancing, etc. Then the skill required for its successful operation would be within my reach and conscious responsibility. Then my use of it might involve but little danger, and so not be immoral. Similarly, by correcting the form and functions of money we may make it more nearly related to man's present inner power of self-control and wisdom. Such a change may even strengthen his self-control.

Our social and moral relationships are largely expressed in economic modes. Since our economic language,—money,—is clumsy, inaccurate, inadequate, ambiguous, and variable, our morals are gravely hampered. If money can be corrected and improved, an immense load can be lifted from the entire human race. I am thoroughly optimistic about human nature. As soon as it is given proper environment and proper tools, economic, moral and intellectual, the race will enter a new era of happy development.

---

[7] See *The Freudian Wish and its Place in Ethics* by E. B. Holt, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1929, Chap. III.

If we understand how the stimuli of the defects and pressures of money have warped men's characters, and that the substitution of better stimuli can again cause sound growth, we renew our faith in the possibilities of improving our social and economic systems without violence.

MAYBE NO IMMEDIATE ADOPTION

It is not likely that such changes will be adopted while we continue on our present level of economic recovery. The failure of the recent attempt to adopt stamp scrip in Alberta indicates this improbability. But when another very big depression comes, there is a fair chance of stamp scrip being more widely used, and perhaps permanently continued. It might be begun even now in communities where the proportion of unemployed is very high. This use would lift much of the burden of unemployment from local governments. People are more likely to their ideas and habits during periods of insecurity than at any other time. Often changes are regressions, like the tendency violence. But the change I advocate woul a progression and would do much to end insecurity.

BENEFITS OF CLEAR UNDERSTANDING

In any case, if people get a clearer the defects of money and its influence upon they have taken the first step toward from those bad effects. The truth shall you free. Only when we understand the of disease and health can we make sure to health? A person who knows all complex and dangerous instrument and its on him is less apt to be hurt by it than one is ignorant of its parts and working. One has the right inner attitude can take as a what another man would consider as an A clear understanding of the dangers of will make less insidious the temptation upon some leaders to sell out their cause. understanding will help those who are to live rightly. It will help all of us.

CONGRESS COTTON COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By S. P. PALEKAR

It is now three months since the report of the Congress Committee on cotton was published. The comparatively long time that I have taken in putting together the following criticism will, it may be hoped, prove to be an indication not of any laxity of thought but of the profundity of the subject itself.

The report can be conveniently divided to embody the following measures:—

(1) Curtailment of area under cotton.
(2) Loans against cotton.
(3) Facility regarding rent or revenue.
(4) Freight reduction.
(5) Export subsidy.
(6) Prohibition of the imports of finer cotton.
(7) Changing over to superior varieties of cotton.
(8) Regulation of "Teji", "Man operations.
(9) Control of ginning and pres factories.

The report says that the present slump Indian cotton is due to the policy of econ self-sufficiency pursued by foreign coun The whole position of Indian cotton today therefore, be summarised as one in which is an exportable surplus of raw cotton and prices realized by the cultivators are culously low. In view of this situation proposal of the committee to restrict the under cotton sounds quite reasonable. For would imply a smaller number of engaged in the cultivation of cotton and quently a smaller number of people that be hit adversely by the slump in world prices. Furthermore there seems to be a tacit presumption that this would decrease the world supply of cotton and would raise the world prices. Now this will not be the actual state of things. Though India provides a fairly large portion of the world supply it has not yet attained that supreme stage to be in a position to formulate and dictate the tone of the world-market. Moreover, one cannot positively say that the prices of cotton will never go up. If, however, they do go up, in course of time, say by fortuitous circumstances as a world war, the cultivator would be robbed of the blessings of such a rise which he would have enjoyed in the ordinary course of things.

The committee does not seem to have explored all the possible channels of aleviating the present distress of the cottongrowers. Too much stress is laid on facilitating the export of the surplus cotton. There is no mention of the possibility of wiping out the surplus by internal absorption. This could be effectively achieved by giving a powerful stimulus to the cotton mill industry, by improving it on the most up-to-date lines and thus enabling it to absorb the surplus of raw cotton and to convert it into manufactures which would then be exported. This was hinted a couple of months ago in the Bombay Legislative Assembly when the need for an aggressive and progressive policy of industrialization was urged upon the Government. This would prevent the export of raw cotton which, like the export of any raw material, is always accompanied by disastrous consequences to the economic development of any country when the same raw material is imported from abroad as a manufactured commodity for home consumption.

This brings us to the question of growing cereal and fodder crops on land given up for cotton. Now the selection of the cereal, on which depends the entire success or failure of the proposals, would be such an extremely difficult and technical problem that the slightest miscalculation would involve the cottongrower into complete ruin. Moreover this change from money crops to food crops savours of a gradual move towards the ideal autarchy which doctrine would never tolerate a state-subsidy given for the export of any raw material, far less cotton.

"To strengthen the holding capacity of the cotton cultivators and with a view to preventing excessive seasonal decline in prices" the committee recommends "loans at 2 per cent through the Imperial Bank against a deposit of cotton." This problem of agricultural credit is at present being tackled by the Reserve Bank. I do not at all thereby suggest that the proposal is out of place or superfluous but feel that it will be very difficult to implement the proposal so long as branch-banking is not fully developed in India.

It is not quite clear what the committee means by "dealers". If, as it seems, it comprises the *adatya* and a host of other middlemen, their low holding capacity and the necessity of giving them any relief may be seriously doubted.

So far as the relief proposed to be given to a cultivator who is unable to pay the land revenue or rent is concerned, it must be noted that the Congress governments will be faced with the same difficulty which will confront the Madras Government with regard to the agricultural debt relief sought to be given in that province. The Government will get only a hazy notion, a misty fragment, of the ability or the inability of a particular cultivator to pay the land revenue or rent. Thus there is every chance of this charity being misplaced. But, of course, the Government would say that these things cannot be helped. The sun shines both on the rich and the poor alike.

Referring to the freight reduction the committee says that the cultvator invariably gets a price in which the freight is fully discounted. Freight reduction if any therefore will not reach the cultivator. Now it is curious to note that in spite of this the committee had further recommended that,

> "The Government of India should devise a scheme for reduction of freight on consignments which are intended for export and which in fact are exported."

But the committee does not seem to have regarded the export subsidy in the same light. The export subsidy would never go to benefit the cultivators but the middlemen who at present hold almost all the stocks of surplus cotton as the holding power of the Indian agriculturist is deplorably low. Even taking it for granted that it will somehow or other filter through to the cultivator, one is forced to the conclusion that it is a virtual negation of the first proposal to restrict the area under cotton. For the cultivator on his part will be tempted to grow as much cotton as possible, being goaded on by the certainty of the State undertaking to dispose it off at its own cost. In this connection the financial aspect of the subsidy should not be overlooked as it will mean a further drain on the Exchequer whose solidarity is already threatened by such schemes as those of prohibition, technical education, agricultural relief, rural development and many others. If therefore more importance is to be given, as it should be given, to the interests of the cultivator, it must be admitted that a production bounty given to him would reach him more directly through a reduction in the land revenue and rent than the export subsidy which would be of use to him only at some remote time when he would become aware of it. Thus a production bounty would be more desirable not only to minimize the present distress but also to expedite the economic development of the country.

As regards this export subsidy the Report says that extraordinary inducements are being held out to cotton purchasers by America and it is not right that India should allow her customers, through neglect, to be "snapped by the United States. Serious measures should be contemplated for an export subsidy." The committee's argument for this subsidy is the "difficulty of exporting Indian cotton due to its being above parity in relation to the prices of foreign cotton."

Now, I have already emphasised above the fact that the export of any raw material particularly one so valuable as cotton, should never be the ambition of India who is now on the threshold of a new epoch in the history of its industrial development. The admission at the very outset, by the committee, of the policy of economic self-sufficiency followed by other nations coupled with its recommendation for stimulating exports of cotton leads to a logical contradiction. If the foreign nations are inflamed with a spirit of economic nationalism and are determined to be independent of any other nation for the supply of their needs, of what use is an export subsidy? It will only go to facilitate the export of a commodity that is not wanted outside. Under these circumstances, it may reasonably be asked why the State should bear the burden of the difference between the home-price and the foreign-price of cotton and the consumer be unduly saddled with a tax, however small, "to recoup the expenditure on the subsidy" as the committee has suggested?

The ambition to compete with a resourceful country like America is, indeed, a glorious one. But let us compute our rival properly. Let us not forget the fact that whatever cotton America exports today is the residue after all her enormous industrial requirements are fully satisfied. On the contrary our exports represent the blood of our future industries which have at present fallen innocent victims to the lethargy of the State and its prejudice against the industrialization of India. Let us therefore keep our resources within the country and also at the same time follow a vigorous policy of extensive industrialization not only as a temporary measure of retaliation but also as a permanent effort to march shoulder to shoulder with other nations towards the goal of economic salvation.

The committee, under the same heading has also suggested:

> "The textile industry, both hand and machine, should be assured adequate protection against cheap foreign cotton goods, if necessary."

Now if the committee is so anxious about maintaining the status and position of our industries in the home-market why did it not also consider the problem of furthering the same in the world of manufactures abroad? The very conspicuous absence of even a mention of a production bounty is enough to prove that they did not do so.

The committee deplores the action of several millowners and cotton merchants in actively negotiating for the import of American and African cotton. The Report says:

> "This threatened invasion of foreign cotton, when we have an unmanageable amount of surplus in India, is one which it is the imperative duty of the State to ward off. We feel it is necessary to ask for total prohibition of the import of cotton of one-inch staple and below, from whatever source. We recommend that all provincial governments in whose area cotton is grown should urge the necessity of such a measure on the Government of India.'"

Here one feels that *total* prohibition of the imports of finer cotton will react unfavourably upon the Indian cotton-mill industry which is developing rapidly and has a promising and bright future before it. Let it be clearly understood that I hold no brief for the millowners. Yet I am forced to remark that it will be an injustice done to them who will lose sight of their prospective high status in the sphere of world manufactures, by being forced to have recourse to inferior qualities of indigenous cotton which does not lend itself with any great felicity to the manufacture of finer cloth without being mixed. Therefore imports of finer cotton, in however small quantities, are absolutely essential if finer cloth is to be produced from home-grown cotton. The committee perhaps having realised this difficulty, has also recommended changing over to superior varieties. But in the meanwhile we must avail ourselves of the imports, if only as a pair of crutches which will be discarded when we shall not need them any more. Incidentally, if the changing over is to be successful we must resort to a proper classification and a careful selection of seeds rather than to "acclamatization of exotics."

As noted above, the committee has recommended changing over to superior varietes of cotton. We may here pause to ask ourselves the question: Why was it that the Indian cultivator did not take to superior varieties in the past? Was it due to ignorance? Conservatism? No. It was due to practical commonsense. He did not take to superior varieties mainly because they do not pay him. To ripen fully the superior variety takes from about two to three months more than the inferior one. The poor cultivator being very much hard-pressed cannot manage to stand the delay. Moreover, the longer time of waiting introduces the element of the vagaries of the season and the possibility of pestilence to crops. Secondly, the inferior variety is more prolific *i.e.*, the yield per acre is definitely greater than that of the superior one. Thirdly, the inferior variety, it has been found by experience, can resist diseases much more strongly than the superior one which succumbs to them very easily. And finally, the ginning percentage is greater in the case of inferior variety which yields more lint than the superior one which yields more seeds. I am not here making out a case for the cultivation of inferior quality but I fail to see how the execution of this proposal will be possible or paying to the cultivator.

Coming next to the regulation of "Teji" "Mandi" operations (forward transactions) the committee states that these should be strictly controlled and recommends an enquiry to be held by the Bombay Government. I hope the committee has not in mind their total suppression on German lines. There is such a thing as healthy speculation which has its own advantages. And if control is proposed to be exercised on these forward transactions, it will be very difficult, if not quite impossible, to distinguish between rational speculation and speculative speculation. Moreover it is high time that we realised the despiriting delays caused by holding enquiries the results of which, it is common experience, only rot in the obscurity of the secretariat pigeon-holes. We have had enough of committees, commissions, reports, enquiries and a host of other things in the past. What is now wanted is action—a strong, deliberate and determined action.

In conclusion, the report says:

> "Owners of gins and presses combine for exploiting the distress of the farmer by forcing him to pay excessive charges."

Therefore it recommends:

> "Government regulation to bring down the charges to competitive level."

This needs no comment. But it may be suggested that it will be very difficult to lay down an equitable maximum.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN PRE-BUDDHIST INDIA

By RATILAL MEHTA, M.A.

THE aim of the present paper is to give a glimpse of the administration of a village, in so far as it is reflected in the *Jataka* stories. Here it is taken for granted that the *Jataka* stories give a reflection of the life and thoughts of the period just preceding the Buddha, of the period which can well be called the *Mahajanapada period*—approximately ranging from 600 B.C. to 800 B.C.[1] These simple folk-tales give us a wealth of information about the life of the masses of those days.

There can be no doubt that such extensive states as Kasi and Kosala, Anga and Magadha, Assaka and Kalinga which flourished during this period had well-marked boundaries and distinctions and were divided into different administrative units, provinces or districts and villages. Though we, unfortunately, do not get much information about the provincial or the district administrative arrangements, it is, nevertheless, conceivable that, officials like the *rajjugahaka amaccas*[2] or *rajukas*[3] were the provincial heads. It has been well maintained[4] that the *rajukas* or *lajukas* of the Asokan Inscriptions were provincial heads, their main functions being, presumably, survey, land-settlement and irrigation. Though the term *mahamatta* occurs several times in the *Jatakas,*[5] it is very difficult to say how far it corresponds with that occurring in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and the Asoka Inscriptions where, indeed, it has been taken to mean provincial official.[6] Similarly is it doubtful whether the *Yuttas* and the *purisas* appearing so often in these stories,[7] should have any affinity with the *Yuktas* and the *purusas* of the Mauryan administrative system.[8] It is certainly difficult to attach any technical significance to these general terms. Still we may be permitted to hold that, these were officials connected with the provinces or districts, but did not possess such wider and more distinct powers as their followers of the Mauryan days did. Lastly, we may note that, there is even a suggestion to the effect that some kings appointed their princes as governors or viceroys over the provinces (*janapadas*) in their kingdoms,[9] as was really the case in the Mauryan days.[10]

The village, on the other hand, was clearly an administrative unit. After all what was a kingdom if not a definite collection of villages?[11] Then, as even now, the bulk of the people lived in villages. The greatness of a kingdom is represented by the large number of villages it included.[12]

A village (*gama*) consisted of closely situated habitations in the midst of cultivated fields and jungles. Beyond the fields lay the waste and the woodland where the village-cattle were grazed,[13] and the villagers went to gather firewood and leaves of trees.[14] Most of the villages were protected with simple bamboo-palisades with gates.[15]

The population of a village extended from thirty to a thousand families,[16] or, approximately, 150 to 5000 souls. It is not necessary here to go into economic details. But it is quite essential to state some of those facts in order to get an idea of this administrative unit —the village.

---

[1] This point is discussed in detail in my forthcoming book *Ancient India in the Jatakas.*

[2] *Jataka,* II, pp. 367-8.

[3] *Rock-Edict* III; *Pillar Edict IV.*

[4] Dikshitar. *The Mauryan Polity,* pp. 208, 216-19.

[5] *J.,* II, pp. 367, 378; IV, pp. 134—*Gatha* 101, where *mahamattas* are distinct from *mantins;* 202—"*ranna va rajamahamattena.*"

[6] Dikshitar, *op. cit.,* pp. 208-10. Of the third group of provincial officers, namely, the *pradesikas* or the *pradestaras,* we have no mention in the stories.

[7] *J.,* IV, p. 492; V, pp. 14, 117—G. 20, where *yuttas* are clearly associated with the *janapada* or district affairs: I, pp. 200, 263, 384; II, p. 122; III, p. 326; VI, p. 135.

[8] Dikshitar, *op. cit.,* pp. 222-27.

[9] *J.,* IV, p. 131—*Raja tesani janapadani da* *uyyojesi;* also VI, p. 294-G. 1284.

[10] Prince Bindusara was the Viceroy of the Southe Provinces : Asoka is also said to have been the Vicer at Takkasila: and under Asoka himself, no doubt, th princes (*Kumalas*) were appointed as Viceroys at Tax Ujjein, Tosali and Suvannagiri : See Dikshitar, *op. c* pp. 200 *ff.*

[11] *Cf.* Rhys Davids : "But the peoples of In then much more even than now, were, first and forem village-folk "—*Buddhist India,* p. 50.

[12] *J.,* III, pp. 365-7—G. 76—*gamasahassani p* *punnani Solasa;* V, p. 258—G. 41—*Satthi gamasahass* *paripunnani Sabbasa.* The figures 16,000 and 60,000 m seem to be exaggerated, but they are not altogether i probable. *Cf.* Pran Nath; 'Videha may certainly ha contained 16,000 villages, provided village be taken i the sense of survey village or estate—*Economic Con* *tion,* p. 51.

[13] *J.,* I, pp. 193-4.

[14] *J.,* V, p. 103.

[15] *J.,* I, p. 239; II, p. 76—*nalaparikkhitto;* 13 III, p. 9; IV, p. 370.

[16] *J.,* I. p. 199—*Tasmin ca game tims'eva kul* *honti;* V, p. 71—*ekekasmin panca panca kulasat* *vasanti;* III, p. 281—*tesani gamato avidure anno Sa*

There were different orders of villages, *viz.*, *nigamagama*, *janapadagama*, *dvaragama* and *paccantagama* and villages occupied with different guilds varying in importance and population. People could live in these villages a simple and inornate life 'pursuing their trade and commerce, agriculture and various other avocations in peace and security.'

Though so far as the internal administration of a village was concerned, it enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy, the central government did not follow a strictly non-interfering policy, as we shall see.

Every village was under the control of its headman called the *gamabhojaka*,[17] or the *gamani*.[18] The literal meaning of the title *gamabhojaka* would be, one who enjoys a village, *i.e.*, a village given in reward by the king. Now, there seem to have been two types of villages, *viz.*, (*a*) those, the revenues yielded by which were enjoyed by an individual and (*b*) others, the revenues of which were enjoyed by the State. In either case there must be a headman. Whether this headman was the rewarded person himself or not is not at all clear. It may be easily supposed, however, that, the higher officers like the *purohita* who were the usual recipients of such grants could not possibly act as the headmen of the villages. In that case, they only had concern with the annual income to fetch which they would proceed to their respective villages and leave every other item of administration in the hands of a person who was really the headman. In some other cases where the recipients were just ordinary persons like a merchant or a Brahmana, the headman may have been the same as the recipient. Anyhow, since the distinction cannot be more comprehensive, we may proceed with our task of observing the actual administration of a village, taking the *gamabhojaka* of the stories as the headman proper.

The functions and powers of the *Gama bhojaka* were wide and important. He exercised judicial powers and also executive authority so far as his civil and, to a certain extent, criminal jurisdiction extended. Thus one *gamabhojaka* issued prohibitions against the slaughter of animals within his jurisdiction;[19] and another stopped the sale of wine.[20] Elsewhere,[21] a *gamabhojaka* fined a fisherman's wife for stirring up a quarrel and she was tied up and beaten to make her pay the fine. Once when crops failed in a village due to famine, the headman distributed food to the famine-stricken villagers on promise of receiving a share of their next crops.[22] These instances sufficiently indicate that the headman had substantial powers at his command. But his powers were not unlimited, nor completely transferred. He could not become a tyrant in his own village.

Firstly, he was not without any control from above, *i.e.*, the king. Once a *gamabhojaka* spoke ill of the villagers to the king, but on their innocence being proved, the slanderer's (*pesunnakarakassa*) possessions were given away to them and he was made their slave and finally turned out of the village.[23] Another headman was properly punished by the king, as he, with his own people, went away to the forest, deliberately leaving the villagers at the mercy of robbers.[24] That his judicial powers also were restricted in character is seen from the fact that he could not deal with complicated law-suits arising in his village,[25] nor could he inflict graver punishments. We see from the *Gamanicanda Jataka*[26] that, in judicial matters the final authority largely rested with the king, or his Court. It also proves that the administration of justice was one of the essential links[27] that bound the village to the Central Government. If one of the litigant parties in a village wanted redress at the hands of the king or his Court, in spite of suitable arrangements in the village itself, he could do so and the case had to be decided accordingly. If the other party refused to agree to such a course, he was liable to punishment.

---

kutiko gamo; also III, p. 8—*tattha timsa jana rajasevaka vasanti*, where thirty men must of course mean thirty men with their families.

[17] *J.*, I, pp. 199, 354, 483; II, p.p. 136, 300—G. ?; IV, pp. 115, 326.

[18] *J.*, *IV*, p. 310—G. 84; *gramani* is a *Vedic* title for the village-headman; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 247.

[19] *J.*, IV, p. 115—*gamabhojako maghatam karapesi.*

[20] *Ibid.*, *gamabhojako majjavikkayaṁ varetva.*

[21] *J.*, I, p. 483.

[22] *J.*, II, p. 135.

[23] *J.*, I, pp. 199-200.

[24] *J.*, I. p. 355—*ayam dutthabhojako corehi ekato hutwa gamam vilumpapetva coresu palayitva . . . . tam kammam pakatam jatam. Ath'assa raja dosanurupam niggahain akasi.*

[25] *J.*, III, p. 204.

[26] *J.*, II, p. 301.

[27] Another essential link was the revenue-collection.

So we are told,

"Now these people have a custom that they pick up a bit of stone or a potsherd, and say: 'here's the king's officer: come along.' If any man refused to go, he is punished."[28]

Secondly, the villagers themselves, perhaps through their committee, exercised not a little amount of influence on the activities of the headman. In both the instances cited above, *viz.*, of prohibitions against animal-slaughter and sale of intoxicating liquors, the villagers make a representation in a body to their headmen to suspend or annul the prohibitions, for those were their time-honoured practices. The headmen had to yield and say: 'Do as you have always done aforetime.'[29] The village committee must have been a potent force in the carrying out of the affairs affecting the common interests of the villagers in general. Although it is not possible to say anything definitely regarding the constitution of such committees, indications are not wanting to point out the fact that, the heads of the houses in a village carried on their common affairs in remarkable harmony and co-operation. It is necessary to point out in this connection that, though the majority of villages very likely contained a heterogeneous population, there were others inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single class or followers of a single occupation thus making a homogeneous whole.[30] In this latter case, the guild or corporation (*seni*) which was already a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people, shared with the headman the responsibility of carrying on the management of rural affairs. And if the village consisted of men following more than one profession, the village committee might have comprised a representative of each family in the village. Thus we see, in the hamlet of Macala in the kingdom of Magadha, heads of thirty families of which its population was composed, assembling together in the middle of the village, and carrying on its business.[31]

Similarly, in another place,[32] we find the same number of men transacting the village affairs. This is significant enough. And as has been well observed:

'It may not also be improbable that, irrespective of the total population of a village, the committee usually consisted of thirty members or thereabouts.'[33]

The meetings of the village committee must have been held in a hall (*sala*) in the midst of the village, provided with boards, seats and a jar of water.[34] As to the nature of work generally performed at these meetings (*gama-kammam* or *gamakiccam*) the same Macala hamlet provides us with an interesting example. The members of this corporate body are found to be in complete agreement with their leader who is credited with much initiative.[35] Here the leader is said to have established the members of his committee in the Five Commandments and, thenceforth, to have gone about with them doing good works. Then the people, too,

"doing good works always in the Bodhisatta's Company, used to get up early and rally forth with razors and axes and clubs in their hands. With their clubs they used to roll out in the way all stones that lay on the four highways and other roads of the village, the trees that would strike against the axles of chariots they cut down: rough places they made smooth; causeways they built, dug water-tanks and built a hall".[33]

A remarkable picture, this, revealing before us the healthy spirit of communal work, the sense of dignity of labour and the genuine public spirit. Observes Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji:

"We have here in this short paragraph a most graphic and complete account of the evolution through all its stages of a village built up by the communal labour of its inhabitants. We may notice how the assembly hall of the village figures prominently in its public works as being the indispensable material requisite for the growth and sustenance of that larger public spirit or civic consciousness, which builds up the village itself."[37]

---

[28] *J.*, II, p. 301—"*Tesu pi janesu yam kinci sakkharam va kapalakhandam va ukkhipitva ayam te rajaduto ehiti vutto yo na gacchati tassa rajanam karonti.*"

[29] *J.*, IV, p. 115—"*. . . mahajano sannipatitva aha: 'sami, ayam migasukaradayo maretva yakkhanam balikammam karissama . . . pubbe imasmin kale Surachana nama hoti' . . . 'tumhakam pubbekarana-niyamena eva karotha.'*"

[30] For instance, *J.*, II, pp. 18, 368, 405; III, pp. 281, 293, 342, 376; IV, pp. 276, 344, 376, 390; V, p. 337; VI, pp. 71, 156.

[31] *J.*, I, p. 199—"*Tasmin ca game tim'seva kulani honti, te ca timsa kulamanussa ekadivasam gamamajjhe thatva gamakammam karonti*"

[32] *J.*, III, p. 8—*Tattha timsa jana rajasevaka vasanti, te pato va gamamajjhe sannipatitva gamakiccam karonti.*

[33] B. C. Sen, *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, 1930, *Studies in Jatakas*, p. 108.

[34] *J.*, I, p. 199—"*. . . Gamamajjhe . . . salam karesi, tattha phalakasanami santharitva pani—yacim thapesi.* The *Santhagara*, or the motehall, was a similar feature of the town: *J.*, IV, p. 74; *gamassa kammantatthanam* at J., IV, p. 306.

[35] *J.*, I, p. 199—*te timsa jana Bodhisattena samanacchanda ahesum.*

[36] *J.*, I, p. 199—*Te pi ten'eva saddhim punnani karonti kalass'eva butthaya vasipharasumusalahattha catumahapathadisu musalena pasane ubbattetva pavattenti, yananam akkhapatighatarukkhe haranti, visamam samam karonti, setum attharanti, pokkharaniyo khananti, salam karonti.*

[37] *Local Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 146.

Indeed, the villagers of Macala provide us with a refreshing example through the gloom of the intermediate period of our history, specially when we are bent upon planning a country-wide rural reconstruction scheme. There is nothing to show that the workers of the Macala village had to depend upon State funds or grants for their public works.

Influential as the village committee was, it often went against the interest of the *gamabhojaka*. For instance, in the same Macala village, the members of the committee having by common consent given up the habit of drinking wine, incurred the displeasure, of the headman who practically traded upon the immorality of his own people.

> "When these men used to get drunk and commit murders and so forth, I used to make a lot of money out of them, not only on the price of their drinks, but also from fines and dues they paid. But now here's this young Brahmin Maga bent on making them keep the commandments; he is putting a stop to murders and other crimes."[38]

From all this, it seems that the village government was largely carried on by the committee with the help of, or rather in co-operation with, the headman, and excepting judicial matters of graver character and the revenue collection, the Central Government did not interfere much with the rural affairs. Village life was thus peaceful in general, but sometimes disturbed by the autocratic action of the headman or the harassment by the tax-collectors who were anything but kindly. Even so, the villagers would sometimes not suffer a despotic *gamabhojaka*. They would take the law in their hands. For instance, when once a headman intrigued with a villager's wife, he was seized by the lock of hair on the top of his head, dragged into the countryard and thrown down as he cried: 'I am the headman'. He was thrashed till he fainted and made to remember the lesson.[39] If he was congenial, he could be left free, surrounded by his comrades enjoying in dance and music and favoured by the king.[40] On the whole it would seem that, the village was a self-governing unit, in those ancient days.

---

[38] *J.*, I, p. 199—"*Catikahapanadivasena c'eva dandadivasena dhanam labhami.* "Amongst these *cati* deserves our special notice. It most probably comes from the word *cata* or *cara*, a well-known word in epigraphic records, but its meaning is differently given. However, a *cata* meant a policeman and his unjust extortion from the people is quite evident in the epigraphic records: See, for instance, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 283, 298; XI, pp. 179, 221; for a fuller description of this official see Pran Nath, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 *ff*. Our *gamabhojaka*, then, had also police duties to perform. It is clear that he is represented by the *patel* of our times; contrast, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *J. R. A. S.* (1901), p. 887.

[39] *J.*, II, p. 136.

[40] *J.*, IV, p. 310—G. 84—*So gamani hotu sahayamajjhe, naccehigitehi pamodamano.*

CANNING OF FRUITS AND ITS SCOPE IN INDIA

By B. K. DHAR, B.SC., (Ag.), Alld., Horticulture (Advanced), Poona

India is a fruit-growing country where almost all the tropical and sub-tropical fruits are grown under the different climatic conditions. In some parts of the country, some of the fruits are grown so abundantly that during the fruiting season it is a very common sight for a pedestrian to witness the stray cattle butting each other for the rotten fruits near the streets of the city. In India under the present circumstances it is not possible to get the different varieties of fruits all round the year, except fruits like papaya and banana. Because of the scarcity of the fruits in and out of season and of the special liking for dried, salted, canned and bottled fruits and vegetables, Bombay Presidency alone excluding Sindh imports foreign dried, salted, canned and bottled fruit and vegetables worth Rs. 91,77,516 annually (average of 1928-29 to 1932-33, Dr. Cheema). So from this data we can see the importance of fruit preservation as an industry in a vast country like India.

It is due to the fact that the fruits are spoiled by organisms like moulds, yeasts and bacteria when kept for a long time that the idea of preserving fruits and vegetables by drying, harmless preservatives, by means of heat and in cold storage, came into the minds of the scientists. For several years in almost all the civilized countries experiments on the preservation of fruits and vegetables economically are being conducted. Thus the importance of canning of fruits has been realised all over the world. As the industry of canning does not require a large capital always, it can be started as cottage industry in some parts where fruits are available very cheap during the fruiting season.

> "Canning may be defined as the preservation of foods in hermetically sealed containers by sterilization by heat. In its broader sense it includes preservation by sterilization in glass containers as well as in tin cans."

When the surplus fruits are not sold profitably in the market the growers can easily prepare jams, jellies, marmalade preserves, syrup etc., and can make a profit by selling these products to the customers who prefer canned fruits. At present however due to the following reasons it is very difficult to compete with the foreign canned fruits that are available in the market:

(1) People in general who purchase preserved fruits as jams, jellies etc., always prefer foreign products because of their established reputation.

(2) Due to the high price of glass containers as well as tin cans and other materials that are necessary for canning, the cost of production in India is more than the other industrialised countries.

(3) During these days of hard competition the capitalists are not ready to take the risk by investing large sums in the canning industry which is still in an infant stage in India.

In spite of these difficulties let us see the scope in canning industry in some parts of India where fruits are grown abundantly and how much capital a man needs if he wants to sell the products profitably in the market.

Almost in all the Indian houses whether rich or poor the housewives prepare some kinds of chutney, jellies, jams, etc., for home consumption. But as these products are not prepared on a scientific basis and on commercial scale they are not so delicious and attractive-looking and cannot be preserved for a long time like the foreign canned and bottled products. Now in India if these housewives who are already interested in canning are trained under proper guidance, they themselves can manage the industry without much difficulty.

In Western countries like America and England it is found that most of the workers in canning factories are women because they have found that women workers are better than male workers, as the fair sex is naturally skilled in the art of cooking and other household affairs. So in India where the women are always taking an active par household affairs they can easily start can of fruits if they are scientifically trained. B before starting the industry as a business th will have to solve the following problems:

(1) To create a market for the prod

(2) The establishment of a good reputat for the manufactured products.

(3) It must be done very systematic and hygienically.

(4) The cost of production should be low as possible.

In one word he or she will have convince the customers that the products a by no means inferior to the foreign products.

The following are the points to considered very closely before selecting th site for the industry of canning:

(1) Marketing facilities.
(2) Amount of fruits available.
(3) Water supply.
(4) Capital available.
(5) Transportation facilities.
(6) Labour available.

In India among the three factors production *viz.*, land, labour and capital, th last factor is the most important one. Wh the capital is available the person shoul consider how much he can put in the reser fund and how much he can invest on a hous small machinery, utensils etc. After gett the capital in hand he should adjust the amo in such a way that he can manufacture at lea 100 bottles or cans as the minimum numb daily if he wants to compete with the forei products in the market.

The following are the rough estimat assets required to manufacture 100 bott or cans of fruit products daily:

Seaming machine one, costs ..	Rs.	250
Capping machine one, costs ..	"	25
Lever press (local made) one, costs ..	"	20
Open bath sterilizer with false bottom, two, costs	"	40
Mincing machine two, costs ..	"	6
Marmalade fringing machine one, costs	"	15
Balance one, costs	"	20
Engine stoves three, cost (Rs. 15 each)		45
Thermometer one, costs	"	5
Sacharometer one, costs	"	6
Class jars six, cost	"	12
Two syphons with rubber tubings cost	"	[illegible]
Aluminium vessels six, cost ..	"	[illegible]
Tin plates six, cost	"	3
Spoons both small and big twelve cost	"	5
Almirah three, costs	"	60
Felt hat for filtering three, costs ..	"	3
Furniture tablr etc.	"	50

Bottlecans, etc.,	..	.. „	100
Other materials	..	.. „	100
Total		.. Rs.	779

The following are the average costs calculated in canning laboratory, College of Agriculture, Poona, for Jelly, Jams, Marmalade, Juice, Syrups, Preserves, etc., by the writer while he himself was preparing the products.

	Cost of Production.		Market Price		Profit.	
	As.	P.	As.	P.	As.	P.
1. Guava jelly for each bottle	7	6	9	0	1	6
2. Papaya „ „ „	8	0	9	0	1	0
3. Wood apple „ „ „	5	0	9	0	4	0
4. Goose berry jam „ „	5	3	9	0	3	9
5. Papaya jam „ „	3	6	9	0	5	6
6. Pomelo marmalade „	6	0	9	0	3	0
7. Sarvati lime marmalade „	5	0	9	0	4	0
8. Lime juice „ „	5	0	12	0	7	0
9. Lime juice syrup „ „	4	0	12	0	8	0
10. Pomegranate juice „	5	3	12	0	6	9
11. Pomegranate syrup „	6	3	12	0	5	9
12. Chiku preserve „ „	5	6	7	0	1	6

It is no doubt a fact that the cost of production will vary from place to place and it may not be a profitable concern in those places where the fruits are very costly. But still in some parts of India during the fruiting season the growers find it so difficult in disposing of the fruits that either they have to auction them or throw them as waste products. In such places at least, fruit canning can be started as a profitable business.

Today due to the world-wide trade depression many men and women are thrown out of employment. Those who are thrown out of employment are without any capital to start an industry like canning. As there is competition in the market as regards this industry the work must be started very efficiently. To start the industry efficiently capital is required. In order that the unemployed men get some benefits, it is our earnest desire that those who could afford would give the start by establishing canning factories in at least some of the most important cities of India. If the start is given we have no doubt that before long, this industry would spread into the villages where poor men and women could start it as cottage industry.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND FORECAST OF POPULATION INCREASE

By Professor RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE

Few laymen realise that over-population holds good only of the human community. There are several kinds of automatic checks which keep down animal populations at an equilibrium density at which the animals are in proper vigour and fitness.

Animals usually avoid an over-abundance through a change in habits and relations in food chains, through a decrease of the life-span and of the rate of reproduction. In the human level the institutional structure helps the population towards maintaining an average abundance and longevity and avoiding natural selection by actual starvation, famine and disease. Among animal populations, there are hardly any maladaptations in reproductive habits and ways of living in relation to limited resources. In the human community we often meet with institutional misfits as a result of which man in all ages foregoes or delays his adaptations vital to his survival. In India polygamy, ancestor-worship and the religous obligation to bear male issue are now in discord with the enormous populations, which have over-reached the means of subsistence.

The adjustment of human numbers to food supply has reached such close approximation in most parts of India that slight variations in the cropped area are accompanied by marked disturbances in the trend of reproductivity and mortality. The standard of living is the lowest consistent with the bare maintenance of life as would appear from the fact that there is no margin of reserve to permit of birth and death rates being maintained anywhere near the normal, when there is a slight variation of food supply as measured by the cropped area. On account of the great instability of agriculture in the crowded river plains of India and the population not exercising its normal psychological checks over long periods, food supply and economic toil have direct relations with natality and mortality and through these restore the equilibrium between density and the region. Birth and death rates are thus matters of ecological adjustment, and starvation hardly operates directly, as a check on numbers. Men thus have lost or broken out of control of the various checks which among animals keep down numbers to reasonable portions so that the gregarious communities may have some margin left for times of food-scarcity which are normal. Meanwhile migration, intensive farming and industrial employment also serve in some measure to counteract the lack of balance between human numbers and the resources of the region.

Crime against property increases in years of bad harvests and diminishes in years of good ones. Population maladjustment not only leads to crime and vice directly by snaping domestic and social ties, but also indirectly by leading to unemployment and wholesale emigration to distant places where the usual community means of social control do not operate.

The social process as a result of which the natural checks of numbers have ceased to operate is complex, and connected with the whole texture of social life but the factors may be analysed somewhat as follows:[1]

(*a*) In India climate has contributed to earlier maturity, the majority of females being capable of matrimonial life by the age of 15, however unfit for it they may be physically. Thus the reproductive period is longer

(*b*) In Northern India the race is more mixed in the eastern than in the western portions. Where the lower castes and lower branches of widespread castes dominate, the rule of child marriage is adopted more strictly. Thus the age of puberty is somewhat earlier and infant marriage more common in the eastern than in the western districts of the Ganges Valley.

(*c*) Generally speaking, the sex ratio is greater in the lower than in the higher Hindu castes in Northern India, and higher in the same caste as we advance eastward in the Ganges Valley. The lower caste Hindus show a greater natural increase than the high caste Hindus. In some areas these threaten to swamp the upper caste Hindus which show a striking paucity of females, adopt rigid exogamous and hypergamous restriction and strictly prohibit widow re-marriage—social customs which the lower Hindu cas not favour.

(*d*) The custom of universal mar irrespective of economic considerations received the sanction of religion while the d to bear and beget children has been trans into a religious sentiment both in China a India.

(*e*) A high development of parental imp has also contributed to encourage multiplica This has been institutionalised in the auth of the joint family, and rigid control of marr by the parents which is one of the factors r ponsible for child marriages.

(*f*) The low social position of the woman, w is also protected in some degree against h work in the fields by taboos, also encour frequent child-bearing irrespective of her phy cal suffering or economic incapacity.

(*g*) The Muhammadans not only h discarded the prohibition of widow-remarr but have adopted polygamy throughout Nor ern India. The Muhammadan custom of a ting more than one and as many as four wi who serve as field labourers in new reclamati contributes towards the success of agricult colonisation in virgin wildernesses, islands a swamps, where the delta-building rivers m the sea in Bengal. Among the Muhammad males, not merely is the proportion married m higher than among the Hindus, but also t proportion of widows amongst females is m smaller; contributing to a much larger natu increase. In the recently reclaimed and pr perous districts of Eastern Bengal, t Muhammadan increased from 645 to 710 p mille of the total population during only fi years.

(*h*) The average number of persons per fa family is as high as 5.78 persons in North Chi and 5·5 persons in Eastern Bengal. Th figures may be compared with 4.4 persons p farm household in the United States. Farm in Southeast Asia is largely or entirely dep dent upon family collaboration, which, howe extends to social objectives. Large fami are an economic advantage in intensive farmi while the conventions and taboos relating to group in India permit a large commensal group with live together in the same homestead marital encroachments and discords.

(*i*) Precariousness of agriculture due to the irregular dstribution of rainfall has in s measure diminished thrift and prudence.

(*j*) A faulty land distribution has d couraged the accumulation and investment capital by the small holder. The change f cultivating proprietorship to tenantry and from tenantry to the proletariat characteristic of the agrarian history in China and India in the recent decades tends to sap all initiative and desire for a high standard of living.

---

[1] See my *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions.*

Among the social and institutional factors which encourage large families in India it is doubtful whether universal marriage among the Hindus and polygamy among the Muhammadans will soon be given up. Though polygamy may have declined, India even now shows after 20 practically all her girls married. Drought years in India lead only to postponement of marriage which being a sacrament is performed as soon as favourabe agricultural conditions are restored.

With the improvement of the land system and stabilisation of peasant proprietorship, prudence and desire for a higher standard of living will be engendered. Many social and ameliorative measures especially the improvement of sanitation and public hygiene, the opening of schools and Co-operative Credit Societies may develop prudential restraints. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the sheer increase of numbers frustrates in large measure the effects of land legislation and adjustment and delays or renders to some extent nugatory schemes of education, sanitation and rural reconstruction. Millions of more mouths to feed than the land can support also imply millions of children whom the primary schools cannot accommodate and millions of adult men and women whom medicine cannot reach in sickness or death. Even with compulsory education and vast schemes of rural uplift, over-population implies such fractionalisation of holdings as makes subsistence farming more wide-spread, ruling out the introduction of improved seeds, fertilisers and implements and improvement in marketing methods. Over-population means also such multiplication of agricultural labourers in the country-side as would lower both agricultural wages and efficiency and exclude every kind of labour-saving device. In the face of an over-plus of landless labourers no law preventing the tillers of the soil from transforming themselves into a class of rent-receivers and intermediaries can succeed. No doubt with a large increase which has taken place in the agricultural population in India there has not been a corresponding increase in actual holders of land, whether peasant proprietors or tenants, and it is probable that in many parts of India a concentration of land in the hands of non-cultivating owners is also taking place. Some economists have recently stressed that the Indian population problem is mainly one of distribution of wealth. This is an entirely wrong perspective, since the multiplication of agricultural population and insecurity of tenure and uneconomic rents are found to co-exist in every agricultural country. To depend upon a better distribution of wealth for an uplift of the standard of living of the masses in India or for population restriction is putting the cart before the horse.

Modern demographers indicate the probable trend of population from the age composition of the population, the proportion of married women at different age periods and the gross and net reproductional rates. In India Raja has recently considered the growth of population from this point of view. In a forthcoming publication *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions* I have also analysed the above determining factors in regard to future population increase in India. We shall here confine ourselves to an examination as to which factors would accelerate immediate population increase and those which would check it.

Table I gives the variation on population at certain age periods in India and in her major provinces. It will be seen that in the previous census periods drought and famine were responsible for a thinning out of both old and adolescent groups.

TABLE I

Variation in population at certain age-periods for successive censuses.

Period	Variation per cent in population					
	All ages	0-10	10-15	15-40	40-60	60 and over
INDIA						
1881-1891	+11·2	+16·1	+ 4·3	+10·8	+9·7	+ 8·0
1891-1901	+ 1·8	— 5·1	+14·5	+ 2·3	+5·2	+ 0·3
1901-1911	+ 6·6	+ 9·7	— 1·7	+ 7·3	+5·1	+ 8·6
1911-1921	+ 0·9	+ 0·1	+ 8·5	— 1·0	+1·1	+ 3·1
1921-1931	+10·9	+14·5	+10·6	+15·1	+3·1	—14·9

Except in the last decade due to absence of economic catastrophes and severe epidemics of diseases, there is a tendency of decrease of proportion of the very young, while the proportion of the very old shows census by census a more marked diminution, due to the selective incidence of agricultural scarcity and epidemics. The influence of droughts and famine in the earlier decades left its mark on the adolescent groups as well until 1921, particularly in the United Provinces. Such factors as migration, inaccuracy in returns and alteration in the method of grouping are responsible for anomalies, but the dominant tendency as regards the thinning out of the young and the old is clearly discernible. Economic privations affect persons at the extremes of life more than persons in middle age, men more than women, while in drought years the number of births diminishes, the proportion of children to the total population being reduced. For both Bombay and the United Provinces the legacy of past famines was the dominant factor in the age constitution in the last decade, even over-shadowing the selective mortality of the influenza epidemic.[2] The heavy piling up of both the young and adolescent groups has been unparalleled in the 1931 census and thus will tend to a heavy and interrupted increase of population between 1931-41.

The phenomenal increase (14.5 per cent) in the 1931 census of the proportion of the smallest age group (0-10), which has been unparalleled during the last 50 years, is also responsible for ushering into social importance the problems of education and welfare of the minors on an unprecedented scale in recent years. The changing age composition in favour of the middle-aged groups as compared with the older one which has lost by 14.9 per cent. has also forced into prominence the question of industrial and professional unemployment.

The economic significance of the changing age distribution in favour of both minors and middle-aged persons is obvious. The pressure on the soil and unemployment of all classes have increased, and in the coming decade the present piling up of the minor and adolescent groups will add many more million mouths to feed and employ, enormously aggravating economic pressure and rudely disestablishing the land-man ratio. In the oldest group, those aged 70 and over have decreased by a million in the last decade. On the other hand, in age-groups 10-30 the increase in females has been particularly remarkable, which will lead to a spurt of population growth in the present decade. This will be very clearly traced in the following tables:

Tables II and III give the proportion of women and married females at certain age periods for successive censuses in India.

TABLE II

Variations of Proportion of Women at Certain Age-periods per 10,000 Females for Successive Censuses.

	Ages.						
	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45	45-50
1891-1901	835	892	895	851	557	652	339
1901-1911	826	930	909	835	556	631	338
1911-1921	815	881	886	833	565	621	348
1921-1931	938	985	868	756	595	505	389

TABLE III

Variations of Proportion of Married Women at Cer Age-periods per thousand Women at the Same Age

	Ages					
	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45
1891-1901	777	876	859	793	722	584
1901-1911	Age 15-40		833		Age 40 & over	
1911-1921	771	877	863	797	727	599
1921-1931	818	886	869	824	703	627
	15-20	20-25	25-35	35-45	45-55	
England and Wales (1921)	18	270	631	946	721	
	15-20	20-25	25-30	30-35	35-40	40-45
Japan (1925)	132	670	876	903	889	849

Upto the age of 30 the age distribution of married women in India is distinctly m favourable for population growth than in b England and Wales and Japan. The period o the most effective fertility lies between 15 to 2 both in Japan and India.

For arriving at Kuczynski's fertility ra the proportion of married women, as given i Table III, is significant, and it is much m favourable for reproduction in India than i Japan.

It will be seen from the above two tab that in 1931 the proportion of women for t age-periods 15-20 and 20-25 has greatly increased and this increase is even greater when w consider the proportion of married women at th successive age-periods 15-20, 20-25, 25-30 and 30-35. Even if it be assumed that Indi women are less reproductive than those in oth countries after 35, the piling up of the proporti of the married women during most part of th reproductive life in the 1931 census is m favourable for enhanced growth of population.

The earlier age-periods show in all probability greater fertility rates in India than th later age-periods and since the proportion o women in the earlier age-groups is larger, t is a factor definitely more favourable to population increase than in the previous cens periods.

The age of marriage is a matter of gr demological significance. Table IV gives the m statistics regarding the distribution and progr of early marriage in India.

TABLE IV

Number Unmarried per Thousand Females Aged

	5-10	10-15
1881	..	481
1891	874	491
1901	893	559
1911	891	555
1921	907	601
1931	807	619

The figures show some decrease in t numbers of those in the earlier age categ who are still unmarried but an increase of the number of unmarried girls belonging to the second age category. The improvement of the age of marriage in 1931 would have been much greater had it not been for the fact a large number of child marriages preceded the Sarda Act. On the whole, we would expect in the future even better improvement in the age of marriage. This will lead to an increase of both nuptial as well as effective fertility. As the age of marriage in India will change from, say, 10 to 13 to 15 to 20, both the rate of fertility and the rate of survival will be substantially raised. In Germany where the age of marriage of women is seldom below 20, marriages at 20 are much more fertile than late marriages.

---

[2] For Bombay, see Sedgwickff Census Report of the Bombay Presidency, 1921, and Marten : Census Report of India, 1921, p. 130.

TABLE V

Age of Wife at Marriage	Average Number of Children
20	2·25
25	1·69
30	1·33
35	0·78

It is unreasonable to hope that the age of marriage in the near future will reach 20 years, but that improvement of the age within the lower limits will raise fertility is shown by the experience of Baroda, where Child Marriage Restraint Laws had been in operation for some time and where the change of the age of the girl at marriage from 13 or 14 upto 20 has led to an increase of both fertility and survival. In Travancore, where about 49 per cent of the women are married between 15 and 20 as compared with Baroda's 13 per cent, both the number of children and the proportion of those who survive diminish as the age of marriage of girls advances. This is, however, contrary to general experience. In India on the whole the improvement of the age of marriage of wife upto, say, 20 years will, it is expected, increase the effective fertility. Baroda, Travancore and Scotland are compared in the table below:

TABLE VI

Age of Marriage of Wife	Average number of children born per family			Average number of children surviving	
	Travancore.	Baroda.	Scotland.	Travancore.	Baroda.
13-15	7·0	5·24	..	5·4	3·08
15-20	6·5	5·54	9·02	4·9	3·30
20-25	5·9	5·40	7·86	4·4	3·29
25-30	5·0	4·97	5·66	3·7	3·11
30 & over	3·6	3·72	3·89	2·9	2·23

Widowhood withdraws a large section of the Indian women from child-bearing. 16 per cent of the women of the reproductive age in India are widows and do not bear children. In England and Wales only 8 per cent of the females are widows, and some of these do remarry. But the general ratio of widowed females is decreasing. In 1921 there was 175 widows in every 1,000 women, a figure which had fallen in 1931 to 155.

Female mortality experience during the last two decade also indicates that the specific female death-rate which is generally higher than amongst males in the 5-10 age-group, and again between 15-40 in some provinces is steadily diminishing showing less neglect of female children and also improved midwifery so far as the whole of India is concerned.

General mortality experience (of both males and females) has shown that there is a distinct tendency for a fall, suggesting also the probability of some further diminution of the death-rate in the future.

TABLE VII

INDIA

Period.	Birth-rate per thousand	Death-rate per thousand.
1901-1910	38	34
1911-1920	37	34
1921-1930	35	26
1931-1935	34·7	23

JAPAN

Period.	Birth-rate per thousand	Death-rate per thousand
1901-1910	32·25	20·0
1911-1920	33·25	21·7
1921-1930	34·1	20·6
1931-1935	31·7	17·2

The birth-rates in India and Japan are almost on a par though in the former country its diminution has been larger In 1925 when Japan showed a gross reproduction rate of 2.39, her birth-rate was 34.9, which exactly corresponds to India's birth-rate in 1931 (35 per thousand population). The expectancy of female lives in India and Japan may be thus compared:

TABLE VIII

	At Birth	At 20	At 40	At 60
INDIA				
(1931)	26·56	27·08	18·23	10·81
JAPAN				
(1925)	43·20	40·38	28·09	14·12

With the birth-rate almost the same and female expectancy about two-thirds of Japan the specific fertility in India must be much larger than in the case of the latter country. The age distribution of Indian women shows much larger proportions between 15 and 25 (Table III) and this is also favourable for a higher specific fertility.

Kuczynski calculates "the gross reproduction rate" by the formula:

$$\frac{\text{Total fertility rate} \times \text{Female Births}}{\text{Total Number of Births}}$$

and by adjusting the latter to the mortality figures reaches "the net reproduction rate." His method has been followed in constructing the fertility table for India, the specific fertility of women in Japan being adopted for our country due to the present incomplete state of fertility data here.

The gross reproduction rate of Indian mothers amounts to 4.5, which may be compared with Ukraine rate of 3.65 of all females in 1896-97. But the latter dropped to 2.49 in 1926-27. The total number of girls born to 1,000 women in India passing through child-bearing age would be 4,542, but since according to the life-table out of 1,000 life-born females only 524 females (and hence 524—18.2 per cent. or 429 married women) are found to be living at the age of, say, 20 and so on, total fertility (measured by female births) is reduced by mortality from 4,542.8 to 1,762.18. A thousand mothers would be replaced by 1,762 new-born girls. Of these 308 would be widows and unmarried females (17.5 per cent.). Thus a thousand mothers would give birth to 1,454 future mothers and the net reproduction rate for India will be 1.762—308 or 1.454.

The net reproduction rates of several countries are given below:

TABLE IX

Country.		Year.	Net Reproduction rate.
Russia ..	..	1928	1·70
Japan ..	..	1925	1·495
India ..	..	1931	1·454
Ukraine	..	1929	1·40
Italy ..	..	1921-22	1·40
England & Wales	..	1921	1·087
France ..	..	1933	0·82
Germany	..	1933	0·70

If we take a generation as a period of thirty years, population in India would be increasing in the proportion 0.454 every 30 years. Thus by 1961 the population of 353 millions would increase to 513 millions, if fertility and mortality remain constant.

Regarding the use of the net reproduction rate for forecasting the future population Dr. Enid Charles observes,

> "The important point to note is that the net reproduction rate represents to a high degree of approximation a rate of growth to which the present population is tending. The length of time before a population begins to behave in the way indicated by the net reproduction rate depends on the extent to which its age composition differs from that of a stable population compatible with the net reproduction rate."

With these limitations, however, the forecast of the future population based on analysis of the quantitative aspects of the population structure foreshadows a grave economic crisis, which is primarily and fundamentally the problem of food planning for the additional 16 millions or so, who, unless fertility changes or some famines or epidemics ravage the land, are sure to come.

The movement of population in India however is the result of factors which differ essentially from those in Western countries. But fertility and mortality in India respond to conditions of agriculture as well as public health in a manner unknown in the West. In the Western countries the age composition is relatively stable and is dominated by the net reproduction rate, mortality being a negligible factor. In India, on the other hand, reproduction is to all intents and purposes unchecked by human volition and the condition of harvests leads accordingly to sharp variations of the proportion of the minor age-groups. On the other hand, drought or famine as well as epidemic diseases cause considerable fluctuations in both the minor and adult age categoreis. The much lower expectation of life in India also sharpens the fluctuation in the adult age-groups. This may be illustrated by comparison between a typical Indian province and other countries with reference to the age distribution.

TABLE X

Types of Population : Distribution of Population by 10-year age-groups.

Age-Group.	Bihar & Orissa.	Japan.	Italy.	Germany.	England & Wales.	U.S.A.	France.
0-10	286	254	110	158	181	217	139
10-20	200	212	209	205	190	190	177
20-30	176	158	161	184	161	174	150
30-40	144	120	129	142	146	150	143
40-50	97	105	106	124	132	115	138
50-60	57	74	87	96	96	79	114
60 and over	46	77	109	92	94	76	140

The outstanding fact in the type of Indian population is that there is a heavier piling up of the base and violent fluctuations are relatively common. Like India, Japan has also a heavier foundation than all the Western countries. Both in India and Japan there is shrinkage in the middle and old age-group and the shrinkage is larger in India than in Japan. In the Western countries there is a gradual slope, England, Germany and United States showing the slope best. Mature adults are proportionately very much less in India than in Japan and all Western countries. In Bengal the proportion in the old age-group is the least, considerably smaller than in Bihar and Orissa and other provinces. This is probably due to earlier maturity and senility and the endemic of malaria in Bengal It is likely that in India the population reaches maturity earlier, especially in the hot and moist regions, and the prevalence of infant marriage also accounts for this peculiarity in age composition. The same differences in the types of population may be exemplified by applying Sundbarg's age-categories.

TABLE XI

Distribution of Three Functional Age Groups :

INDIA

	Under 15	15-50	50 and over.
1911	388	503	109
1921	392	495	113
1931	399	505	96

BIHAR AND ORISSA

	Under 15	15-50	50 and over.
1911	402	488	110
1921	397	496	107
1931	402	502	96

JAPAN

	Under 15	15-50	50 and over.
1910	349	486	165
1920	365	480	155
1930	366	482	153

Table XII presents a fair view of the trend in the age distribution of the Indian population.

TABLE XII

Distribution of Population by 10-year Age Periods 1891-1931.

(Per 1000 population.)

(I)

Age Period	1891 Male	1891 Female	1901 Male	1901 Female
0-10 ..	283·7	292·3	264·8	272·1
10-20 ..	197·4	175·8	213·0	191·7
20-30 ..	167·8	180·1	166·6	178·7
30-40 ..	145·5	140·1	145·7	140·8
40-50 ..	100·4	94·9	101·9	99·1
50-60 ..	59·0	59·6	61·4	62·1
60-70 ..	..	..	..	..
70 & over ..	46·2	57·3	46·6	55·5

(II)

(Per 1000 population.)

Age Period	1911 Male	1911 Female	1921 Male	1921 Female	1931 Male	1931 Female
0-10 ..	271·0	281·6	267·3	281·0	280·2	288·9
10-20 ..	201·3	182·3	208·7	189·6	208·6	206·2
20-30 ..	171·8	189·9	164·0	176·6	176·8	185·6
30-40 ..	145·1	139·1	146·1	139·8	143·1	135·1
40-50 ..	101·4	96·9	101·3	96·7	96·8	89·1
50-60 ..	60·9	60·7	61·9	60·6	56·1	54·5
60-70 ..	34·0	38·0	34·7	37·7	26·9	28·1
70 & over	14·5	17·5	16·0	18·0	11·5	12·5

We find that during the last four decades there is a steady decrease of the old age classes 50 and over. The minor age-group has not much increased but has shown fluctuations from decade to decade due to disease and economic conditions. Its remarkable proportionate increase since 1921 is discernible. Between 1921 and 1931 there has been a tremendous increase in small children as shown below :

TABLE XIII

In Million.

Age.	1921	1931
0—5	3·96	5·34
5—10	4·67	4·55

The reduction of the old age class in ratio from 105.2 to 94.5 between 1891-1931 is an index of the decrease of survival value of the population. Though population is on the whole progressive there is a gradual thinning out of the old. Even the upper middle-aged group (40-50) has declined in ratio from 100.4 in 1891 to 96.8 in 1931. This group everywhere shows the lowest mortality and the best leadership. The decline in proportion of this group which is already the lowest among all the countries tabulated above does not augur well for social progress in the immediate future.

A variety of factors operates to cause marked fluctuations in both age and sex composition of the population in India : (1) the variation of birth-rates which increases with good harvests and diminishes with bad harvests; (2) the variation of mortality which increases with bad harvests and diminishes with good harvests; (3) the selective incidence of certain diseases which have unfavourable effects on reproduction or which carry off a larger proportion of females or the very young or the very old. In Bengal the conception rate shows heavy increases in March and June and decreases in October or November when malaria breaks out after the monsoon. Influenza leaves a heavier toll from among infants and younger adults, *i.e.,* persons between 20 and 35. Children and adolescents suffer less and old people particularly males do not seem to be so seriously affected. Influenza also strikingly reduces the conception rate. Malaria is particularly unfavourable to younger adults especially women. Similarly the incidence of mortality from plague is heavier among women. The diseases which affect women more than children and men also affect the conception rate ! (4) Migration is spasmodic in India, the volume being governed by the intensity of agricultural distress. In a year of scarcity there is an exodus of able-bodied men to places outside the district or province and this indirectly brings about a diminution of birth-rate in a scarcity year.

All the above factors which lead to the violent fluctuations of birth-rate and mortality bring about oscillations in the age composition and the proportion of female reproductive group in the population. This would make the net reproduction rate in India an unreliable index of population growth. We have already referred to the heavier increase of population of the minor and adolescent age-groups during 1921 and 1931 and especially of women at ages 15-20 and 20-25. The increase in the minor age-group is itself the result of a relative agricultural prosperity in India in the years previous to the agricultural depression when the prices of cereals remained at a relatively higher level for some years after all other commodities had come down in value. The increase in children under 5 years is specially remarkable. On the other hand, while the increase in females in age-groups 10-30 is responsible for the recent storm of breeding in the country, the low numbers in the 1931 census in group 5-10, which presumably are the result of the after-effects of the influenza epidemic of 1918, will probably reduce the birth-rate in the first half of the decade 1931-1951. It is thus that specific fertility or net reproduction rates cannot truly measure the population trend in India as in the Western countries.

There is an intimate connection between agriculture, nutrition and fertility which is discernible not by an all-India survey but only by agricultural and demographic investigations in particular agricultural regions or ecological areas. Such investigations indicate that fecundity is reduced as the result of the deterioration of the food position in the face of an intense population pressure. The relation between sterility and malnutrition has been traced in many countries. In feeding animals on diets extremely deficient in Vitamin B McCarrison noticed in 1918 that atrophy of the testis was one of the earliest effects. During famines and wars, sterility in women and failure of the menstrual functions have been recorded as evidences of malnutrition. Malnutrition by leading to specific deficiency in essential foodstuffs such as calcium and vitamins has direct effects in the reduction of fecundity, as laboratory experiments indicate.

No doubt the consumption of wheat, which contains Vitamin B, is considerably reduced if it does not altogether cease during a year of scarcity or famine, while milk and milk-products as well as some fresh vegetables, all of which are rich in Vitamin E that has also been considered to have favourable effects on reproduction, are entirely eliminated from the diet. The general loss of physiological vigour indirectly affects menstruation, leads to an increase of abortion and contributes to diminish fecundity. On the other hand, scarcity or malnutrition increases the death-rate, especially of children and mothers. There are several diseases like diarrhœa, dysentery, beri-beri, malnutritional œdemas, epidemic dropsy and xerophalmia which are found especially in India and China and caused by inadequate or faulty diets.

In the heavily populated provinces: United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal there has been a steady decline of birth-rate during the last thirty years, which the census superintendents of the Public Health Directors find difficult to account for apart from the inaccuracy of statistics. The figures are given as below:

TABLE XIV

Fall of Birth-rate in the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal.

Year.	United Provinces.	Bihar & Orissa.	Bengal.
1901-1910	41·4	41·0	35·5
1911-1920	42·3	39·0	32·5
1921--1930	35·1	36·5	28·5
1929-1935	35	33	29·6

Intensive study of vital statistics over a period of sixty years in certain congested districts in the United Provinces also indicates that there is a distinct tendency towards diminution of birth-rate after a district's saturation density is over-stepped. For instance in Jaunpur the average birth-rate was 36 per thousand between 1901 and 1911, it came down to 28 between 1919 and 1927. In 1932 it stood at 26.4. Between 1928 and 1932 the birth-rates remained stationary at 28. Such diminution of birth-rate is not due to human volition at all. Nor is it due to postponement of marriage. The practices of infanticide and abstention from intercourse have also largely been given up. The slackening of birth-rate is due to the direct and indirect effects of malnutrition, and the alteration of the age and sex composition of population.

Fertility, therefore, is reduced in the following manner: (1) Inadequate and ill-balanced dietary by leading to a chronic deprivation of certain essential minerals and vitamins causes a decline of fertility. (2) Malnutrition raises infant mortality and thus reduces the birth-rate through the diminution in the proportion of adults in the total population. (3) Malnutrition is also unfavourable for the mothers and by raising maternal mortality reduces the birth-rate. (4) Epidemics which may affect persons of child-bearing age reduce the fertility. (5) An increase of the disproportion of sexes, *i.e.*, paucity of females also indirectly reduces fertility. The sex proportions at birth vary widely in different countries. In India during the last few decades the proportion of females per thousand males is gradually diminishing in some provinces.

TABLE XIV

Average Number of Female Births per Thousand Male Births.

	1891-1901	1901-1911	1911-21	1924-28	1929-33
Bengal ..	936	941	933	926	926
Bihar and Orissa* ..	942	955	950	960	960
Bombay ..	926	926	925	926	926
Burma ..	931	938	945	950	950
Central Provinces ..	941	954	955	950	950
Madras ..	959	958	956	960	950
N.-W. F. Province ..	816	819	805	770	770
Punjab ..	906	909	906	890	890
United Provinces ..	918	924	919	890	890
Japan (1930)	..	..	..	..	990
U. S. A. (1930) ..	..	..	..	..	976
England and Wales (1931) ..	..	..	..	..	1087
Scoland ..	..	..	..	..	1082

Race, environment and dietary govern the sex-ratio at birth. It appears on the whole that there is a lower proportion of females born in North and North-Western India where the Aryan and Semitic peoples preponderate than in the South and Central tracts of India where the Dravidian race element is the strongest. But race is only one factor in the distribution of the sex ratios. The same castes which are distributed in different parts of Northern India show a deficiency of females as one moves further towards the arid conditions in the West and North-West. In Sind, Gujarat, Rajputana and the Deccan where conditions of economic life are more severe, there is a striking deficiency of female births. Harder economic life led formerly to infanticide or deliberate neglect of girl babies, and this may have selected those females for survival who are likely to bear a preponderance of male children. It is not unlikely that severe economic struggle under hot and dry conditions which is aggravated by the increase of population is responsible for the downward trend of female births in the N.-W. F. Province, Punjab, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces. Caste, which promotes inbreeding may also have increased masculinity and perpetuates it so long as strict endogamy is maintained. Economic struggle and inbreeding seem both to lower the vitality of women and this promote paucity of female births. The sex proportions in the reproductive ages depend upon differential birth and death rates which are in some measure governed by the age of marriage, risks of child bearing, differential treatment of boy and girl babies and the nature and extent of woman's work in the field. Chemical and food materials have an enormous influence in the sex ratio and fertility of animals. As economic pressure increases, it is not improbable that the deficiency of females, which is the geratest in the Indo-Gangetic plains, will increase and this coupled with other factors may alter the age and sex composition of the population in the long run to the detriment in birth-rate.

Where man's institutions and social habits and his standards of living do not safeguard his equilibrium density, his ecological routine of life and his stable occupational adjustment in the region, ecological controls of population which are operative in the regulation of animal numbers come to play an increasing role in re-establishing the equilibrium. In the overcrowded regions of India we now meet with the familiar checks of animal numbers. (1) The rodent type of check or an increase of mortality, especially in the form of epidemic outbursts following storms of breeding. (2) The fruit-fly type of check or a gradual slackening of birth-rate with density as an average abundance is over-stepped. The greater the approximation of numbers to an equilibrium density through the ecological controls of fertility and mortality and the diminution of the average expectation of life, the more remote will be the indiscriminate reduction of population by actual starvation. But the

---

*The female ratio is higher among the aboriginal tribes and castes in Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and this explains largely the excess in Bihar and Orissa. The figures of Bihar proper are as follows:

	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31
North Bihar ..	952	944	950
South Bihar ..	954	951	955

Malthusian nightmare of famine as the ultimate safeguard of an equilibrium density still haunts the population. Meanwhile the paucity of females increases with over-population and becomes established as a stable racial trait which is transmitted to the next generation. Where man does not exercise any control over his multiplication, the forces of evolution and heredity combine to check over-population and seek to preserve the organic acquisitions of the past. But such check is both cruel and haphazard. Man's conquest of the soil is in vain if he fails to exercise his own volition or the socio-religious restraints of the past nor uses scientific technique for the control of his reproduction, but, leaves nature to control it indirectly, through its control over the rate of mortality and even over his capacity of reproduction.

PROFESSOR BHOLA NATH SINGH, D.Sc.

By X

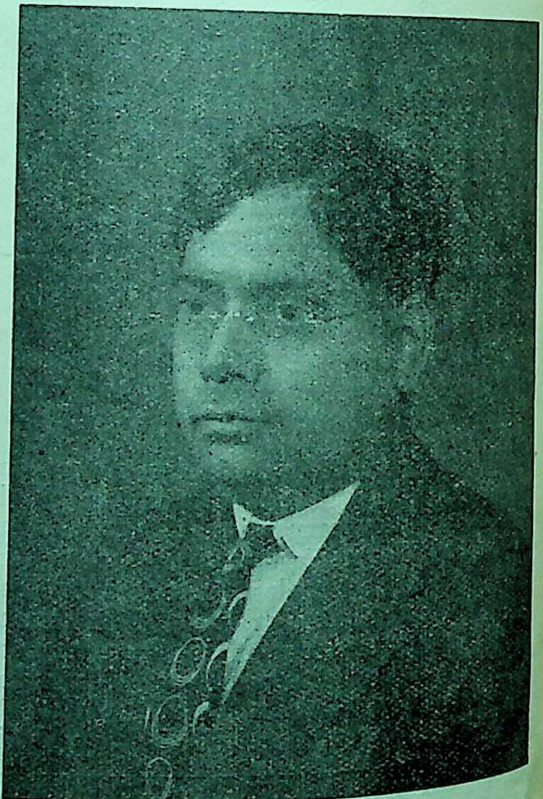
Prof. B. N. Singh, D.Sc., Kapurthala, Professor of Plant Physiology and Agricultural Botany and Director, Institute of Agricultural Research, Benares Hindu University, has been the recipient of an international honour from the Academia de Sciencias e Artes, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil). "As a homage to his (your) technical merit and in gratitude to the services he (you) has (have) contributed to teachings in India" the Congregation of the above Academy has conferred upon Prof. Singh (you) the "Diploma of Honour" and "the Direction of the Academy has confirmed this act of high justice by conferring on him (you) the Scientific Medal of Merit". This Academy has been awarding this rare distinction to select workers of the world on an inter-continental basis in recognition of definite fundamental advances made in the realm of science or arts and for creating a new school of thought.

It is a matter of supreme gratification that Indian work has gained such wide recognition in the domain of science.

Prof. Singh's career is an instance of one who has fought his way with no adventitious advantages but by sheer ability, undaunted courage and devotion to his subject, to a position of honour in the scientific world.

In 1931 Professor Singh succeeded in inducing the university authorities to establish the Institute of Agricultural Research with the old plant physiology department as its nucleus, and here he gradually developed a very living and flourishing institution receiving appreciations from several distinguished men of science, both foreign and Indian. In 1937, a grant of Rs. 67,920 was sanctioned by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for Prof. Singh's investigations on physiology of cane and wheat.

Prof. Singh has published a large number of papers in the fields of plant physiology and nutrition, bio-chemistry, agronomy, soil science, general geology, and plant pathology in some of the best known scientific journals of England like: The Annals of Botany, Annals of Applied



Professor Dr. B. N. Singh

Biology, New Phytologist Nature, Journal of Ecology, The Bio-chemical Journal, The Empire Journal of Experimental Agriculture, The Empire Cotton Growing Review; of America like: Botanical Gazette, Plant Physiology, Soil Science, American Society of Agronomy, Science, Phytopathology, Journal of Heredity, Protoplasm (Germany), Tropical Agriculture (Trinidad); and of India like: Proceedings of the Indian Academy of Sciences, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Indian Journal of Agricultural Science, Journal of the Indian Botanical Society, Current Science, Science and Culture and Proceedings of the Society of Biological Chemists.

Commenting upon the published work of Prof. Singh *Nature* in an editorial note under the caption "Physiology of Indian Crop Plants" observed:

> "For some time past the staff of the Institute of Agricultural Research of the Benares Hindu University has been engaged under the leadership of Professor B. N. Singh in detailed and comparative studies of the physiology of Indian crop plants. A considerable number of publications on this subject has now been issued .... and good progress has evidently been made in a highly interesting and important field of work. The most extensive work completed is that dealing with photosynthesis under different conditions of light, temperature and carbon dioxide supply..... Another specially interesting problem under investigation is that of the differences in respiration rate found to exist in plants differing in their duration of life .... Other subjects under investigation by comparative methods include the water requirement of seeds possessing different structural and bio-chemical properties, and the effects on plant growth of irradiating seeds with X-rays."

Professor Singh's published work has received similar recognition from time to time in the editorial comments of *Tropical Agriculture, Science, Burichte uber Die Gesamte Biologie Abteilung*, etc. The manurial yield trials on wheat and complex experiments on sugar-canes with reference to fertilizer effects were much commended by Sir E. J. Russel, F.R.S., Director, Rothamsted Experiment Station and Professor R. A. Fisher, F.R.S., the famous statistician, who are themselves actively engaged on similar work in England. Sir E. J. Russel in his recent report referred to Prof. Singh's Institute as "an unusually well equipped one, working on a variety of subjects which gives the students a wide training", while Prof. R. A. Fisher observed that "the Institute of Agricultural Research at the Benares Hindu University is doing great work and laying a fine experimental foundation". Dr. F. Crowther, plant physiologist to the Sudan Government, who was specially deputed to study the work carried out in Prof. Singh's laboratory and farms, recorded: "It has given me the greatest pleasure at last to see some really good physiological work on my travels." Prof. V. H. Blackman, F.R.S., in his recent visit to the Benares Hindu University as a member of the British Science Delegation, observed that the

> "Institute of Agricultural Research so admirably directed by Prof. Singh and so excellently equipped with facilities for research occupies the same position in India as the plant physiological institute under my charge in Great Britain."

Prof. Singh's contribution on "Biology of Longevity and Death", which, through the kind offices of Prof. M. N. Saha, F.R.S., figures as the opening article in the Science Congress Silver Jubilee number of *Science and Culture,* received a remarkable tribute from Prof. Crew, Director of the Institute of Animal Genetics, University of Edinburgh, himself a great exponent of the subject. Prof. Crew while addressing the joint session of the Indian Science Congress and the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Calcutta on "Biology of Death" remarked that he had "not yet come across another biologist whose work on the subject has been more comprehensive than that of Prof. Singh, whose work and writing have greatly moulded his (my) thoughts in this direction" and that he considered Prof. Singh "a greater biologist than himself (me)". Some of the other lines of work of much practical value going on under the direction of Professor Singh are the cold and gas storage investigations on potatoes and fruits, physiological basis of drought resistance in Indian crops, the improvement of plants through physiological means from a study of the genetics of physiological characters, weed control measures, photoperiodism, Green manuring problems, etc. Prof. Singh has given us the benefit of his ideas about the future development of agriculture in the country in two articles, one entitled "Reorganising Agriculture in Federal India" and the other as a Presidential Address to the Old Boys' Association of Benares Hindu University.

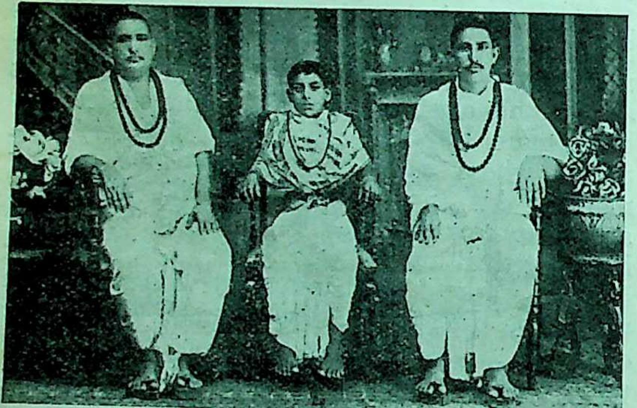
Lack of space forbids mention of the high appreciation of Prof. Singh's work by eminent men like Sir J. C. Bose, His Excellency Sir Harry Haig, Governor of U. P., Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir M. Viswesveraya, Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Sir Bryce Burt, Sir Frank Noyce, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir Richard Gregory, members of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and others.

BURMESE ERAS, YEAR, MONTHS AND DAYS

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

(From Irwin, Htoon Chan, U Dana, U Wili and other sources)

THAT Burmese astronomy was originally taken from India, is now a well-established fact and no one versed in Burmese astronomy will ever deny it. Kings of Burma, though often engaged in war and conquest, were great patrons of learning and used to take great interest in Indian astrology. Even from as early as the 4th century B.C. they used to entertain in their courts Pouna (Brahmin) astrologers from India and performed the ear-boring and marriage ceremonies of their children on auspicious days and hours fixed by these Pouna Brahmins.



The Guru, with his son and younger brother, of the Yakhaing Pouna Brahmins of Mandalay. Mark the *namavali* on the person of the boy.

Learned Pouna priests were placed in charge of their coronation ceremonies and they used to attend daily the Royal Courts, opening and closing them with sacred hymns and prayers. With the help of learned Bikkhus of Burma, they translated Sanskrit astronomical books into Burmese and introduced in Burma a system of astronomical calculation, which now forms the ground-work of the Burmese calendar and also of their astrology.

U May Oung, late Home Member, in a learned article published in the *Journal of the Burmese Research Society* (1912) confirmed this statement and averred that "the methods of Burmese astronomical calculation were doubtless drawn up by the Hindu Astrologers from India at one of the Courts of Burma."

This was supported by Justice Irwin of the Rangoon Chief Court and was more definitely coroborated by Htoon Chan, an advocate of the same Court, who in his very useful book *The Arakanese Calendar* ably proved, by a careful comparison, that "the system of astronomical calculation prevalent in Burma was originally derived from Indian works on astronomy and expounded by Pouna astronomers from India."

The Burmese books of astronomy, mentioned at the close of this article, will further prove the correctness of this statement.

BURMESE ERA

The Era now current in Burma was introduced from 22nd March 638 A.D. by Pubba Saw—a Rahan, but supposed to be a King of Pagan. It is called the Kachha-Panchabda (*i.e.*, The Fifth Era), because there were four other Eras previous to this Kachha-Panchabda, but why "Kachha," no one can definitely explain.

It is interesting to note that in the same year and month, new Eras were also introduced in Arakan and Siam, though politically these two Kingdoms were then entirely independent. In Siam, it is called the Chula Sakabda or Chulabda. The explanation perhaps lies in the fact that there was intimate international, religious and commercial intercouse between all the countries in Indo-China, from the days of the great Hindu expansion in the 7th century B.C. and there were then land and sea routes open from India to Burma, Siam, Cambodia, China and Japan.

The four Eras previous to the current Burmese Era (Kachha-Panchabda) were as follows :

(1) Gajabda

Gajabda was, according to a book written in 1863 by Kani Min, a Minister in the Court of King Mindon, introduced by Kootha Min leaving 14, 938, 560 years of the previous Eras—Akarabda—which were too old to be reckoned. This Era was prevalent for 8,650 years before the 7th century B.C.

(2) Anzanabda—King Anzana, grand-father of Goutama Buddha, on a consultation

with the learned hermit Devala, suspended the Gaja Era and introduced a New Era called Anzana-Era, from 691 B.C. It continued for about 583 years. These years and those mentioned just below, are not however very accurate, and reveal anomalies when compared with other chronicles.

(3) Maharaja Ajatasatru of Magadha suspended this Anzana-Era and introduced a New Era called the Buddya-Era from about 544 B.C. to commemorate the death of Goutama Buddha.

(4) In the year 624 of this Buddya-Era, Samundarit, a King of Prome (not shown in the list of the known Kings of Burma) introduced a New Era in 82 A.D., called Samundarit-Era, and it is from the year 562 (rather 556) of this Era (*i.e.*, in 638 A.D.) Pubba Shaw Rahan of Pagan introduced the current Burmese Era called the Kachha-Panchabda. It is now 1300 B.E., that is to say 1,300 years have elapsed and the 1301st year has commenced from the 15th April, 1938 and will expire in April, 1939. So, in the Burmese method of calculation, 1300 B.E. means 1,300 years have been completed, and 1301st year is going on, contrary to what we generally understand by the English Era.

Mohnin Thado, a King of Ava, desired to suspend this Pubba-Saw-Rahan-Era and perhaps he actually introduced a "Sabana" Era; but the priests were against the change and he died soon after the change, as prophesied by the priests and no new Era was introduced.

In Thaton, the ancient citadel of the South Indian Buddhist civilisation in Burma, a different Era was in force, introduced from the arrival there, of Arhan Sona and Uttara [272 B.C. (?)]. But it came to an end in the year 1057 A.D., as King Anurudha (Awnaratha) of Pagan had destroyed Thaton in 1014 A.D. and had taken its King as a captive. The Thaton Era, therefore, continued for about 1329 years, and ended with the end of the political independence of Thaton.

YEAR

According to the Burmese conception of a Mean Sun, as also of the Hindu astrologers, the Burmese solar year is of 365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds, instead of 365 days 5 hours 8 minutes and 49.75 seconds of the true solar year. In their calculation, therefore, the Burmese do not use either the tropical year or even the sidereal year of 365 days 6 hours 8 minutes and 5 seconds. Their solar year (of 365 days 15 nayi 31 B and 30 K=365 days 6 hours 12 minutes and 36 seconds) is in reality a sidereal-anomalistic year, shorter than the sidereal year by 4 minutes 31 seconds and longer, as shown above, than the true solar year.

Owing to this difference—a divergence is caused from the Equinox (as Irwin points out) at the rate of one month in 94 cycles of 1786 years. So the New Year day of the Burmese Era, which first fell on the 22nd March 638 A.D. has been, since then, gradually advancing towards the middle of the year, *e.g.*, in 1938 A.D. the Burmese New Year fell on the 15th April instead of in March (23 days later than the 1st New Year) and in 3500 years, the New Year day will fall in June instead of in April, as it now does.

The Burmese New Year again does not begin until about 2 days after the Mahavisuva-Sankranti of the Bengali Calendar: because the Burmese Era commenced when the Mean Sun entered the Meitha (Mesha Rashi) in 638 A.D., while the true Sun at that time had advanced more than one *pād* of Aswini in the Meitha (Mesha). The true Sun takes 363 days 75 Kyammat to reach the 1st *pād* of Aswini, while the Mean Sun takes 365 days 207 Kyammat to complete the circuit. So this difference of 2 days 132 Kyammat (2 days 3 hours 57 minutes and 36 seconds or rather 2 days 4 hours 1 miunte and 12 seconds, as the Burmese Calendars show) is compensated by postponing the Burmese New Year day 2 days 4 hours 1 miunte and 12 seconds after the true Sun has arrived back at the 1st *pād* of Aswini.

Mythologically the lay man has a curious story attached to it. He says that the Thakya Min (King Sakra of Heavens) comes down to this Earth at the expiry of the solar year and resides here for 2 days and then goes back to his high abode. The day on which he arrives is called the "Akya-day," on which the water festival begins and the Burmese Buddhists receive the Thakya Min with small jars of water covered with seven kinds of twigs, *viz.*, Thabye (Jaman), Thee (Kad-bel), Dan (Mahandi), Ohn (Coconut), Awza (Custard apple), Makala (Guava) and Mye-sa-yet (Durba leaves). The day following is called the "Akyat-ne" or the intermediate day; and the 3rd day on which he departs, is called the "Atet-Ne" (day of rising up). The Burmese astronomers carefully calculate the time of his arrival and departure and the Kings of Burma used to announce them by report of guns, bombs, rockets and beat of drums from the Palace. The day following the Atet-Ne is the Burmese New Year day—a day on which the water festival ends and the people go out with small jars of water containing new Thabyet and Malka twigs and Mye Sa (Durba leaves) bunched with flowers to pay homage to their superiors.

MONTHS

There are of course 12 months in the Burmese year, as it is with us; but the Burmese months are Lunar months alternately of 29 and 30 days, *e.g.*, their Tagu (Chaitra) is of 29 days while the next month Kason (Baisak) contains 30 days; and Nayun, the third month, (Kaith) is of 29 days and the fourth month contains 30 days and so on. Thus in 12 Burmese Lunar months there are 354 days only—11 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds shorter than their solar year. To regularise this shortage, intercalary months and days are inserted, which are called "adhi-masha" and "adhi-nes." The years in which the "adhi-masha" and "adhi-nes" are to be inserted are fixed by well-calculated rules; and the Pouna astronomers of Burma, though they sometimes disagree, profess proudly to be correct in their calculations.

The Burmese months, being Lunar months, begin from the 1st day of the Moon (*Sukla Pratipada*) and expire with the end of the next inter-Lunar day (*Amabasya*) but their New Year does not, as explained above, begin with the 1st day of the Moon (Lunar month) nor does their year end with the last day of the month (*Amabasya*). For example the Burmese New Year in 1937 A.D. fell on the 8th Lasan (*Sukla Ashtami Tithi*) of Kason (Baisak) instead of the 1st day of the Moon in Kason.

The Bengalee Hindu *Tithis* also do not exactly correspond with the Burmese *Tithis*. There is a difference of about 12 to 24 hours.

The Burmese month being a Lunar month, one would expect that the dates of their month would correspond to their *tithis* (or *Dithis* as called in Burmese). But it is not so; for a Burmese *Dithi* is not exactly equal to a Burmese Lunar day. For example, 3rd February, 1938 was the 4th day of Lasan of Tobodwe (*Sukla Chaturthi*) but the *Dithi* on that day was *Dwitiya* or *Tritiya*, according to their calendar

For explanation, Htoon Chan writes: "Months are calculated by the Dithis and each month is divided into 30 Dithis; but each month has 29 days, 31 Nayi, 50 Bizana and $5\frac{680}{708}$ Kaya (29 days, 17 hours 44 minutes, 2.3897 seconds) and so the ratio between the day and 'Dithi' is expressed $\frac{\text{692 Days}}{\text{703 “Dithi”}}$ " To find out the Dithi of a d U Wili says, "Add the Longitudes of Moon and the Sun and divide the result 720. The quotient and the remainder will s the Dithi".

Counting the months by the Moon is course a very old method in the East and is existence even now in Sambat and Fazli eras India. In Bengal, too, the Lunar months h been introduced and the Bengali month is named after the constellations, on which the F Moon day of the month ends and not by t sign of the Zodiac in which the Sun enters the commencement of the Solar month.

THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC

The Zodiac, as we all know, is an imag nary path of the Sun. The Burmese astronom call it by the name of "Dwadatha-Yathe (Dwadasha Rashi). The constellations of t Zodiac also bear the same Sanskrit nam though slightly deformed, *e.g.*, Mesha (Meith Vrisha (Parietha), and so on.

Though the signs of the Zodiac have be slowly shifting from their original positio the Burmese astronomers, like the Hindus take them as stationery, for their astronomica purposes.

The Burmese months are also, in the astronomical books, named according to th constellations (such as Baisaka, Jaistha, etc. But these astronomical names naturally clashe with the popular names already given to the by the lay man and they were not therefo changed and are called as Tagu, Kason, Nayu etc., as before. The meanings of these name however, are too long to be described in th article.

The Burmese Zodiac is also divided in 27 Stars (Aswini, Bharani, etc., excluding t Abhijit) as the Hindus have and a denominated by the same Hindu names, su as Chitra, Bishakha, Aswini etc. Each o these asterisms, has 4 *pads*, making 9 *pads* f each sign.

In Burmese astrology the calculatio relating to the constellations are high important. Their astrologers can correct determine the position of a planet at a fix time and place and profess also to know th influence on the course of life of a man an his character.

DAYS OF THE WEEK

The names of the days of the week a also taken from Hindu astronomy. Like t

Hindus, the Burmans believe that the sun, the moon, and the other planets rule the days and their names are given as Taninga-nwe (for Ravi), Tanin-la (for Soma), Ainga (for Mangala), Bouduha (for Budha), Kyathabade (for Brihaspati), Thoukya (for Sukra) and Saney (for Sani).

Division of Time

The Burmese day begins astronomically from midnight and ends at the next midnight, though in common parlance, the day begins from the time the sun rises.

The Burmese month is, as stated before, a mean period of lunation from a New Moon to the next New Moon.

The Burmese astronomers understand the Hindu division of time, the Hora, Danda, Pala, Bipala, etc. But they use a different division of time for their astronomical calculation.

Their 1 year is equal to 12 months; 1 month=30 days, (or more accurately =29 days 31 Nayi 50 B and 5 $\frac{680}{703}$ Kaya); 1 day=60 Nayi (more accurately, 59 Nayi 3 B 40 $\frac{140}{708}$ Kaya).

The word Nayi is now wrongly used to express one English hour; but astronomically 1 Nayi is equal to 24 minutes that is to say 4 pads; 1 pad=15 Bizanas; 1 Bizana=6 pranas, 1 prana=10 Kayas; 1 Bizana is equal to 24 seconds; Kyammat is 800th part of a mean day.

These divisions of time are however used in their astronomy. The villager does not care for these astronomical divisions and has no clock to determine the time of the day or of night. He uses queer phrases to denote the time. An incomplete list of these pharses is given below for our inquisitive readers.

1. Kye-oo-Thon=cock-crow-time 4-30 A.M.
2. Aun-chhon-kat-chhain = 5 A. M.
3. Nayhtwe-daw-pyu-chhin=Sun-peeping-time.
4. Chhon-khan-chhin=Phongyi-begging-alms time 6 A. M.
5. Nay-Htwe daw phya=Sun-on-palmyrah-tree time.
6. Nanet-Son-Si-chein=Meal time for Phongyis—about 8 A. M.
7. Ne-chhon chhachhein = Meal time for Phongyis = 11 A. M.
8. Mun-Tet-chhein=Midday—12 Noon.
9. Nya-Sa, Thamin-Sa-chhein = Evening meal time 5 P. M.
10. Moh-Hmoung-Kya-chhein=Sky-darkened time—7 P.M.
11. Mee-Hton-Chhien = Light-kindle time.
12. Nwa-Yaing-Thwingyin chhein = vicious-cows-to-be-put-in-shed time.
13. Nee-Ako-Mathee-Tathi-Chhcin=Brothers. won't-know-each-other-time=7-30 P.M.
14. Thu-Ngc-taik-chhein=Child-sleeping-time.
15. Lubyo-lay-chhein = Youths-to-roam time.
16. Than-goung-chhein=World-quiet time.

The Phongy Kyaung in the village usually keeps a clock, but a stick placed perpendicularly on an open ground near the Kyaung tells them the time of the day by its shadow; and the candles or the Stars show them almost as accurately as clocks, the time in the night. During the Burmese regime, there was a Royal sun-clock and a water-clock in the Palace; and time was used to be notified by beats of the Royal drum (one beat two beats and so on).

Seasons

Astronomically there are six seasons in the Burmese calendar as we have, according to the sun's position in the Zodiac. But popularly, they speak of three seasons only—Summer, Rains and Winter.

Burmese Books on Astronomy and Astrology

The following Books are only a few of the astronomical books used by the Burmese astronomers:—

Raja-mattan, Nirnaya Sindhu, Mala-Kasha, Loka-Deepani, Chandra-Surya-Gati-Deepani, Maha-Nayi, Sankha-bodha, Makaranta, Surya-Siddhanta, Briha, Arya-Siddhanta, Dwadasarathi, etc.

The Burmese astronomical books are too numerous to be mentioned, but they are all based on Hindu astronomy. The modern Burmese astrologers are using English and American books also to help their predictions.

In the "Briha" it is mentioned that Pandit Bhagawandeen, a learned man in astronomy from Benares, was brought to Mandalay by King Mindon and was employed by him as a Court astronomer. Bhagawandeen is reputed to have altered the Malamasha-Shifts into 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15 and 18 and the next shift also will be necessary in a short time. There are Bengalee Pouna Pandits in Mandalay who are quite adept in Burmese astronomy and astrology and a few of them were given the pompous title of Raja-Guru.

RURAL BROADCAST IN ITALY

By Dr. P. N. ROY

The Radio has come to stay in modern life and every day the number of its users is increasing. It has become a cheap source of entertainment to thousands of people and it has proved itself to be a powerful instrument in the hands of almost all governments for mass-contact and the shaping of public opinion. But its utility has a wider extent. It disseminates news, rivalling the newspaper in this respect and it undertakes the task of educating the people by means of instructive talks and scholastic broadcasts.

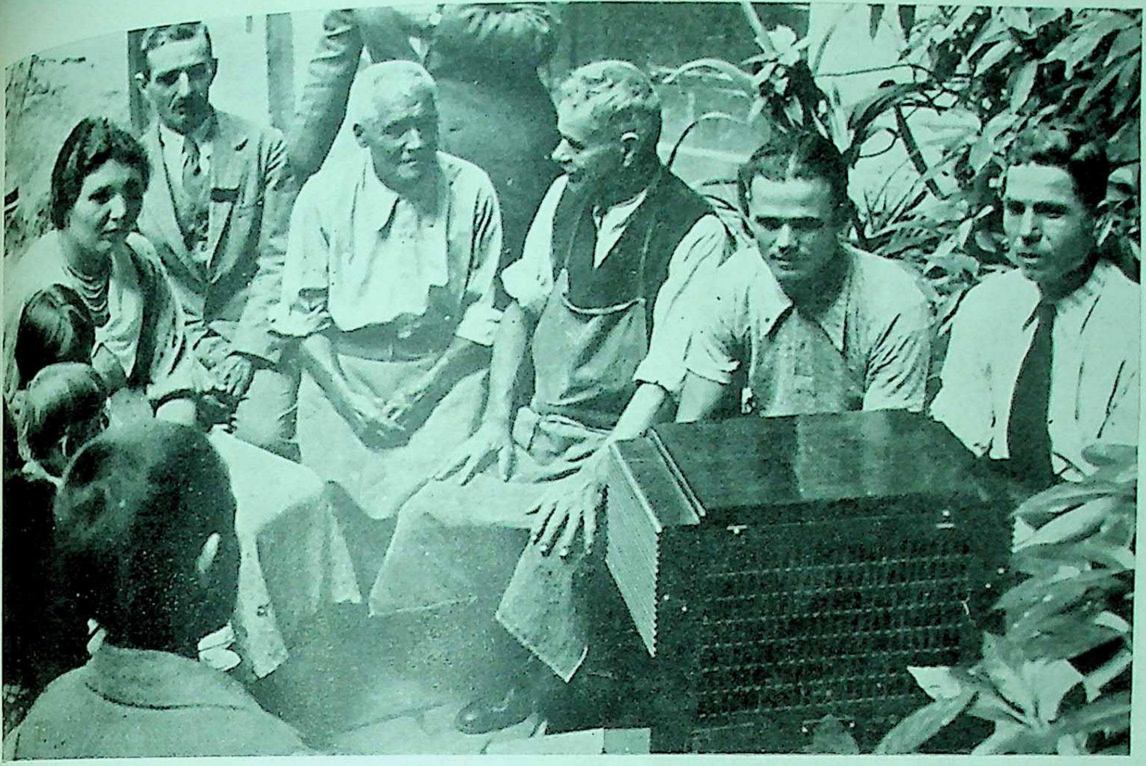
It is because of this versatile character of the Radio and its great utility to the State that broadcasts in all countries are either State-managed or State-controlled. But the needs of urban listeners are perhaps not the same as those of the rural listeners. Moreover, varieties of programmes meeting the needs of different classes of listeners cannot perhaps be satisfactorily arranged within a limited period of time from the same broadcasting station. A programme which includes general items of entertainment and special items for special classes of listeners cannot perhaps allot more than ten minutes to each special item, which also is possible at irregular intervals and at varying hours.

It is the recognition of this fact that has led some countries to make separate arrangements for urban and rural listeners. Italy has a special radio-organization, called the *Ente Radio Rurale* (Rural Radio Corporation), in existence for several years now, which caters to the special needs of the rural population of the country, bringing instruction and entertainment to the doors of the farmers and other moffussil dwellers. Every Sunday, this Corporation broadcasts for full one hour a special programme called The Farmer's Hour, when topics connected with agriculture, the farmer's life and life in the country in general are discussed and practical advice suited to seasonal work in the field and the sale of products is given. The programme also includes a brief period of pleasant entertainment.

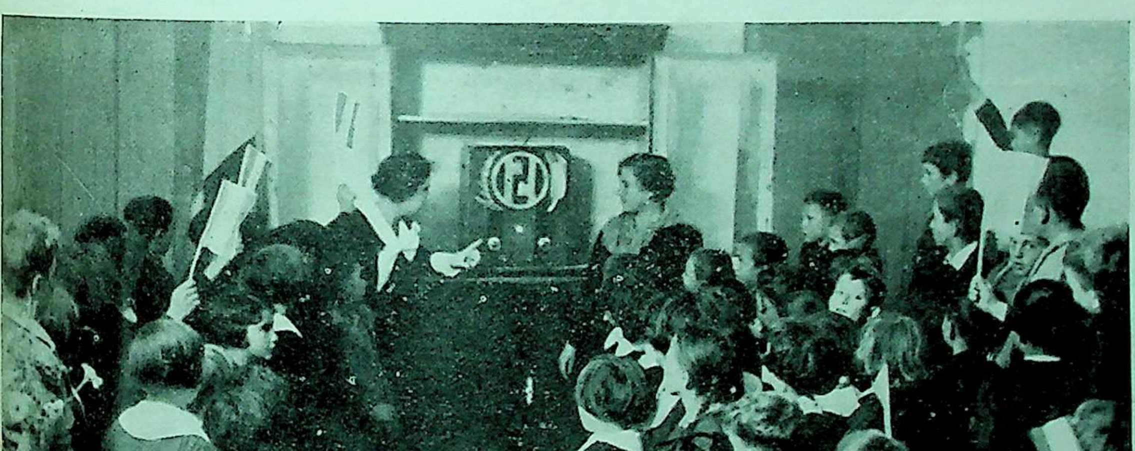
The programme of the Farmer's Hour is divided into three parts, each lasting for about 20 minutes. The first part consists of the political and economic happenings of the week and the second of songs and music. These two parts are broadcast from Rome. In the third part different branches of farm-work are dealt according to the different agricultural work ca ried on in the region. This part of the p gramme is broadcast from the various regi radio-stations of the country. As the liste of this programme are all people whose edu tion does not perhaps go higher than the eleme tary school training, care is taken that no ped try and no difficulty of technical language cr into the talks and instructiions given during t Farmer's Hour. The Rural Radio Corporati claims that the initiative has had the great success among the rural classes and it is es mated that hundreds of thousands of the ru population crowd round the various radios i stalled in different localities. For the bene of the listeners, the Corporation also publishes weekly magazine called *La Radio Rurale* (T Country Wireless), which is distributed free charge.

But the Farmer's Hour is only a part o the programme conducted by the Corporati Complementary to it is the programme of ru scholastic broadcasts meant for supplying th teachers of the rural schools with suitable tea ing material of current interest, so that th may enliven and complete the ordinary rout of teaching.

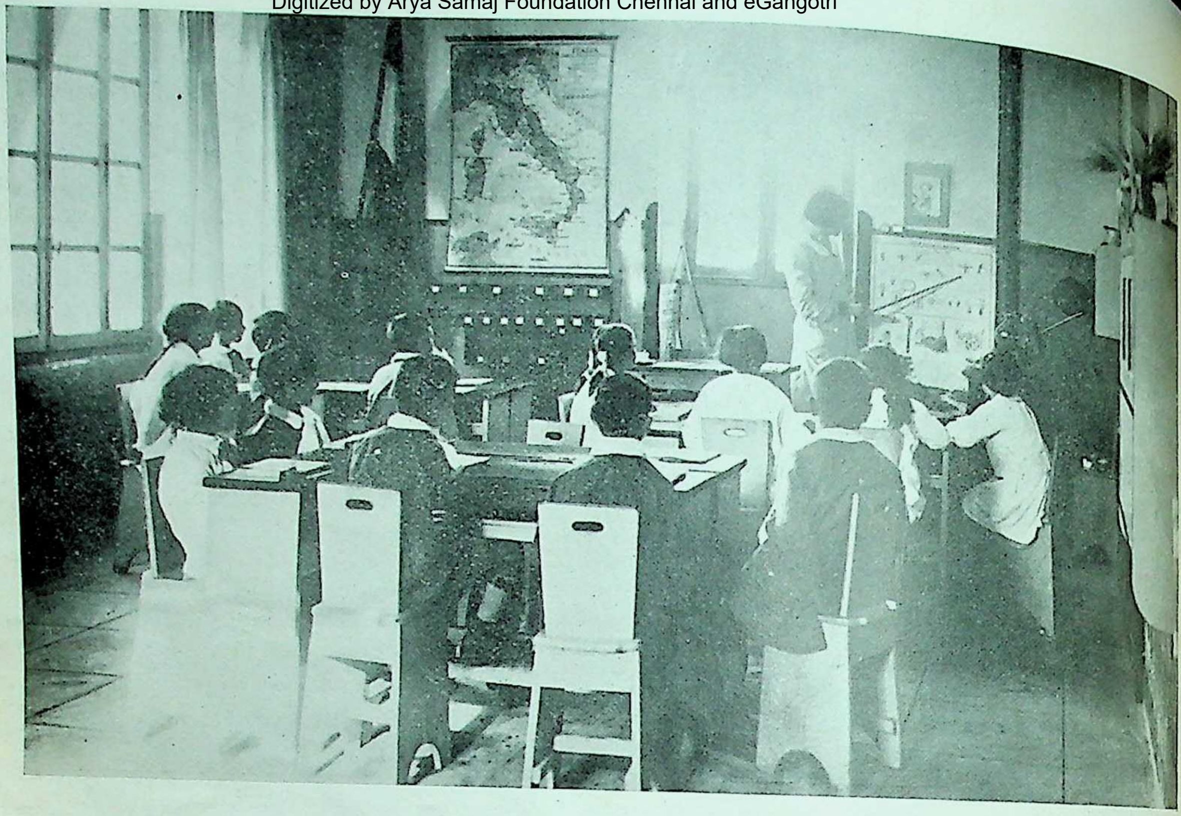
It would be wrong to suppose that schola broadcasts diminish the importance of t teacher. The Rural Radio puts otherwise u obtainable teaching material at the disposal o the teacher, who previously gives a lesson o particular subject and the wireless then en to supplement his instruction. For example teacher in a village school has first of all gi a lesson on the submarine, its inventions, construction and its activity. When the theo tical lesson is over, in comes the wireless microphone is installed in the very heart o submarine and thence the details of its very and of its inmost workings are carried to school children who thus receive a vivid impres sion of life on board. The plain narrative the teacher is thus rendered more vivacious interesting. In this way the Rural Radio bro casts, for instance, dialogues regarding traffic gulation, personal hygiene and gardening or ries the imagination of the young listeners



Rural Radio listeners: Italy



Radio lesson in a rural school in Italy



Lesson on malaria in a rural school in Italy

Hitler's home, "Berghof", at Obersalzberg in the Bavarian Alps, where the last discussions between Hitler and Schuschnigg took place board a ship or a submarine, to the field of military manœuvres, or inside factories, barracks, aerodromes, etc. It also excites the curiosity of its listeners by giving drawing lessons and promoting competitions in letter-writing, etc. All important patriotic celebrations and ceremonies are broadcast from Rome or from wherever they take place. During the last Abyssinian War, the Rural Radio was used as an instrument for teaching the children to assist their elders in facing the situation.

But to do all this successfully two things are necessary—to develop the habit of listening-in and to supply radio-sets at a cheap price. The first, *i.e.*, the listening-in habit, depends to a large extent on the second. In order, therefore, to facilitate the purchase of radio-sets by schools and similar bodies, a highly sensitive and powerful receiving set has been put on market. This is sold at a low price. But in order not to injure the radio trade in general, the sale of this set is limited to the abovementioned organisations.

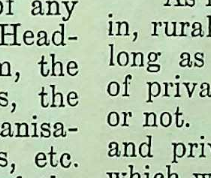
Another problem is the establishment of social centres where country people can gather for collective listening-in. Naturally such centres cannot be in the house or courtyard of a private individual. The Rural Radio Corporation has thought out the problem and found that the best place for installing radio sets in the rural area is either a school or the seat of any other State-organization, *e.g.*, the Fascist Headquarters, the Afterwork Recreation Room, the Parish Hall, the Agricultural Syndicates, the Headquarters of the National Balilla Organisation, the Offices of the School Inspectors, etc. Every village in Italy has one or more of the abovementioned places where a radio can be installed.

It cannot be said that at present all schools in Italy are supplied with radio-sets. But of late the Italian Ministry for Education has issued an order, as a result of which every elementary school would, in the near future, be provided with its own radio.

The question of rural broadcasts in Italy reminds the writer of the present article of the similar effort made by some of the radio stations in India. The Delhi Station tried to popularise the listening-in habit in some of the villages in the Punjab and U. P. and it is said that the trial was a failure because the villagers did not show any sustained interest. The causes of this lack of interest may be enquired into. Some evident ones seem to have been the monotony of programmes and the lack of centres suitable for collective listening-in. Rural programmes should be entirely separated from and not inserted within the urban programmes and variety with interest must be sought in making them. The programmes might be best prepared in consultation with people who actually live in villages, and attention should be paid to regional necessities. In fact all rural programmes ought to be regional programmes and different hours should be allotted for different regional programmes. Villagers themselves from various regions might sometimes be invited to speak before the microphone on the problems of their own regional life. At the same time the significance of the important events of the outside world, particularly those that affect the life of the rural population, should be explained to them. And in preparing the amusement part of the rural programme, village artists should be taken into consideration.

As regards the centre for collective listening-in, rural broadcasts will always fail in India so long as the radios are installed in the houses of private individuals, whether village headmen or not. Villagers have their own political, social and private divisions, jealousies and rivalries which would come into play when the radio-sets are installed in the house of any one individual. Under the circumstances, they should be installed in the village post-office, the village school, the union board, the thana and so on.

Rural uplift is now a major problem of the Government and it is hoped that the radio will play its proper part in it by bridging the gulf between the city and the country.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE ATTEMPTED WHIG REVOLUTION OF 1678-1681: *By Francis S. Ronalds. Published by the University of Illinois. Price $2.50.*

The last few years of the reign of Charles II form one of the most intriguing periods in English history. The Whig leaders tried every means to exclude the Duke of York from the throne, and cleverly bolstered up the bogey of the Papists' "bloody designs." Titus Oates, the most amazing villain in English history, William Bedloe, another unmitigated scoundrel and rogue, William Scroggs, the profligate Lord Chief Justice, Ralph Montagu, the immoral and unprincipled diplomat, Mrs. Cellier, the disreputable midwife of Meal-tub fame, and James of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of a prostitute, are some of the strange characters who played their part in the attempted Whig revolution of 1678-1681. The book under review is an interesting survey of the political drama that was enacted during these fateful years. The account is based on original and contemporary documents and State Papers, and embodies the results of valuable research into the history of the stirring events of the period preceding the death of Charles II. The author has been able to throw new light on some of the characters and events on which there is still divergence of opinion among the historians. The exhaustive bibliography given by the author is a valuable feature of his scholarly work. His references in the text are, however, mostly to printed rather than to manuscript sources. For example, where documents are listed in the Calendar of State Papers, the citations are made to it, and not to the Public Record Office originals. The work on the whole is an important contribution to the history of the Whig politics of the XVIIth century.

Nandalal Chatterji

LONDON MUSIC IN 1888-89 AS HEARD BY COMO DI BARSETTO (LATER KNOWN AS BERNARD SHAW). *Constable Coy. Standard edition of the works of G. B. S. Price 5s.*

G. B. S. comes from a musical family from the mother's side. He was trained in music, and his first experiments in livelihood were in musical journalism. Of literature he had no dreams at all, "any more," as he says, "than a duck has of swimming." Probably, it was all to the good. Adolescent dreams have always been poor substitutes.

But what a vigorous musical mind it was to appreciate the greatness of Wagner, the Liberator, behind his monstrous Cacophonies, to realise his supreme necessity to 'smash the obligatory superstitions' and fight 'the tyranny of arabesques'. Rosalias and tawdy rum-tums had to be eschewed from orchestration and they were by Wagner. Such a man required a mind keen and akin, and it was there in bristling red. Today G. B. S. thinks that the most poignant dramatic quality can go with the elaborate design of Bach and Mozart. But his 'to-day' is not ours in India. The sense of form that precipitates after deep stirrings is not the same as that of being complacent with a surface placid by shortage of movement. The beauty of calm that descends after a storm is not to be compared with the muffled stillness of days before rains come. A saint's face is qualitatively different from that of a child, though both are reputed to be simple. In most cases, our love of classical forms is the reflection of inertia, of our desire *not* to think and live. Sometimes one wishes for a crude artist and a vulgar critic to debunk our classicism.

TRENDS IN SOCIALISTIC THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT: *By Ilyas Ahmad, M.A., Lecturer, Allahabad University, Indian Press, Allahabad. Pp. 113 plus four Appendices and a select Bibliography from 115 to 201. 1937. Price Rs. 2.*

The book dismisses the origin, growth and development of Socialism down to our own times in 75 pages. The onslaught of that movement in India—the phrase is on the jacket and describes a part of the scope of the book—is however interesting. Its clue is furnished by what follows, 'Islam and Socialism,' which should have been re-named as 'Islam in Danger.'

The author has completely misunderstood the significance of the growth of Socialism in India and the part played by Pandit Jawharlal in its spread. Panditji may not be a 'True Socialist'; his tragedy may be similar to that of the last great Victorian, John Stuart Mill, but to be blind to his contribution to link up India's destiny with the world's through anti-imperalist struggle is to shut one's eyes to socialistic theory and to historical facts and take the name of academic detachment in vain.

I am not sufficiently, acquainted with Islamic theology to pronounce on Islam's connection with or superiority over Socialism. But what is known as the Muslim community under the new dispensition enjoys certain historical and social advantages over the non-Muslim brethren-at-arms in being able to skip the step which the latter were forced to take by the exigencies of certain situations in the recent past. This probably accounts for the fact that an appreciable number of Muslim intelligent young men today are Socialists in theory and practice. The author of the book is a well-read man, but has not looked out of his library to know what is happening outside. This book is unfair to the present, and therefore, unreal. An additional proof is the number of 'isms' littered over the pages. No account of socialistic theory, here or anywhere, is possible without due attention being paid to the history of strikes and trade-union movements. More so in India, where much leeway has to be made.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT? *By J. C. Kumarappa. Hindusthan Publishing Co., Ltd. Rajamahendry. 2nd edition. 1938. Pages 136. Price Twelve annas.*

This book is a plea for a new economic order in India and not a mere recital of the benefits of the village movement. The author has gone to the root of the matter and has taken up the problem of analysing the characters of western and eastern civilisation. Sjt. Kumarappa has made the Gandhian outlook of life his own and has given expression to thoughts in a way which is strikingly original, clear and convincing.

Sjt. Kumarappa divides human organisations into two types, the industrialised and the social type, from which originated what he calls the "pack type" and the "herd type," if they are named after their animal prototypes. The pack-type is a predatory one and posesses those qualities that make for success of the tiger or the wolf in the forest-life. This type in human beings develops an attitude for central control and concentration of power in the hands of individuals or small groups and places the prospect of gain as the motive force for all activities and attempts to gather as much as it can without reference to the value of service rendered.

On the other hand, the herd type possesses qualities which in forest-life make it possible for the elephant or the cow to exist and thrive in spite of the tiger and the wolf. This type develops aptitude for social control and decentralisation and distribution of power. The working and regulations in this case are impersonal. It attempts to safeguard the weak and the helpless and wants to distribute gain as widely as possible.

Sjt. Kumarappa then traces the development of the institutions of the east and the west and shows how the western or pack-type organisations found expression through a civilisation centering round cities and made way for the strife for raw material, for markets and for industrialisation and led to unemployment and ultimately to violent occupation of territories and destruction of what the 'herd-type' hold as culture.

The herd-type organisations on the contrary centered round villages, producing and distributing mainly for markets nearest home and made way for development of society by creation of joint family and caste systems and ultimately of village republics.

Sjt. Kumarappa puts the case for the preservation of the social institutions of India, in a masterly way. If they are revived the villages will automatically take their rightful place and bring out the character of the civilisation they stand for. The book is of immense importance to those who want to understand the inner currehts of civilisation and the root cause of the present world strife.

India is naturally socially minded. Its socialism is as deep as it is wide. When the 'pack-type' nations, after living centuries of predatory life, were looking for discovering something better, they got a glimpse of Socialism. But their socialism is found to be tinged with predatory philosophy. I believe that if the modern socialists will seriously study this little book, they will be able to grasp why Gandhism is to be regarded as the highest type of socialism.

From 1908, Gandhiji has been preaching his doctrine of non-violence as an abiding force for maintaining and developing society and therefore of politics. It appears that it took us 30 years to realise the futility of violence in our national struggle. The western ideas of socialism have come as a wave sweeping over the country. Shall we take another generation to understand that Gandhian socialism is of the rightest sort? A serious and critical study of Sjt. Kumarappa's thoughts and presentations will be of great help at the present moment.

Sjt. Kumarappa is at the head of the All-India Village Industries Association. His contribution to the cause of village movement are great and this book is no small addition to his many achievements.

SATISH CHANDRA DAS-GUPTA

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MAHARASTRA AND KARNATAK: *By Y. S. Pandit, M.A. Published by the Tilak Swarjya Sangh, Poona. 1936.*

This is a prize-essay published on behalf of the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Fund. The conditions laid down for the award of the essay included:—(1) That it should be written from a nationalist point of view, (2) that the treatment of its subject-matter should be scientific and (3) that the writer should hail from Maharastra or Karnatak. These conditions the essay fulfilled to the satisfaction of the examiners and the writer was awarded a prize of Rs. 1,000.

The essay gives a fairly complete and accurate picture of the economic conditions in Maharastra and Karnatak as pieced together from Government Reports and published books. There is no attempt made at first hand investigation. The last chapter entitled "Conclusion" gives a general summary and indicates the views of the writer on the various economic problems of Maharastra and Karnatak.

The essay is well written and the views expressed are generally sound. But the treatment is purely economic and that too from rather a narrow standpoint. The population question is not dealt with except in a short appendix in spite of the conclusion of the author that it is the human factor that is responsible for the poor economic condition of the tract. Nor has the author devoted any attention to the subject of education, general and technical, which obviously had a great deal to do with economic backwardness of the people both in Maharastra and elsewhere. Nonetheless, the essay of nearly 200 pages, gives a useful review of the economic conditions in Maharastra and Karnatak and is eminently readable.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN A GUJRAT TALUKA: *By J. R. Shukla, M.A., edited by C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., Calcutta. 1937. Price Rs. 5.*

INDIAN AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS: *By A. D. Patel, M.A., with a Foreword by Sir T. Vijayaragvacharya, K.B.E. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1937. Price Rs. 6.*

These are two theses approved by the University of Bombay for the Master's degree in Economics and are the result largely of personal investigation conducted by two research students under the guidance of University teachers.

Professor C. N. Vakil has explained in an editorial note as to why a Taluk was chosen and neither a village nor a district or a larger regional unit. The two studies are both conscientious and painstaking and give a careful analysis of the factors affecting moral life and prosperity. Both make useful and practical suggestions for improvement.

To the scientific investigator and the Government both the studies are of equal value and importance and the one supplements the other as the Talukas chosen are of two different types. But for the general reader "Indian Agricultural Economics" by A. D. Patel is more helpful—it is both better planned and more readable.

The two studies under review have still further strengthened my belief that detailed investigation into rural economic life may make our knowledge more impact and definite but it is not likely to add anything new to it. The facts disclosed by the two studies are not at all new nor are even the suggestions made for improvement original or novel. As a matter of fact Indian economic problems are extremely acute and they are very well known—a few more details makes hardly any difference to their understanding and search for solutions. Who is there who does not know that the pressure of population on agriculture is great and has been increasing and that little improvement can be expected unless this pressure is relieved through industrialization? Similarly the evils of subdivision and pregmentation of holdings and the causes thereof are too well-known to need repetition or emphasis. The lack of capital and of credit facilities, the collosal indebtedness of the agricultural classes, the need for proper measures of suitable bye-industries, the ignorance of the ryot and the cleverness of the money-lender, the hopeless condition of roads and of sanitation, the poor irrigation and marketing facilities and other difficulties and drawbacks of rural life are familiar to all students of Indian economics and of public affairs in the country. The same is true of the suggestions for improvement, cooperation—for consolidation, credit, purchase of seed, manures and other materials and implements, sale of produce, etc.—; land mortgage banks; supplementary industries like spinning, rope and basket making, dairy, poultry and bee farming, etc., are the usual remedies suggested. What is needed is planned action by provincial Governments—and if studies of the type under review act as timely reminders and goad the provincial Governments to systematic and persistant action they would have served not only their academic purpose but also a practical purpose of great public utility.

Gurumukh N. Singh

RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN FRANCE IN THE XIXTH CENTURYY: *By Canon W. J. Sparrow Simpson Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 192. Price 5s. net.*

The author gives us in this book a careful and well-written summary of the views of various Frenchmen of the last century on religion and religious subjects. He reviews not only Christian but anti-Christian writers as well, and not only writers but also preachers, Catholic as well as Protestant. The Catholic bias of the author is not concealed; and he does not profess any sympathy for what is called Biblical criticism but what very often turns out to be little better than undisguised hostility towards religion. And the fact that several literary men of the period, originally hostile to religion, were in later life converted to Catholicism, has not escaped the notice of our author.

Many of the accounts could, very profitably for the reader, be much longer. Sometimes the summary is so brief as to produce in the readers' mind the impression that he is going through a bibliography. Yet, on the whole, the book is an excellent account of the subject it professes to deal with.

TOWARDS A NEW MANNER OF LIVING: *By Dr. Howard E. Collier. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 99.*

The new manner of living, and the best manner of living according to our author, is that which harmonises the individual with society—which unifies "at one and the same time personality and sociality" (p. 15). And this manner of living, we are told, is provided by Quakerism. To the first of these propositions, assent may readily be given; the second, however, is a matter of opinion.

The author belongs to a group of men whose "aim is the creation of a World Organism of Christian Friends, a Religious Society of Friends here on earth," and who believe in the reality of "the creative power of the Logos" (p. 95). The book is written in a fervid style, not free from a ring of mysticism, and will have an appeal for all who believe in the potency of "Christian friendship" and in the power of that religion to shape our life for the better.

POPULAR CULTURE IN KARNATAKA: *By Masti Venkatesa Iyengar. Published by Satya Sodhana Pustaka Bhandara, Fort, Bangalore City. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 2/8.*

As the name of the book implies, it is an account of some popular cultural movements that took place in Karnataka (Mysore and the surrounding area of land). Such movements have taken place in other parts of India also and are worthy of being remembered. They have shaped the life of the ordinary people and generally shaped it well. The impact of modern civilisation is fast destroying their effects; perhaps they have outlived their period of usefulness; but in their time, they were a reed on which the religion and morality of the masses rested. And history would not be complete if the originators of these movements were not remembered. Our author's endeavour, therefore, deserves praise. Besides, the book has been written in a simple and attractive style.

There is one peculiarity of expression used by these Karnataka people to which our author has drawn pointed attention and which he regards as specially indicative of their high spirituality: It is that when any of them are indisposed, they do not say "I am unwell" but would rather say "My body is not well." This, our author contends (p. 11 and also p. 149), implies a knowledge that the body is not self. Perhaps it does; but it may be an idiom of the language as well. In Bengali, too, the idiomatic expression employed on such occasions is exactly the same. But for that alone, Bengal (and perhaps Karnataka also) would not be justified in claiming an extraordinarily alive spiritual consciousness.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

HAR BILAS SARDA COMMEMORATION VOLUME: *Edited by P. Seshadri, M.A. Published by Vedic Yantralaya, Ajmer. 1937. Pp. xlvii + 555. Price not mentioned.*

Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda is chiefly remembered throughout the length and breadth of India as the author of that highly beneficial nation-building measure—the Sarda Act. But the Dewan Bahadur throughout a busy life of over 70 years has been serving Mother India by his Speeches and Writings. It was, therefore, a happy idea on the part of Principal Seshadri to commemorate Har Bilas Sarda's completing 70th year by presenting him with a Commemoration Volume.

Frederic Harrison has protested more than once against the practice of holding celebrations in honour of living personalities, and wished that the public would reserve judgment till they could be seen through the long perspective of past history. But there is genuine and sincere pleasure in expressing our appreciation of one who is still happily amidst us. It is a great satisfaction to feel that honour is being done where honour is due. It is again almost a national duty to express our gratitude to those who have rendered valuable national services, however much they themselves may not look forward to rewards of this kind.

It is in this spirit that the Volume under notice has n edited. It is a sumptuous volume of over 555 pages, rich alike in its contributions and in its ributors. The messages and greetings come from far d near; from men like Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Bahadur Sapru; from the Ruling Princes and from ials like the Executive Councillors to the Government India and the Residents of the Native States. The ributions cover a very wide field: from Indian Art Archæology in British Isles to the Technique of ial Reform in India; from Cultural Coalescence in Atharva-Veda to Folk Songs of Syrian Chris- s; and from the making of American Constitution to Co-ordination of Indian Education. The value of book has been enhanced by the inclusion of a table the principal events of Har Bilas Sarda's life with and a list of his writings, and of several plates. have nothing but praise for this Commemoration lume; and we congratulate Principal Seshadri on the essful completion of his self-appointed task.

DEBT LEGISLATION IN BENGAL: *By Kumar d Chandra Sinha. Published by M. C. Sarkar & ns. Pp. 40. Price Re. 1.*

It is a good, short, interesting study on a subject of siderable practical importance to Bengal.

J. M. DATTA

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: A PERSPECTIVE AND RE-
SPECT: *By M. N. Roy. Published by D. M. Library, lcutta. Price Re. 1.*

FASCISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY, PROFESSIONS AND PRAC-
E: *By M. N. Roy. Published by D. M. Library, lcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Comrade M. N. Roy brought with him the revolu- nary experience of three continents, as he is proud to ow, to apply to the Indian situation. The two small ks from his pen are, therefore, welcome to all. More an anybody else in India he can speak about the ssian Revolution with authority, and, more than most er such people he knows what Fascism is and means the world. And, the books also explain, to a discerning nd, the strange fate that pursues Comrade Roy, in spite his ability and ardour, in India and abroad, his rise d fall in public affection.

The Russian Revolution presents a historical pers- ctive and a retrospect of the great upheaval, and, the cialist reconstruction that follows it. It is clear in its rvey of the conditions and forces; it is thoroughly gical and reasonable in its analysis, and it will satisfy ne; for there are few whose opinions are not already rmed, and encased in the iron bars of prejudices or edilections of one kind or other. Roy defends Stalin d his policy as a Marxist and as an independent thinker, demns everyone of the Left or Right who disagreed th the Stalinists, for 'under the given conditions' the mmunists could not do otherwise. Yet every Communist st 'under the given conditions' of the Comintern fall l of this expelled member, the more so, when the negade' holds that the Russian revolution was, and, der the given conditions' could not be, a proletarian olution but a peasant revolution under the 'leadership f the proletariat'. The Communists must denounce this visionist'. But Roy, perhaps, would deserve a better atment from the ordinary, unbiased reader, if there e any left so, who may even go so far as to suspect him o be a Stalinist.

'Fascism' will meet with little opposition from any f the comrades of the writer. It will evoke protests from l Indians who hold Indian philosophy and Indian culture ar and near to their heart. Roy is acute in his analysis of the Fascist mind, the western schools of thought which supplied the philosophical strands for this unscrupulous socio-political movement. Mercilessly the writer persues further and traces the affiliation, psychologically, of that philosophy with our Indian thought as enshrined in the Gita and other sacred sastras. We are as a subject people, all against Fascism; but we are also nationalists, at least proud of our cultural inheritance. The dangerous parallelism, and the close affinities that Roy shews to exist between Indian thought and Fascist philosophy, are not likely to make us feel comfortable. Most will disagree with Roy, many will call him superficial and confused in his knowledge of Indian philosophy; but the truth is more likely to be on the side of Comrade Roy than on that of his critics.

One thing is certain—Comrade Roy knows how to think and how to speak. In thought and style, he is absolutely clear and penetrating.

SANDHANI

CENTRAL BANKING IN INDIA (1773-1934): *By Om Prakash Gupta, M.Sc., LL.B., F.R. Econ. S. Hindusthan Times Press, Delhi. Pp. 290, Price Rs. 5.*

Establishment of the Reserve Bank of India, ushers in a new era in India's financial administration. Since the beginning of the present century there had been a number of committees and commissions dealing with India's financial and banking problems. Apart from the reports of these committees and commissions there had been a host of publications on the study of these subjects by well-known economists. Mr. Gupta's book on "Central Banking in India" recounts the story of India's attempts, for the establishment of a Central Bank, since the year 1773. The book also gives a co-ordinated history of the long chain of events, during these 162 years, relating to India's currency, finance and banking. Mr. Gupta, in his book presents in a concise and scientific manner the importance of the Reserve Bank of India in the national economy of the country. In the concluding chapter of the book the author examines the evolution of the central banking system in general and explains at length the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 in the light of the laws, chapters, and statutes regulating the central banks in the different parts of the world. The book will prove useful to the students of Indian Banking.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

A GUIDE TO BELUR: *By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.). Published for the Government of Mysore. Bangalore, 1937. Pp. 29 + 10 plates. Price 4 annas.*

We are sure this neat little booklet illustrated by several well-printed photographs will prove helpful to visitors to Belur in Mysore.

A GUIDE TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, (PART II, THE GRAECO-BUDDHIST SCHOOL OF GANDHARA): *By N. G. Majumdar. Archæological Survey of India. Delhi, 1937. Pp. ii + 137. 15 plates and one map. Price Re. 1/8.*

In the introduction, the author gives us a learned account of the chief characteristics and historical affiliations of the Gandhara School of Art. This is followed by a detailed description of the exhibits together with copious explanations from Buddhist sacred literature. The illustrations are of a uniformly high quality.

A GUIDE TO FATEHPUR SIKRI: *By Muhammad Ashraf Husain, M.A., M.R.A.S. Delhi, 1937. Price Re. 1. Pp. 77 + 12 plates.*

AN HISTORICAL GUIDE TO THE AGRA FORT (BASED ON CONTEMPORARY RECORDS): *By Maulvi*

Muhammad Ashraf Hussain, M.A. Delhi. 1937. Pp. vii + 71 + 8 plates.

These two booklets illustrated by excellent photographs and maps will not only serve the purpose of the layman but also of the more serious student of history. The appendices containing translations of the inscriptions and the bibliography will be particularly helpful to the latter. One however misses in the latter book any reference to Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* although books of lesser value find a place in the bibliography.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

THE BATTLE OF CHINA: *By Dr. K. R. Menon, Ph.D. Published by the School of Printing, Printers' Association, Singapore. $1.00 or 2s. 6d.*

This book, which bears the sub-title *The Lay of a Chinese Girl*, is to be appreciated rather for the cause than the achievement. Written in championship of the Chinese people engaged in a life and death struggle against the Japanese invader, and bearing a declaration to the effect that the entire proceeds of the sale of the book will go to the Chinese Red Cross, the book describes the 'valour and gallantry of Chinese soldiers at the front and the intense patriotism of the people at the rear.' The story culminates in the historic episode of a brave Chinese girl who offers herself as a prize in a lottery to raise funds for the defence of China.

The verse is poor at best, but it is bad English in a good cause; and, to misuse a line from Tennyson, 'the cause, the cause alone is eloquent.'

S. H. V.

SANSKRIT

THE MAHABHARAT: *Virataparvan (Fascicule 8) critically edited by Dr. Raghu Vira. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1936).*

Difficulty lies at the beginning of all things and this universally accepted truth is exemplified in the *Adiparvan*, the opening section of the Great Epic. Like a real Mahabharata hero, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar the general editor, has fought against legions of hostile problems and recovered for us, the *basic* elements in the *Adi*, the crown-jewel of textual criticism. His devotion was so keen and his technique so reliable that his learned colleague Dr. Raghu Vira could not help observing at the end of his introduction: "The technique of reconstruction has been perfected to such a degree that the personality of the Editor has been almost eliminated. That is the triumph of our labours."

Yet the difficulties, here in the Virataparvan as elsewhere, appeared to be overwhelming. The Parvasamgraha figures for the *Virata* are 67 adhyayas and 2050 slokas. These figures were accepted by the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar, who prepared the Tentative Edition (1923) of the Institute. Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, in his "Southern Recension critically edited" (1932) figured at 67 adhyayas (although all his MSS. divided the text into 76!) and 3500 slokas. Dr. Raghu Vira after a most exacting analysis, accepts with the detachment of a scientist, under the limitations of our present MSS. materials, the figures of 67 adhyayas and 1834 slokas. He regrets that Prof. Sastri's uncritical method has not helped very much in arriving at good results and that a sounder edition of the Southern Recension would be most welcome. Under the circumstances Dr. Raghu Vira with perfect reason, adhered to the more reliable textual traditions of Northern India, utilizing the Sarada, the Devanagari and the Bengali versions (collated at the Visvabharati Library). He has utilized also the Dutch edition of the *Javanese Vira* (11th century A.D.) published by Dr. Juyaboll.

The Bhandarkar Institute deserves the congra of the nation for having acquired and utilized a ma dated V. Sam. 1493=1437 A.D. and thus the oldes manuscript (so far traced) of the Mahabharata written on old unglazed Indian paper which has wi for five centuries, the ravages of climate and ins should be advertized as a National Treasure.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal from its rich co supplied the only Sarada MSS. (1708 A.D.), ex the Virata; and how the folios of the MSS. stuck on account of moisture, were separated deftly collator Shankar Sastri, reads like a romance. other MSS. from the Bombay Government collectio deposited with the B. O. R. I.) are dated 1494, 15 and so forth, showing how with better technique servations and a little more attention of our big Pr Universities, we may save thousands of such rare documents of our national culture. Thus the Maha research, initiated by the learned Editor and his de colleagues of the Bhandarkar Institute, clearly p the next urgent line of work where the Central a Provincial Governments may co-operate with a view collection and conservation of the fast decaying treasures of India. What is possible for the schol India to do has been admirably demonstrated throu Mahabharata work of the Institute; but, mere schol is not sufficient and funds are needed if we m organize, on a nationwide scale the work of MSS. c vation and cataloguing. Dr. Raghu Vira has i Virataparvan, gloriously continued the traditions Bhandarkar Institute to which as well as to the le Editor we offer our hearty congratulations.

Kalidas Nag

HINDI

RAJASTHAN RA DUHA: *Part I. Collected and by Prof. Narottamdas Swami, M.A. Published by yuga Sahitya Mandir, Delhi. Pp. 112+248, Price R*

The book under notice is the second volume Pilani Rajasthani Series instituted and financed by G. D. Birla, our well-known and literal-minded countr

The book contains Rajasthani verses on various some of which are of historical interest. This is a tribution to our folk literature. Here we find the Mar at home and at their best. The Introduction deals all about Rajasthani language and literature. The Pr written by Mm. Rai Bahadur Gourishankar Hir Ojha of Ajmer is a short history of anthology comp in India. The Notes are very useful, giving p passages from both old and modern authors.

The book is a welcome addition to Hindi Rajasthani literature.

Ramesh Bas

MARATHI

HINDUNCHE ARTHSHASTRA *(Part One). Govind Mahadev Joshi, B.A. Published by W. H. M Secretary, Hindu-Sanskrit-Sampadak and Granth-Pr shak-Mandal, Walker Road, Nagpur. Pages 234. Rs. 2.*

Starting with the publisher's and author's d prefaces stating that poor Hindu culture is standing amidst a hurricane of rebelling and reacting idea-forc is endangered every moment with the imaginary ons of alien materialism and horrors of class-war, the aims at a reconstruction of the fundamentals of the

...onomics from the cultural and sociological standpoint of the Hindoos—a phrase unexplained all through the book. But stuffed with the unimaginative and unbridgeable insularity of a typical conservative and symptomatic unpurposive analysis, rigid and harsh; the book leaves the reader with an utterly disappointing impression that the author has presented a rehash of undigested material from the Western Economists only. The bibliography, ...sting that all the main reference books used in this attempt at re-establishing Hindu culture are English and ...; paragraph on the third page in the introduction dealing with the abstruse Ricardian equations, given in the Greek and Latin mathematical terms are pieces of a ridiculous paradox, upsetting downright the very claims of the author. In its design to embrace all the four corners of the wide fields of knowledge, and to solve all the possible problems of space and time and population and moral values in its narrow limits; the book has neither remained philosophy, nor sociology nor economics but a hopeless higgledy-piggledy of all sorts of what-nots: without selection or emphasis. For example, the first chapter entitled 'Thought and Sciences' simply repeats the deductive logic, that too in the western fashion; the fun being, all through the book the author proposes to be logical but is led away at times by the blind belief in authorities and at places loses integrity in the oblivion of abstracted argumentation. On the whole the book is written in a tedious technical manner, at places tinted with verbose, and in an unintelligible Marathi; though one may percieve some sense in chapters as on population problem, after undergoing the ordeal of a curiously manufactured phraseology. How is the book going to serve Hindu culture, when one Hindu in a hundred will hardly follow it?

P. B. MACHWE

GUJARATI

MUNSHI PATHAVALI: *By Sombhai Patel. ...lished by R. R. Sheth & Co. Bombay. Thick Card ...rd. Pp. 238. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1937).*

The Hon'ble Mr. K. M. Munshi, Home Member in the Bombay Provincial Cabinet, is a brilliant and versatile writer of merit. He has handled novels, biography, drama, and essay writing with great effect and the best passages from his works have been selected for presentation to students in the present compilation. Indeed it is a great honour to a living person to see his work appreciated in this fashion, and a source of pleasure too. The introduction is contributed by a young friend of his, ...ndravadan Metha,—an admirer but at the same time an outspoken writer. He treats in a sarcastic way, the reception which possibly the compilation may meet with, at the hands of persons engaged in the teaching line. He has a few plain words to say to the spiritless students who are likely to study the spirited sentiments of Mr. Munshi.

JAINACHARYA SHRI ATMANAND JANMA ...TABDI SMARAK GRANTH. *Published by the ...abdi Smarak Committee, Bombay and edited by ...nlal Dalichand Desai, B.A., LL.B., Advocate. Cloth ...d. Illustrated. Pp. 188. (English), 213 (Hindi), ...4 + 260 (Gujarati). Price Rs. 2-8-0. (1937).*

This stupendous memorial volume has been ably edited by that well-known Jain man of letters and Law, Mr. ...nlal D. Desai. It contains very interesting pictures to illustrate the many articles which are found in it and the articles contributed are in three languages, English, Hindi and Gujarati, so that a very wide field of choice has been provided for the Editor. Atmanandaji was well-known as a religious head, an author, and ideal saint amongst the Jains during his life time. It was he who inspired the late Virchand Raghavji to go to America to propagate the Jain Sampradaya there. The mechanical get-up of the book is of a superior quality and the varied information contained in the contribution make it an interesting and informative volume.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

RADHIKASANTVANAMU: *By Muddu Palani, No. 1 of Srungara Grandha Mandili series of K. G. Murty, Masulipatam. Demy 1/8. Pp. 28 + 147. Price As. 12 for members only.*

Muddu Palani, the mistress of the Maharana Chieftain, Pratapasimha, who held the reins of the Chola kingdom between 1740-1765, is the authoress of this good literary piece of 4 cantos. The divine love of Krishna, and Ila and Radha is the theme of the story. It is erotic in sentiment. This creditable work long suffered the curse of oblivion through the ban of the Government. Public gratitude and support are due to the Mandali for its care and pain in saving it from decay.

TATA CHARITRAMU: *By K. Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Cocanada. Pp. 12 + 164. Price As. 10.*

A life history of the Indian industrial pioneer, the late Jamshedji N. Tata, who worked for India's material regeneration, and to whose indefatigable endeavours the Tata Iron & Steel Company, the Indian Institute of Science, the Taj Hotel, the Lonavala Hydro-Electric Scheme, and a host of others owe their shape and existence. The presentation of the material tends to be a contribution to industrial history rather than to biography.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

BOOKS RECEIVED

AN IDEAL HAPPY LIFE OR DO BUT NEVER MIND: *Illustrated. Seventh Edition. By Khushi Ram, New Delhi. Pp. v.+156, including 7 charts. Price Re. 1.*

BEAUTIFUL BOMBAY AND OTHER STORY POEMS: *By Innocent Sousa. New Book Co., 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 56, Price Re. 1-8.*

THOUGHTS ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE DAY: *By H. V. Chinmulgund (Rao Bahadur). Printed and published by Mr. A. V. Patwardhan, B.A., at the Aryabhusan Press, 9151, Bhamburda Peth, Poona 4. Price As. 12.*

FREEDOM, INDIA'S MESSAGE, WORLD-PEACE AND SELF-REVEALING SONGS: *By Ramanadasa K. S. Seshagiri, B.A., 31, South Mada Street, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 24+2, Price As. 3.*

THE HIDDEN YEARS OF JESUS: *By S. A. Das, Officer d' academie (Paris), Calcutta. 1938. Pp. 29 Price As. 8.*

GURU JANA GANA SEVITHAM OR MY PLAN OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM: *By Brahmajosyula Sitaramiah, B.A., L.T., M.R.S.T. (England). Pp. xxxix+50+xiii. 1938. Price Re. 1-8. Foreign 3sh. or 75 cents.*

SHOULD THE INDIAN SPEAKER FOLLOW THE BRITISH OR THE AMERICAN MODEL ?

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

THE SUBJECT which I propose to discuss is : "Should the Indian Speaker—and I mean by the expression 'Indian Speaker' not merely the Speaker of a Provincial Legislative Assembly today or the Speaker of the Federal Assembly of India when it will be constituted, but also the President of the Council of State or of a Provincial Legislative Council—follow the British or the American model?" That is to say, whether in the execution of the duties of his office, the Speaker in India should follow the example of the Speaker of the British House of Commons or of the Speaker of the American House of Representatives? Incidentally, I shall also refer to the position and functions of the President of the French Chamber of Deputies. The subject is not merely of academic interest, but also of great practical importance to this country, particularly in view of the ruling given by the Speaker, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, on 19th January last in the United Provinces Legislative Assembly,[1] and the endorsement of that ruling by the then President of the Indian National Congress.[2] The occasion for the ruling was the notice of a motion for adjournment given by Mr. Zahirulhasan Lari for the purpose of discussing the question of "the participation of the Speaker in party politics."[3] And Mr. Speaker Tandon has been reported by the Special Correspondent of the *Statesman* at Lucknow to have declared, among other things :[4]

> "I have expressed on several occasions my views in regard to the functions of the Speaker. I have made it clear that no one deserves to occupy the chair of Speaker who cannot commend the confidence of the House as a whole and who cannot be impartial while he takes part in politics. I have made it also clear that I do not believe in the convention of the House of Commons. I believe in the conventions of France, U.S.A. and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics. Situated as we are in this country, I am particularly emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow the Speaker to take part in politics. If he does not do so you may be content with a third-rate person civil or criminal judge, but you will not get a pro politician."

And in a statement[5] to the Press P Jawaharlal Nehru has declared that he w agrees with the position taken up by Mr. Sp Tandon on the question whether a Speaker India should abstain from participation politics outside the legislature. His ac words are :[6]

> "Some people have inclined to the view that practice of the British House of Commons sho followed here; others have inclined to the di practice which prevails in the United States of Americ elsewhere.
>
> "The question is whether a Speaker should a from participation in politics outside the legis Personally, *I wholly agree with the position taken b Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon, Speaker of the U Provinces Assembly*. It is obvious that a Speaker be absolutely impartial in his dealings as Speaker. must protect minorities from the over-bearing weight great majority. If that is conceeded, as it must be, I see no reason why he should not participate in p activities outside the legislature.
>
> "This becomes all the more important in a cou situated as India is at present, that is, a country alien domination struggling to be free.
>
> "Every Indian feels or ought to feel strongly in matter and should try to throw his weight on the side, the only side so far as he is concerned. Congressman is bound to do so by his convictions temperament. For him to say that by virtue of el to the Speakership he will suddenly become a element in politics is to delude himself as well as We cannot become neuters."

This frank declaration, coming as it done from the President of the Indian Nati Congress, is very significant, specially in of the fact that there are already se provinces in India in which the governme virtually in the hands of the Congress.

Although Mr. Speaker Tandon has adm that no one deserves to occupy the cha Speaker "who cannot command the confi of the House as a whole and who canno impartial while he takes part in politics," yet it is very clear from what he has said that he does "not believe in the convention of the House of Commons," but that he believes "in the conventions of France, U. S. A. and some other countries, which permit the Speaker to take part in politics."

---

[1] *Vide* the *Statesman* (Dak edition) of 21st January, 1938.

[2] *Vide* the same of 3rd February, 1938.

[3] *Vide* the same of 21st January, 1938.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See the *Statesman* (Dak Edition) of 3rd Feb 1938. The relevant Associated Press message was at Allahabad, 1st February, 1938. At that time Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the National Congress.

[6] *Ibid.*

Now, what is the convention of the House of Commons referred to by him? It will be evident from what follows. The most distinguishing characteristic of the Speaker of the House of Commons is his impartiality. "He has," as Bryce has stated in his *American Commonwealth*,7 "been chosen by a party, because a majority means in England a party.

> But on his way from his place on the benches to the Chair he is expected to shake off and leave behind all party ties and sympathies. Once invested with the wig and gown of office he has no longer any political opinions, and must administer exactly the same treatment to his political friends and to those who have been hitherto his opponents, to the oldest or most powerful minister and to the youngest or least popular member....It makes little difference to any English party in Parliament whether the occupant of the chair has come from their own or from their hostile ranks....a custom as strong as law forbids him to render help to his own side even by private advice. Whatever information as to parliamentary law he may feel free to give must be equally at the disposal of every member."

This impartiality is "the most precious attribute" of the English Speaker, and like the English King he is "supposed to have no politics." As Michael MacDonagh has beautifully put it in his *Pageant of Parliament*,8

> "whether the Speaker is first designated by the Government, or, in case of a division, is carried by the majority of the Government, when he is being conducted by his proposer and seconder from his place on the benches to the Chair, he, as it were, doffs his Party colours, be they buff or blue, and wears, instead, the white flower of a neutral political life........Henceforth he sits above all Parties. As Speaker he has no political opinions."

He is, as another eminent English writer8a has nicely remarked, "as near as can be in a human being, the Rules and Practice of the House come to life without interposition of his own view." And this admiration for the office of the Speaker of the House of Commons is not confined to British writers alone. Prof. Josef Redlich of the University of Vienna has observed9 that "from the moment of election he discards every outward tie that has hitherto bound him to his party; he refuses to enter a political club, and, both *within the House and without*, abstains from expressing any political opinion;" and that even at a general election he "only offers himself as a candidate by written communications and refrains in his election address from touching upon political questions."10 As a result, the office of Speaker in England has become, to quote him11 again, "a synonym for dignity and impartiality." This is a high tribute indeed—and that from a foreigner!

Moreover, even distinguished American writers on the constitutional system of the U. S. A., like the late President Woodrow Wilson, Prof. William Munro and Prof. Arthur Holcombe of Harvard University, Prof. Frederic Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Edward Sait of the University of California, Prof. James Young of the University of Pennsylvania and Prof. Charles Beard of Columbia University, have, while contrasting in their works the office of the English Speaker with that of the American Speaker, either directly or indirectly expressed their admiration for the former. Thus we find Prof. Frederic Ogg remarking (*European Governments and Politics*),12

> "Outside, no less than inside, of the House, the (English) Speaker abstains from every appearance of partisanship. He never publicly discusses or voices an opinion on party issues; he never attends a party meeting; he has no connections with party newspapers; he never sets foot in a political club; he, of course, makes no campaign for his own re-election. The Speaker of the American House of Representatives is, quite frankly, a party man...........an official *who serves, and is expected to serve, the interests of his party so far as it can be done without too flagrant unfairness to the opposition.* The contrast with the speakership at Westminister is indeed striking........As would be expected, the deference paid the Chair at Westminister is considerably greater than at Washington, having often been, as Sir Courtenay Ilbert remarks, 'the theme of admiring comment by foreign observers'."

Again, "the speaker," writes Prof. Munro,13 "from the moment he takes the Chair, ceases to be a party man.

> He discards his party colours, be they buff, or blue, or red. He is no longer a Liberal, a Conservative, or a Labour partisan. He attends no more party gatherings and is not called into consultation on any matters of party policy. He must be a neutral in politics.......Whether in entertaining his friends at dinner, or in recognizing members who desire to speak, or in ruling on points of order, he must act with the impartiality of a chief justice. If he has personal and political likes or dislikes, as most

---

7. Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, (1922), p. 140.
8. MacDonagh, *Pageant of Parliament*, Vol. I, p. 123.

8(a) Herman Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 782.

9. See his *Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. II, pp. 133-34.
10. *Ibid*, p. 133.
11. *Ibid*, p. 131.
12. P. 245.
13. *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 170.

public men have, he must somehow manage to keep them submerged."

But what does the American Speaker do? He "has great political power, and is permitted, nay expected," says Bryce,[14] "to use it in the interests of his party....

> In calling upon members to speak he prefers those of his own side. He decides in their favour such points of order as are not distinctly covered by the rules.... Although the Speaker seldom delivers a speech in the House, *he may and does advise the other leaders of his party privately; and when they 'go into caucus'* (*i.e.*, hold a party meeting to determine their action on some pending question) *he is present and gives counsel.*"

Prof. James Young of the University of Pennsylvania has gone further. He has said (*The New American Government and Its Work*)[15]:

> "Whether the Speaker has been Clark, Crisp or Randall of the Democrats, or Cannon or Reed of the Republicans, he has been forced (in the interest of his party) *to abandon all pretence of impartiality and to support and guide his party in its legislative program.* ....As presiding officer, he decides points of order and procedure, *always with a view to the promotion of his party's legislative program.*"

And before 1910-11 the Speaker was virtually "the autocrat" of the House of Representatives—"in a real sense the dictator of the House."[16] He had gradually acquired this position, through his prerogative of 'recognition' of members which would alone enable them to address the House, his power of appointing the Standing Committees of the House, and of interpreting and applying its rules of debate, and "through the instrumentality of the small Committee on Rules," of which he was the Chairman. Thus, says Prof. Holcombe in his *State Government in the United States,*[17]

> "The combination of the power of recognition, appointment, and control of the committee on rules made the Speaker *a veritable dictator* in the House of Representatives. A similar development in the influence of the Speaker took place in those states where business was heavy, where members were numerous, where time was short, and where party lines were closely drawn. This was notably the case in the state of New York."[18]

And it may also be noted here that in appointing the Standing Committees of the House, the Speaker, as Woodrow Wilson has remarked in his *Constitutional Government in the United States,*[19] not only allowed "himself to make them up with a view to the kind of legislation" he wished to see enacted; he was "expected to make them up with such a view"—was "expected to make them up as a party leader would." Even his own personal views upon particular public questions he would not "hesitate to enforce in his appointments."[19a] And although the powers of the American Speaker have been considerably curtailed since the reforms of 1910-11, they are "still great."[20] He is still "a party man" and still "wields the strongest influence in legislation."

The Speaker is also "the most powerful officer in the lower houses of the state legislatures"[21] in the U. S. A. And this is more or less due to the same causes, *mutatis mutandis*, which made the Speaker of the House of Representatives "the Czar of the House" before 1910-11.

It is evident from what has been shown above that the Speaker in the U. S. A. is not only a party man, but he is also not strictly impartial in the discharge of his duties as the Chairman of the House of Representatives or, as the case may be, as the Chairman of the Lower House of a State legislature. He often acts, in the execution of his duties as Chairman in a manner that is likely to promote the interests of the party to which he belongs or to help the adoption of measures in which his party is interested.22 And this is well-known in the U. S. A. But although the warfare of parties there is "based upon a real difference of opinion about the needs of the community as a whole," yet the parties themselves are not divided there on religious or communal lines. Parties in this country, however, are, and will for a long time to come be, formed on communal or religious lines. And we cannot get away from these facts, however ideological we may be. Thus the lines of cleavage in the two countries are fundamentally different. Regard being had to this fact, would it not be disastrous to the true interests of this country if the Speaker here were allowed to follow the American model rather than the English? Besides, whatever Mr. Speaker Tandon and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may say, it is difficult for an ordinary mortal, *although there may be exceptions,* to be an active party man outside, and to be strictly impartial in the performance of his duties as Chairman inside, a legislature. Moreover, even if he attempts to be impartial in the legislature, his impartiality may sometimes run the risk of being adversely commented upon. And if once the impartiality of his rulings becomes rightly or wrongly suspect as having been influenced by party considerations—and this will inevitably be the case sooner or later if the Speaker takes an active part in politics outside the legislature—then it may be extremely difficult for him to restore order when there will be a "clash of wills and tempers" in the legislature. And this will not certainly help the smooth working of legislatures in this country, which again will unfortunately have repercussions in other directions, not conducive to its best interests. What I mean is this: If the Speaker's rulings become suspect, they will be challenged. This will not only entail "waste of time", but will, what will be much worse, also give rise to a controversy after the passage of a bill that it has been "unfairly passed". And a law made under such conditions will, as Dr. Finer 22(a) has said in another connexion, lose part of its authority. And this may lead to many undesirable consequences at the time of the enforcement of the law. The Speaker's conduct, both inside and outside the legislature, should, therefore, be such as to be, like that of a judge, above suspicion. And the same considerations which forbid the judge to take part in politics, should prevent the Speaker from participation in politics. He should be the one person in the legislature who should be able, by his tact, firmness, character, personality, and, above all, the strictest impartiality, to inspire in the minds of its members confidence in, and respect for, him.

---

[14] *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, pp. 140-141.

[15] Pp. 49-53.

[16] See Young, *The New American Government and Its Work*, p. 50.

[17] Holcombe, *State Government in the United States*, p. 260.

[18] We also find in Woodrow Wilson (*Constitutional Government in the United States*, 1911, pp. 91-98):
"The power of appointing the Committees, which the House has conferred upon its Speaker, makes him the almost autocratic master of its actions.
"In all legislative bodies except ours the presiding officer has only the powers and functions of a Chairman. He is separate from parties and is looked to to be punctiliously impartial......But the processes of our parliamentary development have made the Speaker of our great House of Representatives and the Speakers of our State Legislatures party leaders in whom centres the control of all that they do. So far as the House of Representatives and its share in the public business is concerned, the Speaker is undisputed party leader........The whole powerful machinery of the great popular chamber is at his disposal, and all the country knows how effectually he can use it."

[19] Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States*, pp. 91-92.

[19a] We also find in Munro (*The Government of the United States of America*, p. 236): "It became his regular practice to make up the Committees in such a way that they would do just what he wanted them to do.....The Speaker in a word controlled the Committees and the Committees controlled the House. One man, in this way, determined both the form and the destiny of the laws. It was he who decided whether a measure should go on its way to the statute book or be relegated to the discard."

[20] Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 142.

[21] Holcombe, *State Government in the United States*, 1916, p. 252.

What I have said above against the imitation of the American example may be urged with an equal force against any proposal for the adoption of the French system by the Indian Speaker. My justification for this statement is that the President of the Chamber of Deputies in France, who is "elected anew at every session," resembles, to quote the words of Bryce23 again, "the Speaker of the American House of Representatives rather than the Speaker of the British House of Commnos, for *he is not expected to display that absolute impartiality which is the distinguishing note of the latter.*" He too is "a party man." and on election to the Chair "does not cease to be a party man,"24 but "remains........a politician."25 As a result, he "does not enjoy in the Chamber (of Deputies) the consideration" which is accorded to the Speaker in the British House of Commons. According to Mr. Bodley,26 he is not elected to his office "by reason of his impartial temperament." The choice generally falls, he says, "upon a combatant politician who does not sink his opinions in the Chair,

---

[22] This is also the view of Dr. Herman Finer. He says:

"In U. S. A. the Speaker is not impartial and is not intended to be by the majority, nor, if we judge by experience, does he intend to be, although he is expected to be fair to the minority. He is to-day one of the majority party leaders; before 1911 he was the party leader in the legislative branch of government. "When the Speaker is chosen he does not cut off connexions with his party—on the contrary, they are even more sedulously cultivated; he occasionally promotes bills of great and sometimes of general importance; he speaks in debate, although the written rules of the House deprecate this; he votes, although the rules of the House do not encourage him to vote except in certain circumstances; his seat is contested, and therefore he must nurse his constituency by titbits from the "pork barrel" and by declarations of policy, and he must, frequently, harbour a certain resentment against his opponents. He *promotes by positive strategy and intervention a legislative* and executive policy. Thus the Speaker of the House of Representatives is the avowed agent of the majority, he is involved, often he leads, in the party counsels. *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, pp. 783-84.

[22(a)] See his *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II. p. 781.

[23] See his *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I. p. 275.

[24] See Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 468.

[25] Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p. 201.

[26] See Bodley, *France*, 1907, p. 420.

which, on the contrary, he most often quits to assume the lead of a party."[27] There are many instances[28] of the Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies becoming Prime Ministers of France and, again, of their reverting back to the position of President of the Chamber on the fall of their ministries. And in the past—although it has become unusual in recent years—there have been occasions when the President has left the chair and taken part in the debate as a partisan, like an ordinary member of the Chamber.[29] In such circumstances it is idle to expect the strictest impartiality from the President; nor can the President, in these circumstances, expect from the members of the Chamber of Deputies that attitude of awe and reverence towards him, which is shown to the Speaker in the British House of Commons.

Going now back to the question of Speakership in America, I should like to refer to two other important considerations. In the first place, as Prof. Beard[30] has observed, in a sense leadership has been thrust upon the Speaker in America by its system of Government, which has "provided the House (of Representative) with no official leadership," whereas in England the Prime Minister "assumes responsibility for the fate of all measures under discussion." This absence of official leadership, Prof. Munro[31] also agrees, accounts "for the gravitation of leadership in the hands of the Speaker, as the only co cuous officer chosen by the House itself." "became the recognized leader of the majo party, chosen virtually by its caucus...... became the man on whom the majo depended for getting its measures saf through the maze of rules."[32] But this p cannot reasonably be advanced in India, whe the principles of the parliamentary system Government as it obtains in England, w their automatic solution of the question of leadership in the legislature, have been intr duced into its provincial constitutions, and expected to be shortly introduced into its centr sphere.

In the second place, the term of the Hou of Representatives in the U. S. A. is only t years but the normal duration of the Legislati Assembly of a province under the pres constitution of India is five years. The par which commands a majority in the House Representatives today may not do so af the next election to it. And the Speaker the who is chosen by the House at the beginning each Congress, being practically the nominee the majority party, the present Speaker m not be the Speaker at the end of two years The evils of partisan Speakership even for t years may be enough: such evils are bound be multiplied and aggravated when the term the partisan Speaker is five years—or eve longer, which may be the case if the party n in power in a provincial Legislative Assemb comes back to power after the next quinque nial election. This argument will equally app to the question of the Speakership of the Feder Assembly of India, or to the question of t Presidentship of a Provincial Legislative Coun or of the Council of State.

Mr. Speaker Tandon has also said:

> "Situated as we are in this country, I am particul emphatic that it is absolutely necessary to allow Speaker to take part in politics. If he does not so, you may be content with a third-rate person or a c or criminal judge, but you will not get a promi politician."

This seems to be, with all respect Mr. Speaker Tandon, a little too much. one—not even Mr. Speaker Tandon—will s that the late Mr. V. J. Patel was a third-r person or was not a prominent politician. And what did he say on his first election as th President of the Legislative Assembly? "In th discharge of my duties," he declared,[33] "I shall, I assure you, observe strict impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House, irrespective of party considerations.

---

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] "Since M. Grevy, the first occupant of the chair under the Constitution of 1875, left it to be Chief of the State," writes Mr. Bodley "down to the general elections of 1898 all the Presidents of the Lower House, excepting M. Burdeau who died in office, subsequently became Prime Ministers, namely, MM. Gambetta, Brisson, Floquet, Meline, Casimir-Perier, and Dupuy; and each one save M. Meline descended straight from the chair to form a Ministry. MM. Perier and Dupuy had also each the curious experience when over-thrown as Prime Minister of being forthwith re-elected to the presidency of the Chamber which had just driven him from power."—See *ibid.*

A recent case of the President becoming the Prime Minister, is that of M. Herriot who was called by the President of France to form a new ministry on the fall of the Briand Government in July 1926, caused by his own speech.—See Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 790.

[29] Gambetta, writes Mr. Bodley, "so far regarded the post as that of a political leader that he used to call upon himself to speak, descending to the lower tribune and ceding his chair to a vice-president."—*See* his *France*, p. 427.

Also see Munro, *The Governments of Europe*, 1932, p. 468; *also* Sait, *Government and Politics of France*, p. 201; *also* Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Vol. II, p. 790.

[30] See Beard, *American Government and Politics*, 1935, p. 116.

[31] See Munro, *The Government of the United States*, 1929, pp. 233-34.

[32] *Ibid.*

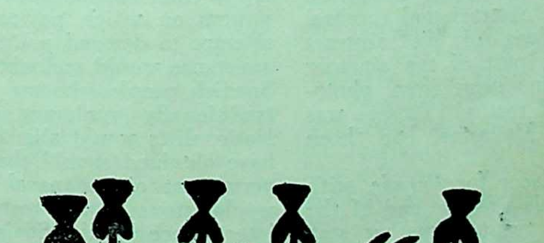
> *From this moment, I cease to be a party man. I belong to no party.* I belong to all parties, I belong to all of you and I hope and trust, my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Swaraj Party, will take immediate steps to absolve me from all the obligations of a Swarajist member of this House, if, indeed, it has not been done by implication in consequence of my election to this Chair."

If a person like Mr. Patel could, with grace and dignity, cease to be a party man on his first election as the President of the Legislative Assembly, I do not think there is much force in the argument of Mr. Speaker Tandon referred to above. Nor do I believe that our country has become so poor in point of really able men who can worthily occupy the Chair of Speaker as has been implied by Mr. Speaker Tandon's statement!

In his statement to the Press to which we have previously referred, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also remarked:

> "There is another aspect of this matter. We are apt to follow almost blindly British practice and procedure whether they fit in with our requirements or not. There is no reason why we should do so and we must shake off these shackles. It is open to us, of course, to accept this practice where we choose to do so, but it must not be 'thrust down' on us either by law or convention or, what is worst of all, by a slavish habit of mind which is unable to think in other terms."

Certainly, we must not follow a British practice blindly and slavishly and we must resist every attempt at thrusting anything down on us. But, nor should we refuse to follow a British practice simply because it is British in its origin and character, provided that it fits in with our requirements. My contention is that the British practice is in itself, so far as the Speakership is concerned, superior to the American or the French, and, in the peculiar circumstances of India—and particularly in view of its cleavage of parties on religious or communal lines—will best suit its requirements. Among the many political institutions which the genius of the British people has evolved in the course of centuries of its history, I consider the institution of Speakership to be a most valuable one, which may be copied by other countries—and particularly India—with great advantage to them. I, therefore, maintain that the adoption of the American or the French model by India will not only have a very bad effect upon the smooth working and the proper development of its self-governing institutions, which are yet in their incipient stages, but will also be otherwise disastrous to its true and ultimate interest. For instance, it will certainly, to my mind, not tend to promote the growth of inter-communal goodwill, and will, therefore, materially check the progress of its growing sense of nationalism. And our ideal of Swaraj will ever remain a mere *ideal*—an empty dream—unless it can be made to rest on a solid foundation of nationalism. It is gladdening, however, to note here that so far the views of Mr. Speaker Tandon or of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have found no support anywhere outside the United Provinces.*



---

[33] *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. VI, 1925, pp. 36-37.

*A speech delivered on 27th April, 1938, under the auspices of the Rotary Club of Dacca.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Picasso: The Man and His Art

Garnet Rees writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

The twentieth century has seen an extension of the subject-matter of art and a corresponding change in treatment. It has seen Cubism, Surrealisme, and other movements more or less revolutionary. All these movements dragged along in their train a group of imitators, euphemistically called "Les Jeunes" and it is largely due to their exaggerations that public appreciation of Cubism and Surrealisme was so effectively diminished. All the effervescences of experiment found Picasso in their midst, not as a theorist but as a practician. One of Picasso's most striking characteristics is that, although he was a leading member of these schools, he cannot conveniently be labelled "Cubist" or "Surrealiste," for his work far overlaps the confines of any one movement There are constantly to be found in his work the two currents of experiment and tradition, one fused into the other by the artistic mastery of the painter.

The strength of his work derives from the training that he had, the vast qualities of instinctive painting which were latent in him. He could afford to experiment because this basis of taste effectively prevented the *gaffes* which were so common at the time of the *Fauves* and Cubism.

Miss Stein insists on the purely Spanish quality of Picasso's work, which she postulates as an explanation of his Cubism and abstract painting. She comments on the lack of colour in Spanish landscape and the queer geometrical value of the land masses; she adds further that the landscapes which Picasso brought back from Spain in 1909 (the *Village near Tarragona, etc.*), and which were clearly cubist in character, were in actual fact a close reproduction of the landscapes that Picasso had painted. Picasso was able to prove this by photographs which he had taken.

With Derain and Braque, the first attempt to present Cubism to the public was made in 1911, to the accompaniment of storms of derision. These checks had little effect on Picasso who continued his abstract and cerebral painting. The architectural qualities of his abstract groupings demand an effort on the part of the amateur because they represent a movement away from photographic realism towards an idealized reality. Picasso was trying to do in painting what Mallarme had been attempting in poetry.

In 1917, Picasso did a cubist decor for *Parade*, with Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau, but this was the end of the heroic struggles of the Cubist movement. Another stay in Spain and Picasso came back to traditional painting. His connection with the theatre reminded him of his early love, and in the short period (1918-1921) he produced the Harlequin pictures, and the portrait of Madame Picasso.

The traditional side of his work appears in this period too, with the series of nudes, in classical draperies. The opulence of form and colour is almost oriental, and the solid masses are a proof of what Picasso had learnt from Cubism. He had not finished experimenting, however, for side by side with his classical studies, he continued his search for new forms and combinations of forms. It seems as if he needs to express something too subtle for the ordinary means of painting. The Negro influences of 1906-7 seem to have recurred again, but only as a starting point for further research into the abstract. Guernica, the mural which he painted for the Spanish Pavilion in the Paris Exhibition of last year, is only another stage in his development, and his search for complete self-expression.

His influence on modern painting is very great, for he unwittingly dominated a whole generation of young painters, but Picasso remains the quiet friendly figure he has always been. His habits are the same, and he still works as absorbedly as ever. He is a familiar figure in the Cafe de Flore almost each night, with his small group of friends and his dog, but he rarely talks of his painting—that work goes on in his head. As he seldom gives away his secrets, Picasso's work cannot be understood without an effort; but that effort is very much worth while.

Future of Spain

John C. deWilde observes in the *Foreign Policy Reports*:

The end of the civil war is indeed unlikely to bring the unadulterated triumph of either fascism, communism or democracy. A totalitarian regime, whether communist or fascist, may well prove incompatible with the intense individualism of the Spanish people. Should Franco triumph, he would probably meet with great difficulty in any attempt to impose the Italian or German brand of fascism. In the event of a Loyalist victory, communism is equally unlikely. In fact, the influence of the Communists in the Loyalist government appears to have declined steadily in recent months. Yet the development of a real democracy also seems improbable in a country where it is not deeply rooted in national traditions and where tolerance for clashing political views hardly prevails.

The external policy of Spain would appear in greater danger of falling under foreign domination. Since both parties, especially the Insurgents, have benefited extensively from outside assistance, they owe a debt to foreign powers on which payment may be demanded. But any attempt to demand political concessions in return for this assistance would undoubtedly arouse the indignation of the Spanish people who are proud of their independence and traditionally intolerant of foreign intrusion. Thus the Nationalists would alienate whatever popular support they have obtained should they provide Italy or Germany with permanent air or naval bases; and the Loyalist regime would arouse equal resentment if it permitted continual interference by the Soviet government in Spain's internal or external affairs.

As yet there is no convincing evidence of foreign domination of Spain. On the Loyalist side, Soviet influence appears to have become less conspicuous after the recall of Marcel Rosenberg in April 1937. On the Franco side, many foreign reports regarding Italian and German penetration were proved subsequently to be greatly exaggerated. This was true, for example, of the alarming news concerning German activity in Spanish Morocco. While the Italians were once reported in almost complete control of the strategic island of Majorca, dispatches of newspapers correspondents on the spot during October and November 1937 revealed that Franco had asserted his authority and garrisoned the island exclusively with

Spanish troops, excepting only a few hundred Italians engaged in the air forces. Yet Franco will no doubt allow Germany and Italy to reap considerable commercial benefits, if only to liquidate the debt incurred for delivery of war material. The Nationalists are said to owe 3.5 billion lire to Italy, and probably a greater amount to Germany. With the Reich an active trade is being conducted under a compensation agreement concluded on July 17, 1937. While Germans have been increasingly active in organizing Spanish business, they have no monopoly of commerce or raw materials. British and French companies in Spain have been left in possession of their mining and other concessions, although raw materials have been requisitioned in substantial amounts to pay off debts to Germany and Italy.

New Rights for Women of France

We reproduce the following from *The Catholic Citizen*:

The Renoult Bill under which the married women of France will gain a larger measure of civil rights has at last become law. The Act slightly modifies the civil marriage declaration by eliminating the words: "The wife owes obedience to her husband," and substituting a declaration that the husband is the head of the family, that he can choose the family domicile, and that his wife is compelled to cohabit.

Under the new Act a married woman may enter the university, pass examinations for various liberal professions, have a separate bank account, draw and sign cheques in her own name, accept an inheritance or gifts, and witness a will. She may also carry on a business in her own name with her husband's consent, and choose a separate profession, but in the latter case her husband may oppose this action unless his disapproval is contrary to the family interests. The wife may appeal to the ruling of the court.

This law is a great triumph for French women in spite of the fact that it does not give them all they demand. Married women are now regarded as adults under the law so that "there is now no longer any excuse to continue to deprive them of their political rights."

The Story of An Exterminated Race

The history of colonisation and imperial expansion during the ages is full of tragedies; but few so pathetic as that of the total destruction of the Tasmanian race, writes J. W. Poynter in *The Inquirer*:

Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch sailor, cruising in 1642 in the then untravelled waters of the Southern Ocean, came to an island with a rocky wooded coast. He named it Van Diemen's Land, but later this was altered to Tasmania, after Tasman himself.

Tasman, however, found no inhabitants in the island; he hoisted his country's flag and went away on his voyages.

Not until a century and a half later did any white man set eyes on the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land. A French sailor, Captain Marion, landed there in 1772, and was met by a party of natives. About thirty of them came down to the shore where were the sailors. There were women carrying children fastened on their backs with ropes of rushes, and men carrying spears and stone axes. The Frenchmen offered them pieces of iron, cooking-glasses, and bits of cloth, but the gifts were waved aside with scorn. Then came an unfortunate incident. One of the natives advanced and offered a lighted stick to a sailor. The Frenchmen interpreted the act as an attack and opened fire upon the natives, who fled, leaving one dead and several wounded.

In 1803, however, Lord Hobart, then British Secretary for the Colonies, commissioned Captain Collins to form a settlement in Tasmania. The tragedy began. The instructions received by Collins were good: "To endeavour, by every means in your power to open an intercourse with the natives, and conciliate their good will." However, the first conflict had already occurred. Shortly before Collins' arrival a party of white men from the Australian mainland had come ashore near where now is the city of Hobart. One day some natives, including women and children, appeared on a high land above the camp of the whites. They showed no hostility, but for some unknown reason fire was opened on them and several were killed.

However, there were no further serious conflicts for some years. Even then they would not have occurred save for reasons discreditable to the white settlers.

Governor Macquarie condemned any hostile treatment of the natives, but it continued, and in 1816 the interior of the island was gravely disturbed. The *Hobart Town Gazette* (as quoted by Bonwick) said:

"The Black Natives of this Colony have for the last few weeks manifested a strange hostility towards the up-country settlers, and in killing and driving away their cattle, more than has been witnessed since the settling of the Colony."

Yet such acts clearly were reprisals for ill-treatment received. Indeed, in 1817, Governor Sorell was compelled to issue a proclamation against base outrages on the persons of aborigines.

The worst enemies of those natives were the white out-laws; bushrangers. They would tie natives to trees and use them as targets, or drag off native women by force. The natural result was reprisals on any white indiscriminately. In 1824 a proclamation was issued against "settlers and others" who were massacring natives.

The intermittent warfare, however, continued.

Between 1927 and 1830 no less than twenty-one inquests were held on whites murdered by natives.

In 1830 appeared George Augustus Robinson, who undertook a mission of conciliation. By tireless efforts and consummate tact—he went unarmed and alone amongst hostile natives—he achieved what was practically the cessation of a war.

However, the ultimate doom of the native Tasmanian race was now inevitable. It was decided to remove all the aborigines from the main island to one of the islets in Bass's Strait. "Chief Justice Pedder protested vigorously against the proposed scheme of transportation. He declared it to be an un-Christian attempt to destroy the whole race; for, once taken from their old haunts, they would, he believed, all die. Sir John Pedder, in after years, saw the fulfilment of his prophecy."

From one islet to another the few remaining natives were shipped, being settled at last on the Great (or Flinders) Island: a barren spot, where they died off quickly. In 1847 only forty-four remained: twelve men, twenty-two women and ten children. These were removed to a better district—but too late.

In February, 1869, the last Tasmanian man died—William Lanne. In May, 1876, died Truganina, the last woman.

Thus, in 104 years a whole race had been exterminated.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Education in Ancient India ✓

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji writes in *The Aryan Path* on the educational method in Ancient India :

> The ancient Indian educational system has a most significant name—*Brahmacharya.* The name indicates that education is a process of life. The *Atharva Veda* describes the Brahmachari as a practiser of ascetic austerities.
>
> The first point of this system is that a school is a natural formation, not an artificial institution. The pupil must seek the teacher who can admit him to his teaching.
>
> The formal admission of the pupil is by a ceremony called *Upanayana*, of great spiritual significance.
>
> In ancient India the school was the home of the teacher. It was a hermitage. The constant touch between teacher and taught was vital to education as conceived here. India believed in the domestic system in both industry and education, and not in the methods of large-scale production in factories turning out standardised articles.
>
> The pupil's membership of the family of his Guru constitutes a constant stimulus to the ideas to which he is dedicated, while it also appears as a protective sheath, shutting out unwholesome influences, and as a restraining force. Again, the novice feels that he is not lost in a crowd.
>
> Apart, however, from the special educative value of the teacher's home as the school, there is the factor of its environment or setting as an integral part of the scheme. The school is in sylvan surroundings. The pupil's first daily duty is to walk to the forest, cut and collect wood, and fetch it home for tending the sacred fire.
>
> The ceremony of *Agnihotra* brings home to the pupil the reality of religion in the form of sacrifice.

The writer then speaks of certain other duties of the pupil, concomitant with *Brahmacharya.*

> The pupil's next duties were to tend the teacher's house and cattle. Tending the house was training the pupil in self-help, in recognition of the dignity of labour, of menial service for his teacher and the student-brotherhood. Tending cattle was education in a craft as part of the highest liberal education. The craft selected is the primary industry of India.
>
> The *Brihadaranyaka* tells of Rishi Yajnavalkya, the foremost philosopher of his time, a good enough herdsman, with his band of pupils, to drive away home from the court of Janaka the thousand cows which the King bestowed on him as the reward of his learning.
>
> Another duty of the Brahmachari is to go out on a daily round of begging, not for himself but for the support of his school. Its educative value is explained in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (xi. 3, 3, 5), which points out that it is meant to produce in the pupil a spirit of humility and of renunciation.
>
> We may now have an idea of the working of the school as a whole. Its physical surroundings away from centres of population give to its students opportunities for contact with nature and for solitude.
>
> Alone in the woods or pastures, an individual gets emotive responses in the form of fear, wonder, or joy which reawaken in him the consciousness of self which he loses in the crowds of the city. For emotional tension brings in its wake the feeling of selfhood.
>
> Then, again, solitude has its own effects on a man's inner development.
>
> It is these sylvan schools and hermitages that have built up the thought and the civilization of India.

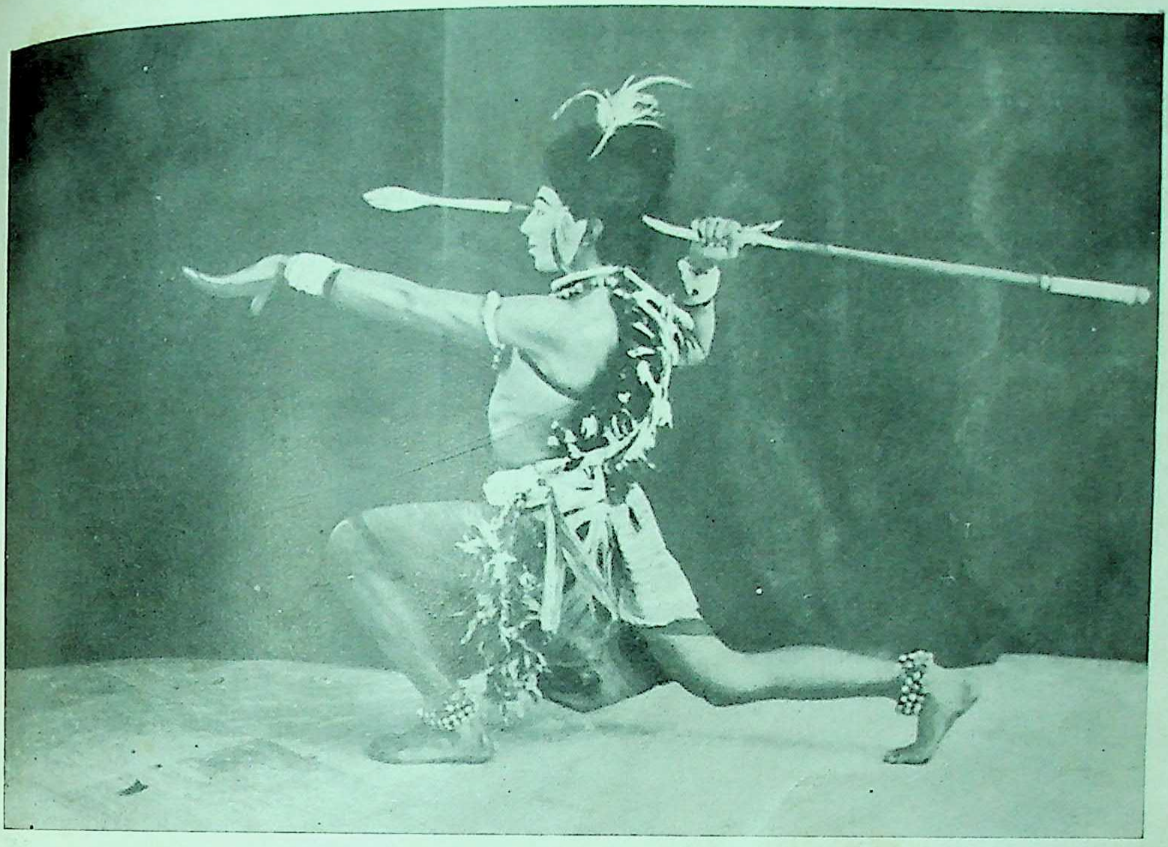
The Wardha Scheme

The case for the 'Basic Education' scheme, as outlined by the Zakir Hussain Committee and announced in the *Harijan* (Dec. 11, 1937), has quite naturally raised far-reaching issues. T. N. Ghose in an article on " An Aspect of the Basic Education Scheme " in the *Visva-bharati News* brings out certain implications of the Scheme, which have appeared to the writer to be of vital importance :

> The Scheme of education we are now considering and which moreover in all essentials is likely to be adopted as the Government system in the seven Congress provinces of India has the uniqueness of harnessing non-violence with ideals of nationalism and citizenship.
>
> It betrays widely and fundamentally divergent ways of thinking being forcibly made to bear each other company—the politician's way and the way of a great lover of mankind, who still wavers between nationalism and humanism.
>
> When statesmen undertake to steer the bark of education, it is only just and fair that it should be politics-ridden. Our only grievance is that the little of liberty that is still left in the domain of thought as nourished by education, disorganised and undeveloped as it maybe, should be snatched away. Politics does not give us liberty. It is too late in the day to establish it. Education, rightly conceived, may redeem certain fields where statesmen will not consider it worth their while to lord it over, but where men otherwise smarting with mortification, might discover much to their relief sources of enjoyment born of the free spirit of man.

The sort of education that the Wardha scheme envisages is suspected to have a strong political bias. Interest in national life is bound to foster a spirit of violent competition. It is rather difficult to understand how non-violence of the type that Mahatmaji has prescribed can ever be made to imerge out of a scheme of education with such a definite national bias.

INDIAN DANCE ABROAD

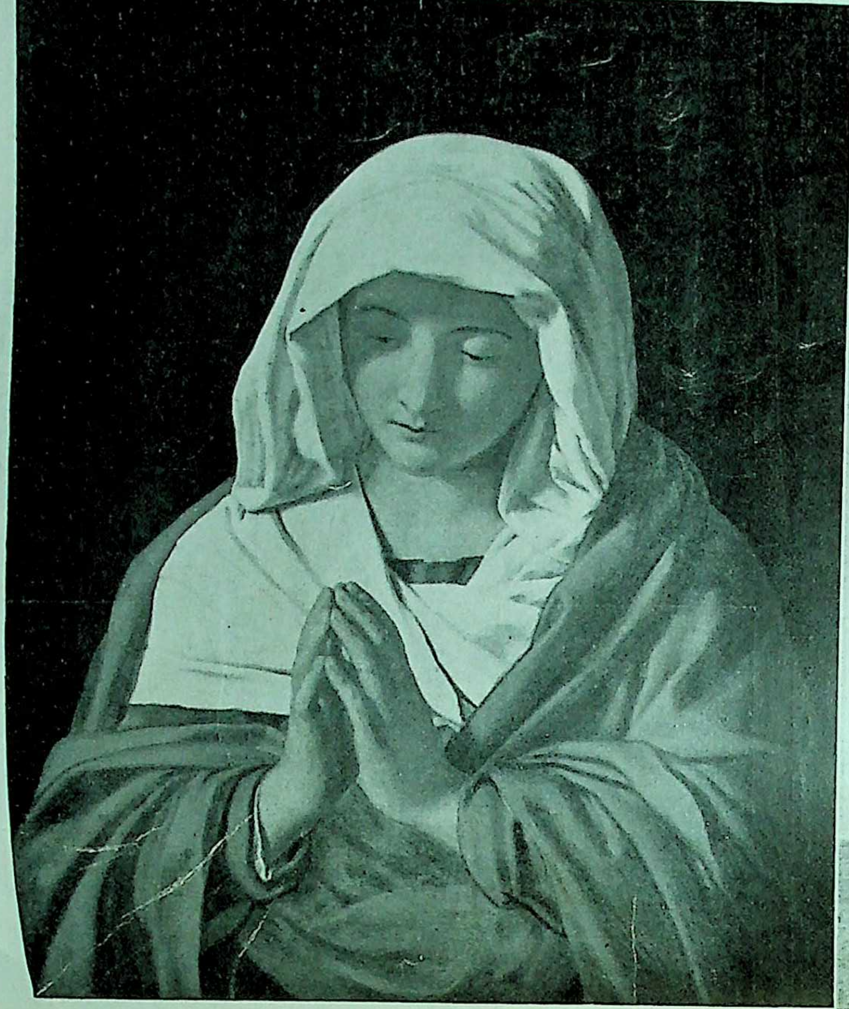


Kumar Hirendra Narayan of Seraikella representing a hunter in a Chau dance rehearsal

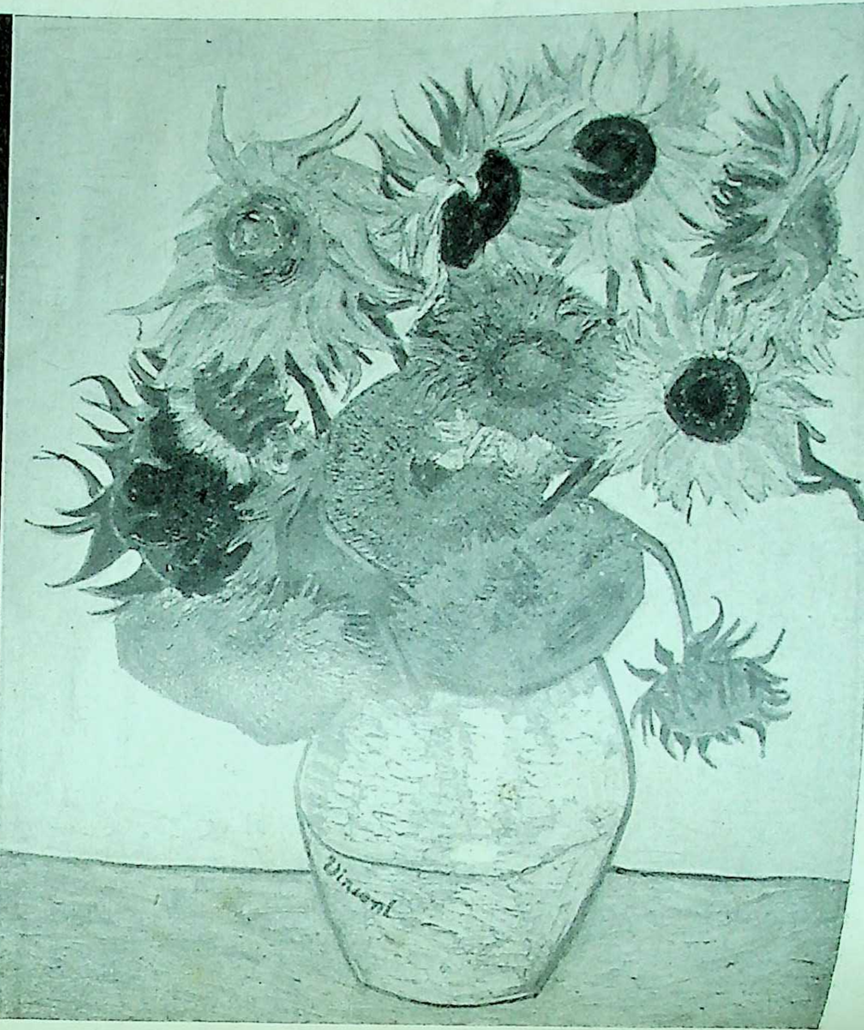
Sj. Ramnarayan of the Menaka troupe

Srimati Menaka

These dancers from India have made a successful tour of Italy this year



Madonna in prayer : SASSAFERRATO



Sunflowers : VAN GOGH

Calcutta University will soon introduce Art as a subject in the Matriculation Examination. These two paintings, among others, are prescribed for study in the syllabus

It is not our contention here that the Scheme under consideration has been mischievously devised to wheedle a whole nation but that it requires to be released from the grip of people who are essentially politically-minded. Quick results may be necessary in other fields of human endeavour, but never so in education. Politics is an organisation which is the playground of human qualities that make man feel that he is but a link in the great chain of Nature's exhibits; and hence there must be occasions when it should be a little enlightened by considerations other than merely natural. Education alone is the great source of such light; and as such, in the hurry and frenzy of political, communal or even religious passions, it should not be allowed to be the mere handmaid of any mere Time-spirit.

Heramba Chandra Maitra

Though vehemently opposed to students meddling in politics and getting entangled in its sordid squabbles, when they actually got into trouble through indiscretion or exuberant enthusiasm they had no doughtier champion to fight for them than Dr. Maitra. Writes Principal Suresh Chandra Ray in the *City College Magazine* :

In politics Dr. Heramba Chanda Maitra belonged to what was known as the Moderate party. It is not known who was responsible for this atrociously uncouth nomenclature. But the term as descriptive of Dr. Maitra is singularly inappropriate. A single instance will prove the intensity of his political emotionalism. The incident happened at the time when the non-co-operation movement was at its height, when non-co-operation was of the thoroughbred class, not the knock-kneed hybrid of later times, a nondescript cross between co-operation and non-co-operation. Lord Ronaldshay was then Governor of Bengal. Picketing had been declared unlawful. Hundreds courted prosecution and were sent to jail. And the jails became full. Then the order went forth that picketers were to be dispersed by force and not sent to jail. Soldiers were posted at the crossing of Harrison Road and College Street. The inevitable call for sacrifice came upon our students and large numbers of them came forward to offer themselves as *lathi-fodder*. It was a sickening sight, and one evening Dr. Maitra saw it. He was coming down College Street on his way home from a meeting of the University. He was an old man and a "Moderate," but the sight which he saw at the crossing caused his blood to boil, and with the rash indiscretion of a young man of 16 whose indignation has been roused he strode up to the military picket thundering at what they were doing. A British Tommy on duty knows no God other than his officer in command, and the inevitable consequence followed. He was assaulted and fell down. The sequence is well known history and need not be repeated. The incident has been recalled merely for a correct understanding of the character of Dr. Maitra and his political "moderation."

The next morning the citizens of Calcutta found that the military picket had been taken away. For days people, mostly students, had been kicked and caned, and in the press there had been much spilling of furious ink but to no purpose; it was the assault on Dr. Maitra that did the trick. The action taken by Lord Ronaldshay—it was at his personal intervention that the soldiers had been removed—was a recognition of the peculiar position of Dr. Maitra in the public life of Bengal. As a politician neither he nor his party counted for much in those days, but as a personality in the world of religion and education he was held in high regard both by the public and the official world.

The Art of Criticism

The wrong impression that criticism is inferior to creation because it does not deal directly with the facts of life, but concerns itself only with books and is therefore a parasitic art, will be removed, when we recognize that if all beauty is the sphere of literature, the masterpieces of great minds are undoubtedly suitable subjects for such treatment. In the course of his article on the art of criticism Principal P. Sheshadri observes:

It is possible to indicate the aims and nature of criticism by reference to what some experts in the art have said.

One of the most attractive and striking statements on the subject is that of Anatole France, who says in his *Life and Letters* that "literary criticism consists of the adventures of a soul among the masterpieces of the world." If it is felt that this definition is vague, though beautiful, attention may be invited to Walter Pater's observation, that criticism is a threefold process, perceiving beauty, disengaging beauty and expressing beauty. There is not much chance of success in the Art of Criticism, if a man's soul is dead to beauty; there are some in whom the chord is never touched in the manner necessary for even one's own private appreciation, not to speak of communication to others. Disengaging beauty, again, is a process somewhat akin to the isolation of the microbe by the investigator in medicine, if one may borrow such a simile from the scientific world of today. There is of course, the third quality, which is the consummation of all, the capacity to express the ideas in artistic forms, without which no literature can exist.

The difficulties in a complete realization of this triple ideal of Walter Pater are obvious. It is not everybody whose mind and soul are attuned to all aspects of beauty in form and in spirit. As Anatole France has said, elusiveness is one of the essential qualities of beauty, and as it does apply to literature also, there is the difficulty of being able to grasp its essence. What Matthew Arnold has called "the incommunicable elements of literary work" are things rather difficult of analysis and exposition. The language suitable for criticism has to combine in itself a fine sense of intellectual balance with charm of expression which is not easy of achievement. We have critics like Swinburne, for instance, who are carried away by the rush of their own eloquence, "intoxicated by the exuberance of their own verbosity" as Disraeli would have said, and at the other extreme, we have a large number of textbook writers, whom we ruthlessly impose on our students and who seem to have a profound capacity for stifling all literary taste.

The good critic enables the readers to take increased interest in the work by pointing out its numerous beauties not unmindful, at the same time, of its blemishes.

The critic's work has been rightly characterized as twofold, interpretation as well as judgment. The world is not likely to wait with folded hands and bated breath for the judgment of a critic, unless he happens to be an eminent master like Goethe or Sainte-Beuve. With a growing literary democracy, this attitude of reverence is

> rapidly disappearing and, perhaps, it would be wiser to lay more stress on the interpretative aspect of literature. The good critic has a keener sense of beauty than the average reader. His judgment is regulated by his extensive study of literature and knowledge of the essential principles of success in the art of writing. His powers of analysis are more acute and he is also capable of more detached and dispassionate judgment. He has also a better command of the apparatus of expression necessary for critical comment. His usefulness, therefore, depends on the extent to which he has acquired these qualities and has utilized them in his work.

Sarat Chendra Chattopadhyaya ✓

Satya Bhushan Sen writes about the distinguished novelist, Sarate Chandra Chattopadhyaya, and his place in Bengali literature in *The Educational Review*:

> Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya, the greatest (barring of course Rabindra Nath Tagore) literary figure of present-day Bengal died on the 16th January, 1938. Sarat Chandra was pre-eminently a novelist and as a novelist he was the most popular of all authors in spite of Tagore. His rise to fame was almost meteoric; he appeared on the literary horizon of Bengal when Tagore was shining in his midday effulgence and just got universal recognition by the award of the Nobel Prize. During the quarter of a century since then Sarat Chandra has held novel readers spell bound.
>
> The present-day Bengali novel owes its origin to Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya. The successive production of so many novels at the hands of this mighty man added force and gave a definite mould to the literary prose which he had brought into being. Here the genius of Bankim stands unrivalled.
>
> After Bankim came Rabindra Nath Tagore.
>
> Tagore literature is meant to include his inimitable short stories where Tagore stands comparison with the best authors of all climes and ages.

Sarat Chandra came in at the full flood of Tagore. But in spite of the influence of Tagore he was able to carve out a distinct and distinguished career for himself.

> Sarat Chandra drew his inspiration and his materials from the social life of the people. Tagore had also largely used the same materials. Yet there was a difference between Tagore and Sarat Chandra. Tagore in literature was not wanting in sympathy for the people, but he used to view the life of the people with the outlook of a philosopher and give expression to his ideas about them with the mind of a poet.
>
> In literature Sarat Chandra's philosophy of life takes cognisance of the fact that in spite of the sin and frailties so common to men, man cannot go so low as to be beyond redemption; and he seems to have taken upon himself the task of reclaiming the essential manliness inherent in each man in spite of his sin and worthlessness.
>
> The genius of Tagore is of course without parallel but with the mass of novel readers Sarat Chandra was even more popular than Tagore. The secret behind this phenomenal truth was admirably brought out by Sarat Chandra himself when one of his acquaintances interviewed him. The gentleman seemed rather jubilant over it when he asked, "How is it that Tagore is very often so unintelligible to us, and we have to exert our brains about it, whereas your works are as clear as anything and come to us as natural as food and water?" Sarat Chandra was as prompt and natural in his reply as perhaps his interviewer did not even expect. He s
> reply, "The reason is not far to seek; no wonde
> Tagore literature is so frequently not intelligible
> because Tagore literature is in fact not intended fo
> at all. Tagore writes not for you, average readers,
> for us who are authors; and it is we who write
> average readers like yourself".
>
> But after all Sarat Chandra though so widely ap
> ciated in Bengal is, unlike Tagore, hardly known to
> outside world, because only a few of Sarat Chandra's books
> have ever been translated into English and only one or
> two were translated into French.

The Peking Man

In the course of an article on "China
the Dawn of Asiatic Culture", in *The Calc*
Review, Dr. Kalidas Nag gives an interes
description of the discovery of *The Peking M*

> A most remarkable event in the study of Asiatic p
> history was the first scientific symposium held in
> auditorium of the Medical High School in Peking
> honour of the visit of the Crown Prince of Sw
> (October, 1926). The most sensational communica
> was from Zdansky saying that working on the Chau K
> tien material he had found a molar and a pre-molar
> of a creature resembling a human being. Dr. Gra
> named this hominid the *Peking Man* and a system
> study of the same was organised by the Geological S
> of China in co-operation with the Peking Union Med
> College and the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. B
> examined several prehistoric teeth and placed beyond
> doubts the hominid character of this new genus Sin
> *thropus* with the species name of *Pekinansis*.. In 1
> Mr. Li who was collaborating with Dr. Bohlin (discover
> of an important tooth) was assisted by Dr. C. C. Y
> and W. C. Pei in the excavation of the cave and
> brought back to Peking the richest harvest of prehis
> materials from the bone-bearing deposit of the cave. U
> to 1929 they worked for 64 weeks bringing 1485 c
> of their collections. Mr. W. C. Pei who cond
> operations at the cave in the autumn, of 1929, discov
> the most complete Sinanthropus skull. On this ep
> making discovery Dr. Black published a beautif
> illustrated monograph. "An adolescent skull of Sin
> thropus Pekinansis" (*Paleontologia Sinica*, Vol. V
> 1931). The two brilliant Chinese scholars, C. C. Y
> and W. C. Pei directed the excavation in 1930-31, mak
> some of the most important anthropological discover

Thus the Choukoutien Deposits came
revolutionize the whole theory of the earli
history of man.

> Eminent scientists like Elliot Smith discussed "T
> significances of the Peking Man" (Edinburgh, 1931).
> Sir Arthur Keith, in his "New Discoveries relating to
> Antiquity of Man," devoted three chapters to the Pe
> Man. They substantially agreed with Black who, after
> haustive comparison between the skulls from Java and fr
> Peking came to the following conclusion: "Whereas Pi
> canthropus is a highly specialised, not to say in certai
> respects degenerate type, Sinanthropus is a remarkab
> combination of highly original and purely mod
> features." Black sums up its characteristics by sp
> that Sinanthropus is a generalised and progressive ty
> closely related to the original type of hominidae wh
> was the prototype not only of the Neanderthal man
> the South African fossil human races, but also of
> modern *Homo Sapiens*. The Neanderthal race is

admitted to have introduced to Western Europe, the middle-paleolithic or monsterian culture from Central Europe which again is now seen to have cultural relations with Central Asia of prehistoric epoch. This relation is kept up down to the Neolithic ages when Europe got her first batch of domesticated sheep, pig and other tame ttle types from Central Asia, horse appearing much ter.

Organisation of Rural Health and Sanitation Work

Capt. A. S. Varma, District Health Officer, Patna, writes in the *Bihar and Orissa Co-erative Journal* :

The Government is fully alive to the utter inadequacy f medical relief which is being rendered to the rural ople of Bihar. It is time now that the District Board spensaries should be left in the hands of subsidised ctors on honoraria for say a period of 5 years, and where ch suitable and willing subsidised Doctors are available e District Board Dispensary Doctor can be set free for blic health work at a small additional cost to pay for e honorarium of the subsidised Doctors and the travelling lowance of the Dispensary Doctors. If the Dispensary ctors be willing to work on subsidised system there is no ason why his offer will not be accepted first; and the w recruits may be taken in on a scale fixed by the thorities to fill up his place.

There is some doubt if suitable subsidised Doctors uld be willing to work on pittances. As they are not hole time servants and are more or less independent cept for the 3 hours of duty in the morning there need e no difficulty in the matter. We need not prolong the urs of hospital attendance, for, after all, even in the prent circumstances they are not fully availed of by thousands ing to great distances and extreme poverty. The poor ering from pneumonia, plague, cholera, typhoid can t attend dispensary and cannot pay for the Doctors, y then worry so much over this costly paraphernalia y to meet the requirements of minor indispositions such s indisgestion, scabies, ringworm, etc. We much make deeper drive for the solution of the problem. We must ke such conditions prevail in the rural areas so that rrhœa, dysentery, cholera, conjunctivities, typhoid and h other diseases disappear altogether.

The modern state is now realising the preponderant ity of prevention over cure and it is high time that we not lag behind. The medical and public health budgets ire a thorough overhauling and it is extremely enaging to find that the Congress Governments of this country are paying their serious attention to the transformation of the whole medical staff into public health staff by gradually leaving the hospital treatment in the hands of the honorary experts or subsidised Doctors.

With the advent of the District Board Doctors in every Thana, aided by the village guides the public health activities are bound to achieve great success. The present idea is to have a number of Union Boards in every Thana endowed with all sorts of administrative power. The village guides then will be under the direct administrative control of the executives of the Union Boards and the Thana Doctor will submit his inspection note to the Union Boards as well as to the District Health Officers.

Worshippers of Buddha

THE war drums are sounded.
Men force their features into frightfulness
and gnash their teeth;
and before they rush out to gather raw human flesh
for death's larder,
they march to the temple of Buddha, the compassionate,
to claim his blessings,
while loud beats the drum rat-a-tat
and earth trembles.

They pray for success;
for they must raise weeping and wailing in their wake,
sever ties of love,
plant flags on the ashes of desolated homes,
devastate the centres of culture
and shrines of beauty,
mark red with blood their trail
across green meadows and populous markets,
and so they march to the temple of Buddha,
the compassionate,
to claim his blessings,
while loud beats the drum rat-a-tat
and earth trembles.

They will punctuate each thousand of the maimed and
killed with the trumpeting of their triumph,
arouse demon's mirth at the sight of the limbs
torn bleeeding from women and children;
and they pray that they may befog minds with untruths
and poison God's sweet air of breath,
and so they march to the temple of Buddha,
the compassionate,
to claim his blessings,
While loud beats the drum rat-a-tat
and earth trembles.

Rabindranath Tagore in the *Visva-bharati Quarterly*

AUSTRALIAN CHURCH, MELBOURNE

According to an advertisement appearing our advertising columns, an Assistant inister is required for the Australian Church, lbourne, Australia, which was founded, and ne building erected, over fifty years ago. r. Charles Strong, for nine years minister of e Scots' Church, one of the leading Presbytian Churches, has been the sole minister, and carried on the activities of the Church the assistance of laymen and Associate sters who have been appointed from time to me.

The Minister and members of the Congregation have been active workers for the improvement of Social and Industrial conditions ; for the abolition of war and the promotion of International Co-operation and Fraternity; for the Moral training of the young ; for Equality of Women with Men; for reform of the Penal system; for Temperance as well as the Scientific Study of the great Religious questions of today.

For years the Minister has edited the *Commonweal*, a monthly Journal devoted to the advocacy of Religious and Social progress.

WORLD AFFAIRS

"Italy has not yet forgotten the sanctions," declared Signor Mussolini after Herr Hitler's departure from a visit. She has forgotten, the world might conclude, only a recent document that she signed—the Anglo-Italian Pact. In the same speech, however, Il Duce had deigned to assure Mr. Neville Chamberlain, "It is our intention to respect the Anglo-Italian Agreement scrupulously". Scruples, however, are not a dictatorial virtue, and this profession of it certainly ill accords with the Dictator's resentful reference to the sanctions, or his reminder, "Mr. Neville Chamberlain's last speech was a recognition of the power of Italy," or with the concluding threat: "In an ideological war the authoritarian states must march solidly forward."

AFTER THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

This is no doubt hard on Mr. Chamberlain and his new babe—the Anglo-Italian Agreement. It is proving still-born. Secretly the British had calculated that the Austrian adventure of Hitler must cool off the Italian fervour for the friend appearing now on the Brenner. The Anglo-Italian agreement coming in its wake would 'tilt the Berlin-Rome axis,' Britain hoped, against Berlin. Rome, of course, could not be accused of encouraging this idea. But, the British Cabinet certainly expected a new turn in the diplomatic alignment, as is evidenced by the references from the British press. Certainly, they had a claim on Mussolini to be spared the humiliation that the Dictator's references to Mr. Chamberlain's speech involved. The Premier has been always so considerate. In the House of Commons when the Agreement was drawing on itself the criticism of the opposition, Mr. Chamberlain stated that the "settlement" in Spain was a pre-requisite of recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Pressed by Mr. Attlee, the Premier refused to define what he meant by 'settlement.' "I cannot tell the House even when this protocol and annex will come into force. No doubt, the situation will clear itself up as time goes on."

This is truly wise of the British Premier. Situation always clears up as time goes on—either it worsens or it improves, it simply peters out or remains where it was, steady and static. Anyway, the Premier's proposition showing that noble resignation to the inexorable decree of time cannot be contested. And time already is clearing up the show. The Führer arrived in Italy to receive a royal welcome, reviewed the Italian manoeuvres, and returned with t friendship repaired and perhaps a totalitari future course of action discussed and decid. Has the Berlin-Rome axis any way weake Time proves otherwise. So long as the t 'Have-nots' stand to gain more by their u march against the 'Haves' they are likely t tolerate each other agreeing on the comparati minor matters of differing interests. So, t Anglo-Italian Agreement still waits to come i operation, and, the Franco-Italian talk for negotiation, favoured by the British, could n get really a start; and, time proves now t Italy with a renewed faith in the Führe alliance, would move away from it on the plea the pro-Governmental leanings of the French the Spanish war. The British Premier m have declined to define what the 'settlem according to the Agreement meant, but Mu-lini has interpreted it as nothing short of victory of General Franco, and time is bound show this to be the acceptable interpretation Britain as well.

ABYSSINIA "LIQUIDATED"

In the League Council, meanwhile, t was taking its vengeance. Lord Halifax mov according to the Agreement, for recognition the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Only Ru and three others lacked this 'spirit of reali and tuck to the old spirit of 'sanction'. Yet believe a French paper, Abyssinia is far fr being thoroughly subjugated, as the follow letter from the Duke of Aosta to Musso quoted in the local European press, shows

> "The situation is really terrible. Italy's inf extends only within gunshot, and no further. The of the 6,000,000 natives are absolutely hostile. Withi kilometres of each Italian garrison the Ethiopian rule just as they did before the war... We lack thing; the natives refuse to sell anything to the Ita having no longer any confidence in the paper mone offer them. The only money in which they have confidence is the Maria Theresa thaler. The res that the natives refuse to come to the markets freq by the Italians, it would cost too much and be dangerous to send bodies of police against them. I financiers in spite of the pressure of the Duce, hav far only invested 150,000,000 francs in Ethiopia, a which is altogether insufficient. Much more is neces it must be found at once in view of this situation Blackshirts, who had meant to settle down as colo the country, have decided to return to Italy, where spread most angry stories among their parents friends... If a European war broke out we sho chased from the country in a few weeks."

The dark land of the Ethiopians offe interesting commentary on the interna history of the era and on the paradoxical p of the period. Introduced to the League by Italy, Abyssinia was to fall a victim, ironically enough, to Italian aggression, and, Italy found to her wrath Abyssinian membership of the League the only barrier to her aggression. Opposed by Britain in her application for membership of the League, Abyssinia discovered to her delight in Britain a valued friend in the League of her liberty and League principles. Standing on the principles and backed by the powers, the Negus refused to enter into any bargain with Italy outside the League, and, lost his entire Empire finally, while the League powers sat in conference, weighed evidence, debated sanctions, fumbled over any effective action against the aggressor. The League too has made history—and unmade many fond dreams. For the first time—and last too—its sanction clause was invoked against an aggressor member. It at once proved how hollow it is. Only false hopes were raised in the Ethiopian breast so that their betrayal was more thorough and more helpless. Horrified the League saw in the final chapter the use of poison gas by the civilizing mission of Mussolini, in which everything is blotted out. The League has witnessed many memorable scenes in connection with the Abyssinian affair—Sir Samuel Hoare and Laval and Eden, and lastly the Negus appearing personally with his final appeal. It heard now Lord Halifax's Te Deum over Abyssinia. The Abyssinian affair is liquidated at last—for the League and Britain. Time really clears up situation, as Mr. Chamberlain rightly said.

JAPAN'S CHINESE TIME-TABLE

Time, however, is likely to prove a handicap to the Japanese. The Chinese war is proving for Japan a long-drawn out affair. It would not follow the Japanese time-table; hence, Japan is likely to appeal to more drastic and more savage measures. Poison gas, as in Abyssinia, when victory appears about to elude the grasp, is likely to be last resort. It is already talked of, and, the League Council at Geneva has already received an appeal against it from the Chinese. Meanwhile, the reverses have been made good. The 'net of steel' round Suchow, the vital junction of the Lunghai and Tientsin-Pukow Railway, has closed, leading to a comparative disaster for the Chinese forces there. This success "sets the seal to the junction of the Japanese forces in North and Central China, and will make possible the long-delayed amalgamation of the Japanese fostered regimes in Nanking and Peking." "The city has become," according to the *Reuter*, "a vast slaughter house." Japanese fury and hate will necessarily take worse turn as the war prolongs. In South China, on the occupation of the island of Amoy, probably meant only to divert Chinese attention from the North to the South, a similar scene of savagery was witnessed.

> The story of how the Japanese invaders lined up prisoners taken at Amoy, and shot them down in batches, is related by a European ship's officer. Chinese refugees, states the Hongkong correspondent of *The Times*, allege that boats containing women, children and crowds of refugees on the water-front at Amoy were machine-gunned.

Still, the recent visitors from China maintain that the Chinese resistance is not wearing out. Japan's ability as a fighting force, as Mr. James Mill, foreign correspondent of the *Associated Press* of America points out in an Indian interview, has been generally overrated. Her marksmanship in land and sea and from air is considered not so satisfactory. She has not met any first class power in a modern war. Hence, her strength as a fighting force is yet to be known. Her economic order of course will stand the present strain; for in spite of the western method of stupendous industrial development, it has so far not been sapped by the accompanying western evil of class war. The Samurai spirit and the semi-feudal mental outlook has up till now persisted though the old social structure is yielding to the pressure of new industrial life. It remains to be seen how long the subjective forces of an old order can triumph over the objective transformation of the new times. Any economic catastrophe, coming in the wake of a big war, must sweep off the shreds of the old. Does Japan stand that danger now? Not impossibly, if the war drags on as now for a year or two more, when Japanese intensiveness of the campaign is likely to exhaust the country, whereas the semi-primitive Chinese rural economy may slowly organise itself more easily into a sort of low-level equilibrium. Thus,

> China, seemed to have ample money to carry on indefinitely. She had no trouble in getting foreign credits, whereas Japan had been compelled to finance the struggle almost entirely through forced internal loans. The Tokio Government had not been able to get any financial help even from Germany and Italy with whom Japan was allied politically.
>
> Asked about the extent of Russian assistance to China in the conflict, Mr. Mill said that the Soviet is supplying China in a large way with aeroplanes, tanks and other war supplies, but all on a strictly cash basis. Up to the present the Chinese Government had purchased nearly 400 Soviet-made bombers, pursuit machines and observation planes. All of these are manned by Russian volunteer pilots who within the last two months have scored several notable success against the Japanese air force.—(*A.P.*)

The Czechoslovak Crisis

The quick development of the Czechoslovak crisis in the third week of May, however, has eclipsed the Chinese war and the Japanese victories temporarily. There at last Europe is facing the inevitable catastrophe which it may be difficult to be postponed.

For some time the world eagerly speculated what the Dictators meeting in Rome decided. Will Trieste, the former Austro-Hungarian port, be returned to the Reich for a freer hand promised in the Mediterranean to Italy by the Führer? The Spanish position must have been reviewed, and so also the Central European and, more particularly, the Czechoslovakian situation. Everyone was curious, for the Dictators really dictate today in their own land as well as in others, in European politics as a rule. Other nations only propose, Hitler and Mussolini dispose. Britain and France,—France can now-a-days be always bracketed with Britain—proposed some days ago a solution, for example, of the question that challenges the Central European republic. It must have been one of "appeasement"—the Chamberlain line of solution. But Berlin would not appreciate these good offices of Britain. The Sudeten Deutsch was no concern of the islanders. Hitler disposed of these British attempts in God-like silence and with God-like disregard. His plans were already maturing. While Herr Henlein, the leader of the Sudeten Deutsch Party, was in London explaining to Hitler's British critics the reasonableness of the Sudeten German claims, the municipal elections in Czechoslovakia, to come off in the last week of May, and to be followed in June by the Czech election, were raising the Czech-German tension into a crisis. The Nazis cannot telerate many-things—least of all an election or a plebiscite unless conducted by them to shew up their majority. So, in Sudeten Germany riots are breaking out, scuffles occur; while German troop movements, explained to be usual, are reported on the frontier. For, has not the Reich a responsibility for protecting the Germans in a State which is failing to give the fundamental guarantee of safety to its people (the same plea, it may be remembered, that was put forward on the eve of the Schuschnigg plebiscite and was proved to be 'false from A to Z')? M. Hodza, the Czech Premier, in the deepening crisis has come forward with the maximum of concessions, an "autonomous administration" for the region, as far as permitted by the Czech constitution. But concessions will be no longer enough. Henlein Party invited to a negotiation to ease the position declined to meet the Government. Hitler is again at Berchtesgaden and knows the value of the other tension that has been created over the Spanish question between Italy and France,—necessarily diverting the attention at the psychological moment of the Western Powers, particularly France, from the Czech situation to the Pyrenees—a planned diversion perhaps to keep the Mediterranean powers engaged while the Czech tension reaches the climax that the Dictator wants. Things are moving quickly in and around Czechoslovakia. On the Carpathian troops have been massed; the Polish and Hungarian minorities are not forgotten by the respective people; and Hitler is the model for all in the art of the solution of questions. Prague, in reply, has also called for the reservists to be trained in the use of new arms. For Czechoslovakia a temporary solution may be available if as a price for the Führer's grace, in addition to autonomy promised to the German minority, the Soviet alliance is repudiated. The ultimate logical consequence of it would certainly be a hegemony of the Reich over the country. The coming weeks may prove decisive, and the British Foreign Office is waiting to see how time clears up the situation.

French Dilemma

France under M. Daladier is now incapable of having any effective voice on the Czechoslovakian position. Mussolini is cross with her. The Qui d'Orsay looks to the British Foreign Office for its policy and measures, and, even the last of the appeals of the Spanish Republicans, when Italian troops and arms were gaining for Franco important victories, had to be turned down by the Fronte Populaire Government of M. Blum. M. Daladier, his successor, is known to be dependent on Britain for his policy. So, France, it appeared, was to agree with Britain in refusing arms to the Republicans, and, was thus to be a party to her encirclement by the Fascist powers. Beyond the Pyrenees, it was known, chains of aerodromes had sprung up in the insurgent territories, the complete control of which were in the hands of the Germans and Italians. M. Daladier and the French military staff discussed with Britain the defence plans of the two countries; and the consultation reached a decision of great value on all branches of defence—land and sea and air. This is a distinct gain for France, but certainly not in itself of such magnitude as to warrant France to leave Spain to her fate, or rather to Hitler-Mussolini-Franco. Supplies it appeared, therefore, trickled through the French frontier into the Spanish Republican hands and the insurgent advantages were thus going to be neutralised. The result has been a quick and forceful warning from Mussolini and his Italian press who would never see their Spanish adventure to come to grief or its success delayed any more. Italian-French negotiations, under the circumstances, do not give, any promise of success and M. Daladier is likely to be pressed hard by Mr. Chamberlain to fall in with him here in a policy of further Italian appeasement and necessarily, resulting in a tightening of the Fascist grip around France, and finally to be wounded off with a break away from the Soviet alliance. Mussolini may consider even the Anglo-Italian Agreement endangered if France cannot be controlled in this matter. So, Czechoslovakian situation is developed now by Hitler, and Mussolini raises again the Spanish issue—as if according to a plan previously decided.

The position of France is really anomalous. A great people, a great empire, great in military strength and *morale*, France by her strategic position is precluded from taking an independent line. Her politics and decisions await on Britain's—and, make her yield the advantages to the Fascist Powers more and more as the British Government of the day move closer and closer to the Fascists. She is about to strengthen her forces in French Indo-China and French Africa, which was long overdue there, and at once by Mussolini the plea is raised that an increase of the French forces in the French Equatorial Africa would upset the balance there so as to prevent Italy from reducing her strength in Libya and Eretria as agreed to in the Anglo-Italian Pact. Indirectly, therefore, it would amount to a pressure on France through Britain to abandon the plans. Thus France is being driven into a dilemma—friendship for Britain, or opposition to Fascists; London-Paris Axis or Paris-Prague-Moscow Axis.

BRITISH CONFLICTS

In fact the conflict between two opposing policies and ideologies tears not only France but most of the European powers. Great Britain, it has been observed by us before, is in a quandry too. Mr. Chamberlain and the ruling classes have no doubt made their choice—the inevitable choice that their interests forced on them;—and they are landed on the side of the Fascist powers, at a safe distance from the Soviet which had made a dangerous approach to Britain in the name of democracy and the League and other cherished ideals of Britain. But, it cannot be said yet that Britain has for that matter escaped from the unenviable position in which conflicts of policy are unknown. The ineffectiveness at present displayed by the British politicians, in Office or in Opposition, appears, it is at last recognized, but " a reflection of the fundamental bewilderment prevailing among the British people on the major problems of foreign policy and contemporary ideological controversies. " A satisfied imperialist power has no reason to desire anything but peace; but the ambitious 'Have-nots' would not hear it. They do not appreciate British peace policy; they do not believe colonies are economically of no value; they do not understand that Britain's defence of democracy, which has brought her vast territories, is no mere hypocritical pretention of the "Perfidious Albion." Britain finds herself thus misunderstood. Indeed, she herself cannot fully understand her own position in relation to the other forces. British public life is thus rent into puzzling and paradoxical divisions. The Conservatives in Office, for example, points out the *Statesman,* take rebuff after rebuff from the agressive States silently. They suffer British imperial pride and imperial strategic interests to be challenged by these 'Have-not' powers. The socialist leaders, on the other hand, in defence of the democratic people, appear as champions of the Empire, its interests and honour, and advocate even a war policy—of course a war of intervention, a war 'to make democracy safe' again. Yet, they point-blank refuse to be united in any Popular Front lest bursting the narrowed dams of democracy the flood of socialist ideas and activity carry away the old Parties and old traditions of theirs. Mr. Lansbury and Lord Snell side with the Government on the 'appeasement' question; Mr. Churchill is often nearer to the Opposition though not actually in the same lobby on questions of foreign policy. The Duchess of Atholl, as a critic of the Spanish policy, addresses from the same platform as the communists. Good conservative tradition in the country delights in the exploits of the upstart 'strongmen' in Germany and finds in these men of the people, who swept away the old caste, a confirmation of itself and its faith in the soundness of its own ruling class. Socialists today, again strangely enough grow sentimental over the plight of the Jewish millionaires or aristocrats of Vienna.

This psychological conflict naturally expresses itself in practical inconsistency. Egypt and Ireland get at last rights for which they must be thankful to Mussolini and Hitler. Even India is sought to be reconciled with occasional gestures—the situation in the Far

East, Middle East and Europe are already too big to leave room for playing the old 'die hard' in India any more now. At the same time in Palestine, the air-way station of great strategic importance to the Empire, the Arabs must be held in leash. In Mexico, the oil interests of the British capitalist are too sacred to be handed over to the 'pink' Cardenas regime, and diplomatic relations are therefore, broken off. Were Mexico so strong the expropriation would have to be tamely accepted as was done when the British oil interests in Manchukuo were thrown out, or when to the Pehlavi's terms the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company silently submitted. At home, while the armament programme requires to be fulfilled within as short a time as possible the Amalgamated Engineering Union, on their experience of the past, refuse to be enthusiastic over longer hours as future security of employment is not guaranteed and the present unemployment of its members is not reduced. The Air Ministry itself was to come in for criticism in the House from the Opposition and Government Party as well for its failure to satisfy the demands of the times. The Cabinet has been reshuffled to quieten and still that criticism, dropping the Air Secretary, Lord Swinton, and the Colonial Secretary, Lord Harlech. The 'mediocrity of the British foreign policy' thus is as patent as the inefficiency of the heads of the Government to carry through even an urgent programme of national defence in so vital a branch.

It is pertinent to inquire why this conflict and confusion reign in British life and thought today. The cause has to be searched for in many fields; but delving deeper and deeper the conclusion becomes irresistible that inherent in British imperialism lies hidden the seeds of anomalies, the conflicts and contradictions that the system generates in its working, cut across the policies of its old Parties, and that ultimately will drive it to a war and disaster.

THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY

It is an irony of fate, that the man most sincerely desirous of peace, Lord Halifax, should unconsciously serve as the instrument of the War God to pave the blood-red path. It is but another paradox of the period. In an Empire with democratic traditions, in a people with rooted faith in 'ordered progress,' and believing its super-profits and dividends to be somehow the return of its muddled idealism, and a prize for its spiritual integrity,—a man like Lord Halifax alone could fulfil the purpose of history, leading to war and Fascism, inch by inch through peace and democracy. Mr. Harold Laski's analysis of the man and the moment is worth remembrance and helpful to understand the position as we read it from the U. S. A. press.

"Lord Halifax, who has now taken charge of the Foreign Office for the time being, has many private virtues which endear him to his friends. He is deeply religious; he is an ardent lover of country life; he comes from a family in which, for three generations, the tradition of public service has been profound.

"Lord Halifax belongs to a class that is, I think, peculiarly English in outlook. He is kind and gentle in manner. He is always prepared for compromise on non-essentials. He is the perfect country gentleman. He gives the impression that his political life is something external to his real interests. Just as Earl Baldwin would have wished—but for the call of duty—to cultivate his garden, just as Sir Edward Grey always longed for his birds, so Lord Halifax has assured us that he would rather be Master of Foxhounds than Prime Minister. But the call of duty is too peremptory to be denied. His friends think him indispensable to the party, so that, for its sake, he cannot avoid the invitation to serve."

'Professor Laski believes that Lord Halifax is the most influential man in England with regard to English foreign policy, which means the foreign policy upon which European democracy must depend. He wishes to preserve peace at any cost, no matter if Austria, Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and other States, are all sacrificed—even European democracy itself. He fears that war would bring socialism. Hence, he prefers anything to war, even a victorious war, which might bring radicalism in its train.

'This makes Lord Halifax a perfect mark for the diplomatic duplicity and territorial aggression of Hitler and Mussolini.'

That Hitler and Mussolini regard the world as an artichoke that they can eat as they wish he does not for a moment contemplate. That solemn engagements have no meaning for them he is not prepared to recognise. That they look upon Great Britain as the final enemy, to be destroyed when they have a Fascist Europe under their heel, does not occur to him... They will play with them just so long as it suits their purpose. He will be their willing tool, assuming always that the finer their words the more sincere are their intentions.

"In the end, Lord Halifax is likely to wind up with Fascism and defeat, which might be even worse than socialism and victory. He is likely to sell both British and world democracy down the river.

Lord Halifax is a grave danger to peace in Europe because he has no notion of how intimate is the interdependence of peace and democratic institutions. All his gestures will be noble gestures. All his words will be pacific words. But, piece by piece, he will surrender the fortresses of democracy. He will betray them all like a gentleman. He will carry us over into what is effectively the Fascist camp in the simple faith that he is fighting the battle of democracy."

G. H.

22-5-'38.

Notes

Wife-stealing and Husband-snatching

Wife-stealing, whether by seduction, abduction or kidnapping, is considered wrong in all civilised countries, including India.

In India, and in some other countries, in communities in which polygamy is not forbidden, if a girl is married to a man who has another wife or more wives living, the girl is not necessarily a husband-snatcher, for generally such marriages are arranged by the guardians of the girls, who are generally minors. Even in these communities enlightened men look upon polygamy as wrong.

In the West, there is both wife-stealing and husband-snatching. Just as some men there seduce other men's wives and marry them after divorce or judicial separation, so some women wean some married men from the affections of their wives and marry them after the legal requirements have been satisfied. In these cases the men, too, are to blame.

In India, it has been known all along that some adult women of loose character wean some married men from the affections of their wives. But these disreputable women cannot be exactly spoken of as husband-snatchers. For the men, who become addicted to them do not become their husbands.

Some Western women, British, other European, or American, have been known to have married Indian men who had other wives living. Some of these Western women have done so not knowing that the men were already married; but some have done so knowing that the men had wives living. These latter may be rightly stigmatized as huband-snatchers. Of course, in these cases the men also are to blame.

Husband-snatching Facilitated by Some New Marriage Laws?

It is greatly to be regretted that in recent years some cases of husband-snatching by educated Indian women of respectable classes have occurred, though their number has hitherto been extremely small. But, nevertheless, their occurrence is of evil omen. We shall mention a few instances.

A few years ago a respectable young woman, educated in India and abroad, married a young man of a different caste, who had a faithful wife living. This bigamous marriage was celebrated according to the (Sikh) Anand Marriage Act. Evidently they had recourse to this Act, as both Act III of 1872 and Gour's Special Marriage Act sanction only monogamous marriages.

Some weeks ago, a Hindu man, who had a devoted young wife living, professed to have become a Brahmo and went through a so-called Brahmo rite of marriage with an unmarried, respectable young Catholic woman, who also professed to have become a Brahmo. As soon as the affair became known to the President and Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, they strongly condemned this so-called marriage and declared it null and void, as it was both morally and legally wrong.

More recently, a young man, educated in India and abroad, having a devoted wife living, has married a respectable young woman similarly educated in India and abroad. These two persons belonged to different Hindu castes. So, in order to make the marriage legally valid, they had recourse to the Arya Marriage Validating Act.

Such cases of husband-snatching are ominous, as we have said. The last case has been callously characterized in some newspaper reports as a "romance." A sordid romance it may be, but what a tragedy to the poor faithful devoted first wife, who appealed to her unworthy husband to allow her to serve him as a slave!

The poor practically discarded first wives could not possibly compete with their rivals in winning or retaining the affection of their husbands. Most probably they were married when they were not even adolescent and so had not the charms of mature young womanhood to capture the hearts of their husbands. Moreover, they did not possess the accomplishments of their rivals. These came upon the scene in the full bloom of their youthful charms and with all their accomplishments, and had an easy victory.

The subject is sickening and unsavoury. We do not wish to dwell upon it longer.

In all these cases the men, too, were guilty. No honourable married young man ought to pose as a bachelor—particularly when mixing with young unmarried women. If any such young man finds the least sign of having attracted the favourable attention of an unmarried woman, he ought to make it known at once in some way or other that he is married, and avoid her company.

Far from trying to capture the heart of a married man, unmarried women ought to take all possible care to avoid consciously or unconsciously attracting or being attracted towards them.

In spite of Islam not prohibiting polygamy, it has been made illegal in Turkey. Perhaps in India, too, polygamy will be made illegal for Hindus, Moslems and others for whom it is not yet illegal. But in the meantime, our legislators ought not to enact any new marriage laws which do not prohibit polygamy, and they should amend those new laws already passed, mentioned above, in such a way as to prevent the validation of polygamous husband-snatching.

Tagore's Works in European Languages

In his very interesting and informative book of lectures, *Indian Politics Since the Mutiny* Mr. C. Y. Chintamani writes:

> I did not see a book-stall at railway stations in England, France, Germany or Belgium where the works of Tagore in the languages of the respective countries are not stocked. A Norwegian gentleman with whom I happened to go from Paris to Versailles told me that Tagore's name was a household word in Norway and that he himself had read translations in his mother-tongue of all his important works. He remarked to me that the people of India must be the best educated in the world. When I told him that illiteracy was the badge of the tribe in our country, he exclaimed in wonder, "What, the countrymen of Tagore to be illiterate! Incredible!"

Are Indian Monthly Reviews Politically Insignificant?

In every chapter of the book mentioned in the foregoing note Mr. Chintamani has something to say on the press, and in the last chapter he has quoted "the following observations of an honoured and veteran publicist on the position of the press and of government's manipulation of it":

> "In a modern community the newspaper is essential part of government of the people." "The p might get on without politics, but politics cannot get without the press." "Government themselves have b among the worst offenders in the manipulation of press; and to increase their control would be the mea of extinguishing their critics and making the rest the tools."

So, in treating of the subject of In politics since the Mutiny, the author h properly devoted some space to the activiti of the press.

The question is what is meant by the press. It may be that only the dailies and the weeklies constitute the press. But periodi cals like monthly reviews are also subject to the press laws. Many of them also have had to deposit considerable amounts as security. They also are recipients of the kind attentions of Government press officers. But all this may amount to a mere technical, though unpleasant, recognition of the fact that these periodicals are a part of the press. The real question is whether they influence the politics of a country in any way.

Looking at Britain one finds that, not to speak of monthly reviews, even quarterlies like the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, etc., have done much to "develop and strengthen the political convictions" of the people. These and monthly reviews like the *Nineteenth Century and After*, the *Contemporary Review*, the *Fortnightly*, "are devoted to critical comments on public events and literature....they are influential, and these publications are much quoted. . . . ." (*Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, 192 The *Edinburgh Review* ceased publication in 1929. The *Quarterly* and *Blackwood* came out as its rivals, soon after its publication. "The three journals together maintained the political and literary note of the founders, the political predominating." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition.) Mentioning the important British monthlies, the same Encyclopaedia states that the *Nineteenth Century* "took the foremost place in the political and literary field."

We do not in the least suggest any comparison between British and Indian periodicals. We know India is not Britain and the Indian press and Indian politics are different from the British press and British politics. What we suggest is that, just as British periodicals are not without their influence on politics merely because they are periodicals, so it is possible that Indian periodicals, too, may have to a slight extent either reflected or moulded the political ideas of their readers, or done both.

It is intriguing to find that, tho

Mr. Chintamani mentions many dailies and weeklies in his book, he does not mention a single monthly. It becomes all the more difficult to understand or guess the reason why, when one finds that he has mentioned the names of three well-known journalists without referring to the monthlies edited by them.

Of the late Mr. Malabari he writes that the *Indian Spectator* was Mr. Malabari's paper," and that it and the late Mr. N. N. Ghose's weekly "were the most thoughtful of weekly papers in the whole country". So, if the same Mr. Malabari's now defunct monthly review, *East and West*, had been named, it would not have been considered surprising. Mr. G. K. Gokhale had a high opinion of it, and it used to publish political articles also.

Of Mr. G. A. Natesan it is written, "Mr. G. A. Natesan has distinguished himself both as a journalist and as a public man". Mr. Natesan's fame as a journalist rests on his editorship of the *Indian Review*, whose name is not to be found in the book. Every month it deals with contemporary politics.

Of Mr. (now Dr.) Sachchidananda Sinha it is said:

> "Lawyer, journalist, politician, speaker and debater, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has been in public life for nearly forty years and served his province and country well."

Dr. Sinha's fame as a journalist rests chiefly on his editorship of the *Hindustan Review*, which is not mentioned in the book. Mr. Chintamani himself had at one time much to do with its editing, and, if we remember aright, it was he who obtained political articles for a certain issue of that journal years ago from Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn and W. C. Bonnerjee. Perhaps at least these articles had something to do with "Indian politics since the Mutiny."

Mr. Shareef, C. P. Minister, Resigns

Mr. Shareef, Minister of Justice, C. P. and Berar, who distinguished himself by releasing two years before the expiration of the term of imprisonment a felon named Jafar Hussain who had been convicted for committing rape upon a minor girl, has resigned and his resignation has been accepted. The report of Sir M. N. Mukherji, to whom the case had been referred, left no other alternative to the Congress Working Committee.

This precious Minister of Justice ought to have been discharged as soon as his remarkable achievement came to be known. That he has been allowed to resign is in reality a miscarriage of justice. But it has to be recognized that the Congress "High Command" must be extremely considerate and cautious in any matter in which a Mussalman of any kind is concerned. So what has happened must be considered the best that could have happened in the circumstances. And it has prevented the charge of vindictiveness being brought against the Congress.

"*Liberality*" *and Free Speech*

Professor Gilbert Murray gave two lectures in 1937 in the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow and Birmingham at the invitation of the Hibbert Trustees. These have been published in book form by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin under the title, *Liberality and Civilization.* He explained in the first lecture why he used the word "Liberality" instead of "Liberalism". It was "partly because I wish to keep clear of mere party politics."

"A superfluity or reserve" is "that great necessity of civilization without which civilization soon perishes."

> "A reserve of wealth whereby to keep oneself alive through special trials and have something to give to others who need it more. A reserve of security, whereby, not being always on the edge of fear, man can afford to be tolerant, to be kindly, to listen to opinions or put up with habits which differ from his own. A reserve of leisure, from which proceeds all progress, all increase of knowledge and reflection, all the sciences and arts."

The professor continues:

> "So far, I think, most people will agree. The next characteristic of liberality is one of fundamental importance. A free man must obviously be able to think freely. If he is deliberately harnessed in blinkers or forced into a particular groove from which he cannot escape, he is not like a free man, not "liberalis." And in order to think freely he must have freedom of speech. It is not merely that most of our serious and useful thinking is the result of talking things over with other people: the thoughts of a man who never expresses himself and never listens to other men cannot remain healthy or normal. But beyond that it is for most people quite impossible to think clearly without putting the thought into words, looking at it and trying again. To deny the right of free speech results in a denial of free thought: and to be denied the power of thinking is the direst slavery."

The Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace

Professor Gilbert Murray observes in the same book regarding the activities and attitude of some governments:

> "The governments of certain great nations have chosen a path which, to the eyes of most of us here, seems the path of madness and of war. The rest if they hold together are still strong enough not merely to resist their attack successfully—that is not what we want—

but by clear warning to prevent that attack being made, and thus, by closing the road that leads to war, gradually to turn the aggressors towards the paths of peace. But this depends on two unsolved questions."

The first is:

> "Can the peace-lovers work with as much devotion and enthusiasm for truth and common sense as the war-mongers for what they call national honour, and we call falsehood and unreason? Can sober men stand up to fanatics? Or will the fury of a few madmen beat down the half-hearted resistance of many sane men?"

The statement of the other unsolved question follows:

> "And secondly, can nations that have been trained in an age-long tradition of cautious isolation, realize that the age for that has passed and that each one will perish unless all stand together?"

Professor Gilbert Murray continues:

> "We have promised in the Covenant of the League to protect one another. For the first ten years that promise was kept, but of late, since the failure of the World Disarmament Conference in 1931-1933, the forces of peace have been progressively weakened, and on each occasion when a weak member of the League was attacked by an enemy, the strong members have looked on, mumbled a protest or an apology, and let the destroyer work his will. That is the road of old custom, of mental inertia, of the sluggishness that waits numbed and passive while all those who might befriend and help are destroyed one by one; the way of dead wood, not of the living tree."

The Professor concludes by stating what he thinks ought to be done:

> "Against the awful weight of blind tradition and bewildered selfishness let us throughout Europe who believe in Liberality and are free in thought and speech see that our eyes are open and our consciences alert; let us see that, under repeated disappointments, our sane courage does not fail us, till we or our children can at last, throughout the world, bring to men of goodwill peace and brotherhood."

Words of sage counsel and resolve undoubtedly. But who will listen?

Development of Village Industries

The All-India Village Industries Association has been doing useful work. The May number of the *Gram Udyog Patrika* states:

> At the last Board Meeting sub-committees were formed and deputed to recommend to the Congress Ministries a programme for the development of village industries. The Secretary reported that as the former governments had been following a policy which was city-centred, its servants were ill suited to carry out our programme and therefore the preliminary programme of work submitted by our Association was in effect a plan to supply the need of workers by getting workers trained in accordance with our ideals. Training in the following industries were suggested by us:—
>
> Paddy husking and flour grinding, gur making from cocoanut, date, palmyra and sago palms, bee-keeping, oil pressing by bullock ghanis, paper making from village waste, soap making from sajimati and indigenous materials, tanning and bone crushing. Some governments have acted on our scheme with modifications. It i early to report any progress yet. (Further details wi found in our Annual Report for 1937 to be publi shortly).

Among these industries many are carried on in Bengal villages, *e.g.*, paddy husking, *gur*-making from the date palm, oil pressing by bullock ghanis. If village industrial have inventive skill and exercise it, they ca improve the traditional industrial methods an invent new ones. This has been done Sodepur by Babu Satish Chandra Das Gupta Khadi Pratisthan in the tanning and bo crushing industries, the industry of maki matches, and oil pressing by ghanis. Gur-maki from cocoanut and palmyra palms may tried in some Bengal districts.

The All-India Village Industries Associati is soon going to open the All-India Villa Industries Museum at Wardha. It has a trai ing school, of which the academic year w begin on the 15th June this year. In connecti with these two associations there should be Village Industries Research Institute. Perha Babu Satish Chandra Das Gupta will be able suggest how this Institute should be conduct —if, of course, the idea commends itself to t Association.

Teaching of Crafts According to Wardha Scheme

According to the Wardha Scheme of Ba National Education, the training of boys a girls from seven to fourteen is to centre rou some rural craft, to be chosen according to t agricultural and other economic conditions the areas where the schools are to be situat The crafts will no doubt be taught a practised according to the prevalent traditio methods at their best. But many, if not a of these methods are capable of improveme Without going in for power-driven machin methods followed in big factories, contrivan can be thought of for improving rural indust methods. Research relating to such contr vances may be carried on in the Villa Industries Research Institute whose foundati has been suggested in the previous note.

Wardha Scheme to be Considered by Central Board of Education

Simla, May 2

The Committee of the Central Advisory Board Education, appointed to consider the Wardha Schem Education will meet in Simla on the 28th June, next.

This Committee, it may be remembered, was appo by the Board in its third annual meeting held in

Delhi on the 28th January to examine the scheme of educational reconstruction incorporated in the Wardha Scheme in the light of the Wood-Abbott Report and other relevant documents, *e.g.*, the reports of committees appointed by certain Provincial Governments, and to make recommendations.

While we support this move, we have to observe that of the twelve members of the Committee the majority—perhaps all with a very few exceptions—are conversant more with the problems of high and higher education than with elementary or basic education. We do not know how many have practical acquaintance with rural conditions and the village crafts round which basic education to be given according to the Wardha scheme is to centre.

If it be not too late, a few members should be co-opted from institutions actually carrying on the work of revival and practice of rural crafts and the work of rural reconstruction.

Industrial Advisory Board of Experts

The Congress Working Committee, it is said, has appointed or intend to appoint a board or a committee of experts to prepare or suggest industrial and other schemes for the economic advancement of the provinces of India. Such a body is urgently required. Foreigners, mostly British, have already occupied much of the industrial field in India and are actively engaged in trying to occupy the remaining portions. In the process, they are destroying some of the industries started by Indians on up-to-date modern models. The seven Congress provincial governments at least ought to try their utmost to save these industries and help to start all possible industries to supply the Indian market and oust from it the ever-increasing kinds and quantities of foreign manufactured goods which are finding their way even to remote villages.

It is stated (May 25) that the members of the Bengal ministry have been discussing the question of a comprehensive survey of the industrial programme for the province and that schemes are already before the cabinet in this connection. Possibly other non-Congress ministries also are engaged in similar discussions or have finished them.

There ought not to be any "caste-feeling" dividing the Congress and non-Congress ministries. Some industries are provincially interrelated. Why cannot all the ministries, Congress and non-Congress, take counsel together for the industrial advancement of the whole country? Leading industrialists of the Indian States should also be invited to give the ministries the advantage of their experience.

Question of Non-European United Front in South Africa

Durban, May 23.

At a reception in honour of the Agent General, Mr. Ram Rao, at the Orient Club the President of the Natal Indian Congress strongly repudiated the rumour that the Congress favoured a non-European united front. He stated that only the smallest minority supported the proposal. Supporters of the United Front movement stated that their object was not a united front of non-Europeans against Europeans but a united front of all sections of the South African nation, including Europeans, based on goodwill. They indicated, however, that the present trend of the Union Government legislation in discriminating between Europeans on the one hand and non-Europeans on the other contained the inherent danger of the non-European sections combining to protest in their common interests. The Union Government therefore had the remedy in their own hands. —(*Reuter.*)

Tagore Birthday Banquet in America

We have received the following communication from Mr. N. R. Checker, president of the India League of America.

A banquet to celebrate the seventy-eighth birthday of Rabindranath Tagore was tendered by the India League of America in the Aldine Club, well-known centre of civic and cultural activities on Fifth Avenue in New York City, on the evening of May 6th last. The toastmaster, Mr. N. R. Checker, the president of the League, welcomed the guests of honour who were among the chief speakers, including Mr. Joseph Auslander, head of the department of poetry of the Library of the Congress (Washington, D. C.), one of the outstanding contemporary American poets, Miss Audrey Wurdemann and Mrs. Stella W. Herron, both distinguished poets, Prof. Arthur U. Pope, eminent Iranist and former professor of philosophy at the University of California, Khuda Bux, "the master of magic," from Kashmir, and Ram Gopal, the danseur from South India, and Madam and Miss Brunner, painters.

It was truly a brilliant gathering in which representative American and Indian talent was conspicuously represented.

The toastmaster opened the after-dinner programme with introducing Madam Boulter, acting secretary of the League, who then sang in French, "The song of India".

The first speaker, Prof. Arthur U. Pope, whom Mr. Checker welcomed as "India's most steadfast and consistent friend of nearly forty years past", paid a rarely brilliant and comprehensive tribute to the poet, from which these points are elicited:

"It is impossible to summarize in a few minutes the manifold contributions to the advancement of our times of so genuinely a great man of our age as Dr. Tagore.

"I believe that there are three characteristics which, above all, shine forth in the great poet-philosopher; candour, courage and compassion.

"As examples of his candour and courage, displayed at times when it was perilous to do so, I recall his slashing rebuke to Western civilization during the World War. His compassion is profound and most alluring, and more than anything else, perhaps, the expression of India's traditional genius at its best.

"I met Dr. Tagore in Moscow, and the most vivid recollection I have was of his glowing enthusiasm and optimism after he had seen the kindergarten system of the Soviets. In the company of these happy, beautifully brought up Russian little boys and girls the great Hindu Poet's spirit rose to exalted levels, and he saw in New Russia's training of the children a new hope for mankind.

"No other man has done so much as Dr. Tagore to reveal and enhance the gems of India's traditional culture. Nevertheless, he has another side, that of the purifier, of the rejector of old and worn-out creeds, institutions, and attitudes. Let not modern India become complacent. To observe Tagore's Birthday suitably, one must continue to strive for truth, respecting neither ancient habits nor new-fangled pseudo-scientific shibboleths."

Mr. Auslander followed Dr. Pope:

"Prof. Pope has stolen my thunder, and has called attention to the philosopher George Santayana's statement that through the use of most carefully selected words the poet—when he is a really great poet, like Dr. Tagore—enables us to discover the truth, and most important of all—the truth about ourselves.

"Reading Tagore's poetry and meeting him on one occasion, in New York, shaped my own course to which I have adhered—the pursuit of poetry, the endeavour to discover truth through this art.

"The poet Tagore does not need us, does not need our celebration in his honour. But we do need him, need him more than ever at this critical moment of humanity."

Mr. R. K. Rakshit, of Calcutta, one of the leaders of the Indian students in America, and now a businessman, told of the influence of Bengal village life upon the career of Rabindranath.

"Under his great father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, he has united the village and the modern city cultures, thus arousing a fundamental renaissance out of the soil of our ancient land,"

said Mr. Rakshit.

Dr. Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor of the Hearst Newspapers and International News Service, paid to the poet "a scientist's and a Punjabi's" glowing tribute, making specially these points:

"On four occasions when I met Rishi Tagore in the United States, new aspects of his greatness were impressed upon me. In 1915-16, he was the prophet of compassion and world unity, in 1927 or '28, while touching the Port of San Francisco, he was the reincarnation of an ancient Vedic Aryan leader raising the standard of civilization and power of our race, in and far out of India. In his last visit, when he landed in New York, he was the supreme Teacher, eloquently praising New Russia's efforts to banish illiteracy and superstition from a semi-Asiatic former autocratic empire.

"One of Tagore's songs is: 'Some day the Sun shall have its last look upon me.' Well, how can the Sun ever have its last look upon itself? For to us, Rabindranath—whose very name means the Lord God of the Sun—is for ever the harbinger and creator of Dawns, of Re-births of nations and humanity."

Nirmal Das, a Hindu poet and artist, praised Dr. Tagore as "the supreme patriot"—who had started the 'rakhi-bandhan'—the day of dedication to the freeing of India—at the time of the Partition of Bengal. Ever since his stirring songs have been sung by the heroic Bengal patriots, marching to their dooms.

The meeting concluded with the musical rendition, and chanting, by Mr. Das, Madame Boulter and others, of Dr. Tagore's patriotic lay: '*Jana-gana-mana-adhināyaka jaya he Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhāta.*'

"Victory, victory unto Thee—O Lord of India's Destiny!"

Peasant Satyagrahis of Mansa State

Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, has given the following message to the peasants of Mansa State:

"I sympathise with the peasants of Mansa State in the fight that they have been carrying on against the State authorities for the last eight months. I hope that they will continue their struggle in accordance with the principles of satyagraha—*viz.*, truth and non-violence. If they do so, they are bound to win in the long run."

The peasant women of Mansa in particular have shown their heroism in a signal manner. They deserve to gain their object.

Why Germany Annexed Austria

The American pocket periodical, *World Events*, writes:

The Nazi annexation of Austria carries to completion a program which had been formulated in the days of Bismarck by the Pan-Germans and which after the World War came to be known as Anschluss. This German-Austrian union was viewed as a voluntary coming together of the two countries, both Germanic in language and culture. Hitler's action, however, was not Anschluss but conquest, and the Nazi hordes have acted as conquerors since they took control.

Economically, this union was always looked upon as favoring Austria and the situation is no different today. Austria's balance of trade has been unfavourable and the deficit was largely made up out of tourist spending. Germany will receive the valuable iron mines of Styria, extensive forests with their lumber, and great hydro-electric potentialities. But unless Austrian industry is to be ruined entirely, this will not materially relieve the economic stress of Germany.

Indeed, one of the reasons why Hitler struck was the fact that some of these Austrian raw materials, which had hitherto been exported to Germany, were about to find other markets. Germany imported Styrian iron ore but was unable to pay for it. In 1937, Austrian exports to Germany of iron ore rose enormously. Since it was not paid for, it was planned to curtail this export to Germany by 40 per cent. This would have spelled disaster for German armaments, hence the annexation. Sentimental and pan-German reasons also played their part.

American Support For Militarism

World Events supplies the following figures:

> Just for the record: Shipment of U. S. arms and war materials for January, 1938 to Japan, $538,243; to China, $380,091; to Brazil, $60,991; to Rumania, $537,312. Shipments of U. S. scrap iron to Japan: 1936—$14,000,000; 1937—$39,000,000.

The shipments of United States scrap iron to Japan have almost trebled in one year!

Anti-gas Precautions India's Greatest Need!

From distant America comes the news that "India is to have all the anti-gas precautions which England has"! So India is really in equal partnership with England! But the *Pioneer* asks:

> Why spend money for air-raid shelters when public lavatories are lacking? Why sign-boards and instructions when 90 per cent of the people are illiterate? Why emergency medical aid posts for people who receive no medical attention in normal times?

And the Indian peasantry ask: Why not allow us to be gassed, as we cannot be fed.

University of Hawaii Scholarships

The *Oriental Institute Journal* of the University of Hawaii writes:—

> The University of Hawaii plans to offer in June, 1938, ten scholarships for graduate students in the field of Oriental Studies. The generosity of several Honolulu friends makes these scholarships possible. Details will be announced in a pamphlet which may be procured on application to the Director of Graduate Studies, Dr. Paul S. Bachman. Each scholarship will amount to one thousand dollars, a sum sufficient to enable the student to come to Hawaii and to work solely for a master's degree. The student who in his undergraduate days has studied basic courses in economics, political science, anthropology, sociology, literature,—and the histories of Japan, China, India,—and who has a knowledge of French or German,—will find himself better able to do graduate work in Oriental Studies. If, too, he has a reading knowledge, however slight, of Japanese or Chinese or Sanskrit he will have a considerable advantage; but, for the present, knowledge of an Oriental language is not required for admission to the graduate department of the Oriental Institute.
>
> The person who intends to devote his life to a study of the cultures of the Orient should learn at least one Oriental language. The Oriental Institute provides instruction in Japanese and Chinese, and this year, with the presence of Dr. Johannes Rahder, of Leiden, it is offering an elementary course in Sanskrit (a course we expect to offer in 1938-39, with Dr. J. Takakusu, of the Imperial University, Tokyo, as the instructor).

We could wish some Indian Sanskritist were at Honolulu to teach Sanskrit in Hawaii University.

An Indian Liberal's Reply to an Indian Socialist

It appears that a Bombay socialist gave last month a broadcast talk on socialism from the Bombay station of the All India Radio, in the course of which he attacked the Indian Liberal party. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad answered the socialist through the same medium. Here is part of his reply:

> Mr. Socialist, it appears that you have woefully misunderstood the aims and objects of the Liberal party. It is a gross perversion of facts to say that the Liberal party is a rank conservative party of capitalists and landlords. If the list of members of the Liberal party is scanned, one will find it made up of middle class people who are working for their bread in the professions and other walks of life. The capitalists and landlords are not in the Liberal party. Some big businessmen and industrialists are sitting on the fence and are supporting the Congress without openly joining as members thereof. It is equally incorrect to say that the Liberals are content to acquiesce in British rule and bask in the favours it can bestow. They want complete responsible government of the character that Canada, Australia and other dominions are enjoying. Dominion Status for India under the Statute of Westminster is what Mr. Gandhi has said he would be satisfied with and the Liberals are asking for that and nothing less and still you will malign them for not joining the cry of Independence. To ask for complete severance of the British connection will obviously be suicidal in the present condition of Indian defences.

As regards social justice Sir Chimanlal observed:

> The Liberals have consistently stood for the raising of the standard of living of the masses, more equitable distribution of profits between capital and labour and even nationalisation of certain industries. The Liberals want socialism of a character suitable to this country. But they are strongly against the socialism—really Communism—of the Soviet Russia type that you are in love with. You want to uproot the present structure of society and enforce perfect equality among all people. This is an idle dream which, if attempted to be enforced, must lead to civil war, suppression of individual liberty and freedom, destruction of the family system and ultimately mass executions as in Russia. Your socialism is pure Bolshevism. You want perfect equality between all human beings when nature has made inequality. Is there equality anywhere in the Universe? Cast your eyes on the stars and planets, the animal world, the earth itself, is there any equality? Some countries are endowed with fertile lands and vast mineral resources while others are denied such bounty of nature. Take human beings. Some are born with robust health and keen intellect while others are denied all this and some are even blind and decrepit. Some women are endowed with beauty and intellect while others are plain and even ugly or with no brains. Nature knows no equality.

We have no desire either to adversely criticize or support any of the statements made by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Those who have knowledge of present-day conditions in Russia will be able to assess them at their true value. Only with regard to family life in Russia we should like to quote what Dr. Sherwood Eddy, the famous American Christian traveller and worker, author of *The Challenge of Russia*, has written in the American quarterly, *World Christianity*, first quarter, 1938, page 37, after his 13th visit to Russia:

> "The family and the home have received a fresh emphasis. Divorce has been made somewhat more difficult, and abortion is prohibited except where the health of the mother demands it."

As regards what some leading socialists and communists and some others of their party think of human equality, we take the following from our Notes in the last April number:

We shall quote a few sentences from a "highly provocative book," *Heredity and Politics*, by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, "one of the most outstanding and challenging personalities in science and politics to-day."

This book was published in England on the 8th February last and has been just received.

In the first chapter, devoted to an examination of "The Biology of Inequality," Professor Haldane writes:

> I wish to examine certain statements regarding human equality and inequality, some of which have been used to justify not only ordinary policy but even wars and revolutions. . . . .
>
> We will first consider the doctrine of the equality of man. I will quote from a great revolutionary document of the eighteenth century, the American Declaration of Independence, which was published in 1776 and is mainly due to Jefferson.—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." This or a very similar doctrine of equality was important for the French Revolution. What did it mean in practice? The thirteenth and fifteenth amendments to the United States' constitution were needed to abolish negro slavery and racial discrimination in the matter of the franchise. For whites it meant a very considerable measure of equality before the law, and it has, I think, meant a somewhat greater equality of opportunity than exists in England; but it did not give rise to any systematic attempt to bring about economic equality."

Coming to more recent times, the author observes:

> Modern revolutionary theory is much more modest in its statements regarding equality, though in practice it goes somewhat farther in that direction. "The real content of the proletarian demand for equality is the demand for the abolition of classes. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that, of necessity passes into absurdity." So wrote Engels, and the passage was considerably amplified by Lenin. Modern revolutionary theory looks forward to two types of society; Socialist society in which each citizen works according to his ability and receives in accordance with the amount of work done, and Communist society in which each works according to his ability and receives according to his needs. There is a certain approximation towards Socialist society in the Soviet Union, but Communist society remains an ideal. Neither of these theories is equalitarian. Stalin in a report to the seventeenth Congress of the C. P. S. U. said: "Marxism starts out with the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, equal in quality or in quantity either in the period of Socialism or the period of Communism." Further, so far as I know, official Communist theory includes no clear statement of the origins of inequality other than economic.
>
> Now, although Jefferson regarded the truth of human equality to be self-evident, there is remarkably little positive evidence for the Jeffersonian theory, and its interest is, I think, mainly historical.

In conclusion Sir Chimanlal criticizes a dictum of Bernard Shaw thus:

> You will give the same remuneration to a Marconi or Edison as you would give to a labourer. This is your scheme, which, on the face of it, is highly undesirable. You quote Bernard Shaw as saying 'that the idiots are always in favour of inequality of income and the really great in favour of equality.' One may well ask how Shaw who is really great is acting up to this pronouncement. Is he distributing to the needy his huge royalties on his works? And is he not living in comfort and luxury, while millions in his country are unemployed? In the same manner, do all those who profess to be socialists practise the equality they preach? Why do the socialists live in well-furnished flats, dress well and move about in motor cars, instead of denying to themselves those amenities or sharing them with other people? Why do you Mr. Socialist work and earn the four gold mohurs that you speak of and why do you entertain the pleasant vision of earning 50 gold mohurs, which I hope and wish you will do very soon? But that will not be equality.

Linguistic Hungerstrike!

Newspapers have printed the news of the hungerstrike of a Tamil-speaking person in Madras who has resolved to fast unto death unless Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, the Madras Premier, withdraws his order to introduce Hindi as a compulsory subject in schools. We do not in the least approve of this hungerstrike.

It is reported that many meetings are being held in Tamil Land to protest against the order to teach Hindi as a compulsory subject.

Perhaps feeling runs high there in this matter, as can be guessed from a cartoon which has appeared in a Tamil paper, in which Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar is represented as stabbing his mother (-tongue). Such cartoons should be condemned.

We do not know whether the Madras ministry are thrusting Hindi upon an unwilling public. We have no means of knowing whether the majority of Tamil-speaking persons are for or against the introduction of Hindi. Of that the Madras ministers are better judges than any utsiders can be. All that an outsider can say in general terms is that the introduction of Hindi in schools as an optional subject in all non-Hindi-speaking tracts would be moving along the line of least resistance.

Hindu-Moslem Unity Talks

We have written much on this subject ntly in previous issues as well as in years st. We have not found any reason to change r opinions. The reason why we write again that the subject continues to be a current pic. Our difficulty in writing on it is that either Mahatma Gandhi, nor Sri Subhas Chandra Bose, nor Shri Jinnah, has yet issued any statement of what has passed between them either orally or in writing. These will appear, no doubt, on some future date. But that may be o late a date for us to write upon them for the present June number.

hri Jinnah's Attitude and Demands

Shri Jinnah has contradicted the news that t was he who wanted to have a talk on the subject with Mahatma Gandhi or any other Congress eader. We are not concerned to ascertain whether he is right or wrong. The pose is that he, the president of the Moslem League, which s at least as great an organization as the Indian National Congress (never mind what Viceroys ay think *in practice*),—he cannot approach nybody in thought, word or deed! It is the her party which must seek him out. So Mahatma Gandhi *waited upon* Shri Jinnah. It s to be hoped, the humour of the situation has t been lost even upon Shri Jinnah. A Sanskrit poet* prayed to Providence, "Arasikeshu asasya nivedanam sirasi mā likha, mā likha, ā likha," "May I not be destined to make an ering of humour to those who do not ppreciate humour" (*free translation to suit occasion*). Such prayers are not always vourably responded to. We hope Mahatma andhi never offered any such prayer unsuccess-lly.

There are numerous Mussalmans in India, to speak of others, who do not admit that e Moslem League is the sole or the chief presentative organization of the Indian Muhammadan community. The very small mber of members of the League is a sufficient proof of that fact. But Shri Jinnah wants India and the world outside to believe that it is. By *waiting upon* him Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President may have misled those in the world outside who do not know to fancy that the Moslem League is at least as important a representative body as the Congress and that Shri Jinnah is the Dictator of India or at least the arbiter of India's destiny who has a stranglehold on all freedom movements. One cannot be sure how many living outside India may be misled to form such a wrong inpression, but in India itself there are most probably a certain number of Muhammadans who will be impressed with the great importance of Janab Jinnah Saheb.

Let us consider what Shri Jinnah is reported to have demanded.

It is reported that he has demanded that the Congress should discontinue the Moslem mass contact movement. The object of this demand is plain. It is that the Congress should not have a larger number of Moslem members than it has at present. Perhaps it is also implied that those Muhammadans who are already members of the Congress should cease to be so. But if they do not resign of their own accord, are they to be driven out? Has the Congress any power to do so according to its constitution?

Even before Congress started the Moslem mass contact movement, many Muhammadans had become members of that body. So, even if Congress discontinues the Moslem mass contact movement, still many of them may seek to join that body. Can Congress refuse to enroll Muhammadans as members according to its constitution?

Supposing that by changing its constitution Congress drives away all its Moslem members and refuses to admit any new recruits from that community, does Mr. Jinnah expect all the present and all the would-have-been members of Congress to become members of the Moslem League? Vain hope. If all these nationalist Moslems had been convinced that their political principles were identical with those of the Moslem League, they would have joined the League long ago. But they did not.

Moreover, the Moslem League party is not the only or the chief Moslem party in the country. That community has many other important parties, which need not be named. If Congress drives away all Moslems from its ranks and refuses to admit any new recruits, nationalist Muhammadans will join Muhammadan organizations other than the Moslem League. The League did nothing to help the Frontier Pathans in their hour of need. Congress stood by them. Why will they join the League?

What Shri Jinnah seems to want is that

---

*We ought to have quoted from Arabic, but we are y we do not know it.—Ed., *M. R.*

Congress should become a practically Hindu body, that the Moslem League should be the only organization having Moslem members, that there should be a coalition between Congress and the Moslem League *on his terms,* and that this coalition party should prevail upon or force the British Government to do only that which he wants, or at least not to do what he disapproves of.

As Congress is not likely to commit political suicide as a national organization by acceding to this reported demand of Shri Jinnah, it is unnecessary to pursue the subject further.

Another demand of his is said to be that there should be a larger number of Muslim ministers in the cabinets of Congress provinces and that these Muslim ministers are to be nominated by the Moslem League, that is, by Shri Jinnah. We think only the ablest men among the elected members of the provincial legislatures should be appointed ministers, irrespective of their creed, race, or caste. But as a matter of expediency and policy and by way of compromise Congress may agree, as it has already agreed, to have a certain number of Muslims in the cabinets ;—it may agree even to increase their number. But why should it and how can it agree to their being nominated by the Moslem League? It should not and cannot so long as it retains its formal national character and does not divest itself of that character.

Of course, as in many other matters, so in the choice of the Muslim members of the Congress provincial cabinets, Congress has practically yielded to Moslem communal feeling by choosing only those persons as Muslim ministers who were the nominees of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad.

If Congress were to accede to the Moslem League's (or Shri Jinnah's) demand that Muslim ministers must be nominated by the League, the question might be asked why similarly the Hindu ministers were not to be nominated by the Hindu Mahasabha, the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal, or the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha, or by them all jointly. But, though Congress is for the abolition of untouchability, perhaps all those Hindu bodies are untouchable—there must be no contact with them, no recognition of them: Congress is the Brahmana among all Hindu(?) organizations, others are Pariahs! Is that so? Our idea is different. Congress is a national organization. It includes all races, religious communities, castes and classes. Therefore, it is competent to negotiate with the Moslem League, as well as with Hindu bodies. That it does not do so with the latter does not prove that it is a mere Hindu body. But Shri Jinnah looks upon it only as *a* (not *the*) Hindu organization. He cannot be blamed. For, if Congress wanted to behave like a *national* organization and to be looked upon as such, in arriving at any decision on any question of national importance it ought to have arrived at its decision either without consulting any communal body or leader or after consulting all the principal communal bodies or leaders. It has not adopted the former course. Therefore it ought to have adopted the latter, that is, it ought to have consulted all the principal communal bodies or leaders. But it is consulting the leader of only one organization of only one community.

Another demand of Shri Jinnah is reported to be that Congress must give up direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Hindi being made the national language of India. Here Congressmen (and non-Congressmen, too) may put him the question, "Will you and other Mussalmans discontinue direct and indirect propaganda in favour of Urdu?" As Shri Jinnah wants everything relating to the Mussalman community, even its politics, to be the exclusive concern of the Moslem League, why does he want to dictate what non-Moslems should or should not do? He wants to reduce Congress practically to the position of a Hindu organization and to make it practically admit that it is one. If so, why will he not allow it to exercise its freedom as a Hindu body? Why will he not allow it to decide either in favour of Hindi or Urdu as the national language? We do not mean to say that these are the only two possible alternatives. Even *Azad*, a Bengali organ of Bengali Mussalmans (who are the largest provincial Moslem group in India) wants Bengali to be made the national language. But that is only by the way.

Shri Jinnah is reported to have put forward many other demands. But we will notice only one more. He wants *Bande Mataram*, even in its mutilated form, to be given up as a national song of India. As in the case of the demand discussed in the previous paragraph, so in the case of this it may be asked, if Congress is to be looked upon and to look upon itself as a Hindu organization, why it should not be free to use *Bande Mataram*, in its entirety or in part, as a or the national song of India.

Evidently Shri Jinnah wants freedom for himself and his organization but would deny it to others—which is a characteristic of dictators and despots.

Alleged Congress Terms Offered to Shri Jinnah

Two of the terms said to have been offered to Shri Jinnah by Mahatma Gandhi are that all members of the Moslem League should sign the Congress creed and pledge, *i.e.*, practically become Congress members as well, and that the Moslem League should whole-heartedly participate in the Congress struggle for freedom including opposition to the Government scheme of Federation.

There is nothing new substantially in these terms. At the so-called Round Table Conference in London, Mahatma Gandhi promised to give the Moslems a blank cheque provided that they joined the Congress in the national struggle for freedom. But that condition was not accepted. So the blank cheque remains in the cheque-book of the Naked Faquir—it has not been torn off and delivered to the Moslems to be filled in by them.

Will Shri Jinnah accept Gandhiji's terms now? Will the Moslem League and other Moslem organizations? One does not know—cannot guess.

But suppose Shri Jinnah does accept them, will Gandhiji and will Congress give up opposition to the Communal Decision (very lukewarm opposition amounting almost to acceptance though it be), which Shri Jinnah and the bulk of Mussalmans want to remain intact?

We do not know. But this we do know that Hindu India outside Congress-Hindu India will never be reconciled to the Communal Decision. This Hindu India outside Congress-Hindu India is not at present as organized an entity as Congress-Hindu India. But Congress acceptance of the Communal Decision will go a great way to generate the heat necessary to fuse this India into one whole. But organized or unorganized, there are men in this Hindu India who are prepared to fight the Communal Decision to their dying day.

Mr. P. R. Das on Bengali-Bihari Question

Mr. P. R. Das has been dealing with the Bengali-Bihari question in a statesmanlike manner. He has raised the question to the high plane of Indian nationalism. In the course of his speech delivered at the Ranchi Union Club Hall on the 23rd May last he said:

> "It has been suggested to me that I should claim the right of a minority community in Bihar. I wholly deny that politically the Bengalees form a community in Bihar. Politically we are all Indians, and I contend that no ministry has any power to exclude us by reason only of the fact that we are Bengalees."

But some of them are being excluded solely on that ground. Let us take a flagrant instance cited by Mr. P. R. Das in the course of his ably argued and soberly worded speech. Said he:

> I am going to give you one instance to illustrate the principle upon which the Bihar Ministry is working. Ramkrishna Mukherji was a candidate for a post in the office of the Conservator of Forests, Bihar. There is no doubt whatever that he is a native of this province. He also took the precaution of arming himself with a domicile certificate. There was no doubt whatever that he was the best candidate and that he was strongly supported by Mr. Owden, the Conservator of Forests. His application was turned down by the Government. I am informed that Mr. Owden wrote a special letter to the Government and pointed out that Ramkrishna was the best candidate and that he was a native of the province, although he bore a Bengali name. To this Mr. Owden received the following reply, a copy of which was forwarded to Ramkrishna. The reply was as follows:—
>
> "With reference to your letter No. 7978, dated the 2nd March, 1938, I am directed to refer to the Government orders conveyed in this department letter No. 749/R, dated the 31st December, 1937, and to say that Babu Ramkrishna Mukherjee is a Bengalee and as far as his appointment in your office is concerned it is immaterial whether he is a native of Manbhum or domiciled therein. As already admitted by you there is undue preponderance of Bengalees in your office, and further appointment of Bengalees in your office, (whether native or domiciled) until other communities had had their due representation is not desirable."
>
> I ask you to judge whether this is not petty communalism of a most aggravated kind and totally inconsistent with the Congress resolutions.

Mr. Das went on to put other questions.

> I ask you, who is communal? Remember provincialism is only another name for communalism. Are we communal, because we are protesting against appointment in public services on communal or provincial lines? Or is the Bihar Ministry communal in so far as it recognises the principle that different communities are entitled to representation in public services on communal lines? On behalf of the Bengali Association I demand the withdrawal of the Brett circular, the Houlton circular and the Owden circular. I demand the withdrawal of these circulars not on narrow provincial ground but on national ground because the working of these circulars must inevitably prevent the growth of an Indian nation. This is exactly what the great framers of the American Constitution foresaw, and they took early steps to prevent the catastrophe.

Mr. Das told his audience what exactly the framers and amenders of the American constitution did.

> The great danger of Provincial Autonomy is the centrifugal force to which it gives birth. The great men who devised the American Constitution were fully aware of this danger. As you know, there were different independent states in America before their union. The great American Constitution, while it left the existence of the different states untouched, provided that the citizen of each state should be regarded as the citizen of the United States of America and must have equal rights and privileges in every other state. Even this was not found

sufficient to prevent the fissiparous tendency in the different states; and so by a celebrated amendment the Federal Assembly passed a law prohibiting the different states from passing discriminating legislation against the citizens of the other states. It is upon this amendment that the great American nation was built; and it is worthy of note that the Australians adopted this celebrated amendment as part of the Australian Constitution. I humbly beseech the Prime Minister to study this amendment. When Provincial Autonomy comes into existence there is a natural tendency to exclude those not of the Province on protective grounds. It is an unfortunate tendency; but it is a natural tendency. But once you regard those not of the province as foreigners, you make it impossible for the growth of an Indian nation. The genius of the American people solved the problem for the American. Is India going to lag behind?

The "great danger" of provincial autonomy was foreseen by the members of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee. And, therefore, in order to strike a blow at Indian unity they provided for provincial autonomy. We have repeatedly quoted their exact words from their Report in support of our assertion.

"As I understand the Congress viewpoint," said Mr. Das, "there is one people, one nation, one India, and we are all the children of the Indian soil."

Duties go with rights. If Bengalis in Bihar are equal citizens with Biharis, they owe a duty to Bihar no less than the Biharis. They have all along been comrades in arms with the Biharis. Let them continue to do their duty to the province with undiminished—nay, increased, enthusiasm.

Provincial and Communal Division of Occupations

Assignment of certain percentages of different occupations along provincial or communal lines is bad. But if any such allotment is to be made, all occupations must be treated in this way. This, however, is impossible. Central and provincial governments in India have not promulgated any rules as to what per cent of the people of any religious community or of any province are entitled to become skilled labourers, unskilled labourers, artisans and mechanics of different kinds, followers of handicrafts of different kinds, peasants, traders, merchants, bankers, etc. People of some provinces, communities and classes have special aptitudes for some kind or other of these classes of occupations. That there is no exclusive or restrictive law, regulation or rule about these occupations is greatly to their advantage; and it is justly so.

Similarly there are other people of other provinces, communities or classes who have an aptitude for Government office jobs or jobs in different Government departments. Wha been done by the Central Government and Provincial Governments is to lay down tha them there is to be no open door to talent these offices and departments but that they a to be either excluded or to have a very limited number of appointments.

So Governments strike a blow at these people of these provinces, communi and classes! The plea is that all cl and communities must be duly represen according to their population ratio, in govern ment departments and offices. But are th proportionately represented among the t number of men qualified for these jobs education? And why should not all classes a communities be proportionately represented *all* occupations? Can any government und take to see that they are? Obviously no govern ment can.

The net result is that there is free comp tion in some occupations, whilst there is n in others. This is highly unjust to those wh are or make themselves fit for the latter, a cannot make for contentment and peace.

It does not make for efficiency in the publ services either, or for national solidarity.

Vernacular Medium in Orissa

We read in the papers that recently the was a conference in Cuttack to consider th question of the medium of instruction in schools There is no question that the mother-tongue o every child should be the medium through whi it should be taught.

"Opinions were expressed as to whether Oriya sh be the only medium of instruction."

For Oriya children it should certainly b the only medium. But for Bengali childre Bengali should be the medium.

Calcutta University recognizes all th principal languages of India—even some abori nal languages. But it is regrettable that i some provinces outside Bengal even so Congress "nationalists" seek to depriv Bengali children of the human right of learnin through their mother-tongue!

What is both tragic and amusing is th some Assamese and Oriya Congressmen wh are enthusiastic in pushing the idea of teachin Hindi in Assam and Orissa schools (and th are rightly so) seem to be even more enthusias tic in seeing that Bengali should be exclud from their schools, though it would be diffic to find educated Assamese and Oriya gentlem and ladies who do not understand Bengali a though Hindi is not so generally known

Assam and Orissa as Bengali. If arrangements can be made for teaching Hindi, surely it is not impossible to make arrangements for teaching Bengali to Bengali children, there.

By all means teach Hindi, but why seek to deprive Bengali children of a right which other children of all provinces enjoy or should enjoy? It is particularly regrettable and condemnable that now that there is *Nationalist* Congress rule in these provinces, Bengali children are sought to be deprived of a human right which they had been enjoying under the previous purely bureaucratic rule.

There was a time when the Russian. German and Austrian Empires tried their worst to deprive the Poles of the knowledge of and the right to cultivate their mother-tongue Polish and its literature. But these *Imperial* attempts failed. So must fail all *Provincial* attempts, if any were made, directed against the Bengali language.

We should be prepared to support campaigns against the use of the Bengali medium for Bengali children if the deprivation of these children of a natural right could be shown to be necessary for making non-Bengali children great scholars!

"*Mr. Shareef's Case*"

Pachmarhi, May 25.

Despite Mr Shareef's resignation his fate, it is felt, is not definitely sealed. A largely attended public meeting held here last night adopted resolutions recording sorrow at his resignation and urging the Congress High Command to review his case in the light of Mr. Shareef's motive in releasing Zafar Hussain which was dictated by humane consideration for his forlorn family.

By another resolution, the Congress Working Committee was further urged to restore the confidence of the Moslem public by not accepting his resignation.

Later, a local deputation waited on Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel and acquainted them with the trend of the above-mentioned resolutions.

Another influential provincial Moslem deputation headed by Nawab Riyat Ali waited on Maulana Azad and requested him to continue the policy of having a Moslem Minister on the provincial Cabinet.—(*U. P.*)

One can only pity those who attended this "largely attended public meeting" and "adopted resolutions recording sorrow" etc. etc.

Mr. Shareef could have easily helped Zafar Hussain's forlorn family himself and asked his friends to do so. It was not at all necessary to release the man before he had served out his full term. There are thousands of prisoners guilty of far less heinous offences whose families are more forlorn, destitute and friendless. But no minister, not even the highly humane Mr. Shareef, with his delicate perception of moral values, released them on that ground untimely. Mr. Shareef released not only Zafar Hussain but his "pimps and procurers," too. Were their families also in a forlorn condition?

The telegram does not say what answer Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel gave to the "local deputation" which waited upon them, nor whether the two unenviable leaders gave the deputation a "*patient hearing,*" as the phrase goes.

"The Moslem public" must be in a very peculiar ethical condition indeed, if its confidence cannot be regained except by considering the pre-concerted rape of a minor girl as a trifle.

Certainly the confidence of the Moslem public is worth retaining by having a Moslem minister in place of Mr. Shareef. Only his ethical sense should be better developed than that of Mr. Shareef.

"*Uniting*" *The People of India!*

London, May 25.

Responding on behalf of India and Burma to the toast of the British Commonwealth at the Royal Empire Society banquet in London Lord Zetland made a reference to the Federation.

"We sought," said Lord Zetland, "and to a large extent we have already been successful, to give the people of India a unity that they never before possessed." But there remained the supreme act in the story of unification of the Indian people bringing together beneath the dome of a single political edifice, the new democracies of British India and the ancient autocracies of the Indian States. That was the supreme task to which their energies were now devoted." Etc.—(*Reuter.*)

It is literally correct that the people of India are going to have a kind of unity which they never possessed before! But it is also a historically correct statement that they have and had a different and better kind of unity, which we along with others have repeatedly referred to and explained.

Some European idealists dream of Pan-Europa. They should seek the assistance of Lord Zetland to elaborate their plans. They will simply have to bring the democracies and the autocracies of Europe under the subjection of Japan and give the whole the pompous name of Federated Pan-Europa.

The "'new democracies" in India are not democracies at all. "The ancient autocracies of the Indian States" are autocracies so far as their subjects are concerned, but are "servocracies" so far as the suzerain British power is concerned.

Lord Zetland speaks of "the people of

India." Where has his lordship discovered this horde of human beings? The Government of India Act of 1935 does not know it. There one reads of Hindus, Scheduled Castes, Moslems, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Aborigines, Anglo-Indians, Europeans, Labour, Commerce. But where are "the people of India?"

That "'the people of India" are nowhere mentioned or referred to in the Act; that they have been deliberately divided and sub-divided; that there are different grades of citizenship for Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Moslems, Sikhs, Scheduled Hindus, "Caste Hindus," Aborigines; that there are separate electorates for artificially separated groups; that there are varying degrees of weightage for some non-Hindus and for the Indian States' rulers and "lightenage" for Hindus in some areas; and that the people of the Indian States have been kept entirely without any franchise —are the contents of the "unity" which the British Government has given to "the people of India."

To be brought under a common subjection is a very precious kind of unity indeed.

Lord Zetland spoke of united India playing a part as a member of the [British] Commonwealth. No such part is assigned to her in the Act. The expression Dominion Status was deliberately excluded therefrom.

" Criminal Tribes " and " Scheduled Castes "

Christians, it is said, do not believe in caste. But the British Government does.

"Scheduled castes" are virtually asked to admit that they are an inferior people, in consideration of some illusory advantage given to a few of their members. Some castes have been classed as "scheduled" in spite of their protests. Some particular members of some scheduled caste may be intellectually, morally, physically, and even complexionally superior to vast numbers of "caste Hindus"; yet they must bear the badge of the tribe, "Scheduled."

The labelling of large numbers of people from generation to generation as "criminal tribes" is a very much greater offence against humanity than to label some as "scheduled castes." For the word "scheduled" has no moral implication, "criminal" has. The very name acts as a dead weight upon the moral nature of its victims, hindering their moral growth. No wonder there have been protests against the continuance of this offensive nomenclature. It should be done away with.

Kenya Land Reservation for Europeans

Mr. Ishardas, M.L.A., one of the members of the East African Delegation, who sailed for Kenya on the 25th May last, and Mr. C. F. Andrews have issued the following joint statement to the press:

"The announcement that an order-in-council at Westminster and two bills in Kenya will be shortly introduced in respect to the Kenya highlands has brought to a head an issue of the gravest character. The reservation of the highlands for Europeans was one of the main subjects of controversy in the Kenya conversations of 1923 and the Indian position has always been that there should be no racial discrimination whatever. The Secretary of State, however, has insisted on reserving the highlands for Europeans for what he has called "administrative purposes". He has also given the assurance that there would be no change made in the legal position.

"Now in spite of the Colonial Secretary's assurance that the legal position would remain unchanged, there is, in our opinion, a practical certainty that these new Acts which are contemplated will finally take away the rights which both Indians and Africans have always claimed with regard to the highlands.

"The issue is so vital that the question cannot be left open. It appears to us, therefore, necessary, at the earliest possible moment, to send a deputation including prominent Indians, both from Kenya and India to meet the Colonial Secretary before he takes any final action.

"Such steps seem to us to be the only way in which the full weight of Indian opinion can be given on the spot at the present moment in London itself."—(*A.P.*)

That is a correct view.

More Burma Rebellion Prisoners Released

Rangoon, May 24.

A further batch of 25 Rebellion prisoners, who were recently transferred from Thayetmyo and Myingyan Jails to the Rangoon Central Jail, has been released.

Five more prisoners have been granted conditional release, and their release will be effected as soon as the necessary documents have been prepared and executed.

Prior to their release the prisoners presented an address to the Hon'ble U. Paw Tun, who accompanied by U. Chit Maung, Judicial Secretary, visited the jail, and assured him that they would in future lead a peaceful life.

U. Naginda, who was confined in the Alipore Central Jail, arrived yesterday by the s.s. *Karagola* under escort. He was taken to the Rangoon Central Jail, where he was released.

This brings the total number of Rebellion and political prisoners, who have been released, to 62; while those, who have been granted conditional release number 14.—(*A.P.*)

Zanzibar Indian Association Congratulated On End of Clove Deadlock

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber have today sent the following cable to the Indian National Association, Zanzibar:

"Committee Indian Merchants' Chamber congratulate your Association on successful termination of clove deadlock. Your sacrifices for the cause you championed have evoked unstinted admiration. The fight put up by our countrymen in Zanzibar to assert and preserve Indian rights abroad will go down to history and the success is also success for the cause of Indians overseas."—(*A.P.*)

In Zanzibar the credit for this victory belongs to our Indian countrymen there, who have never wavered in the fight. In India in awarding praise one must think of the Indian National Congress above all and its leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel. Mr. C. F. Andrews is no less entitled to praise. The Clove Boycott Committee, the volunteers who literally bore the brunt of the boycott struggle, the Imperial Citizenship Association, the members of the Central Legislature who raised the question there repeatedly, and the daily and other newspapers who kept up public interest in the boycott have all done their duty in the matter in a laudable manner.

The Congress and the States' People's Fight for Freedom

In the latest resolution on the subject passed by the Congress Working Committee it has refused permission to the political organizations in the Indian States to use the word "Congress" before their names. This has caused dissatisfaction among the people of the States. But the Working Committee has explained that this had to be done to give effect to the letter and the spirit of the resolution passed at the Haripura session of the Congress which laid down that the internal struggle of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. In his presidential address at the recent session of the Deccan States' People's Conference Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has explained why Congress passed such a resolution.

> "The claim of Congress is to secure complete independence for India. Therefore the attention of Congress is directed towards that struggle alone. It could not possibly direct its attention and weaken itself by participating in Indian States' affairs."

This may appear to be a rather unsympathetic attitude. But it is useless to profess sympathy if it cannot be implemented. Congress must look to its resources first. Is it powerful enough to engage in a sort of triangular or perhaps a pentangular fight? Can it simultaneously fight British Imperialism and its servant the Government of India, their allies the British men of business, the rulers of the Indian States, the capitalists and the landholders of India? We ourselves on some occasions had suggested that Congress should not issue a challenge to so many parties at the same time.

It is not that Congress has not been fighting the States' subjects' battle at all. In fighting British Imperialism Congress is fighting their battle, too, indirectly. Those among the rulers of the States who are tyrants count upon the sovereign power to come to their rescue should their subjects show signs of rebellion or actually rebel. If British imperialism in India be weakened and if it ultimately gives up its grip on India, the tyrants among the Indian rulers must come to terms with their subjects and Congress, for their own resources are not sufficient to enable them to be defiant. And Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, the Congress president, has told these rulers that Congress will not tolerate autocracy. Moreover, all the ruling princes are not senseless and despotic. Some of them have sense enough to be able to read the signs of the times and shape their conduct accordingly. The influence of Congress is being exercised and felt in this way.

The people of the States may naturally call to mind the words of the Irish poet addressed to his compatriots:

> "Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
> Themselves must strike the blow who would be free?"

Shri Jinnah-Sri Bose Talks

According to the Associated Press of India, the following is an account of the Shri Jinnah-Sri Bose conversations which was available in Allahabad:

> The negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Bose proceeded rather slowly in the early stages. It was suggested to Mr. Bose by prominent Congress leaders that he should request Mr. Jinnah to reduce in writing the points, whereon he wanted to have a settlement. Mr. Jinnah expressed unwillingness to give anything in writing but indicated that before taking up other questions dealing with safeguards, which Mr. Jinnah considered of secondary importance, it was essential they should agree on the preamble to be attached to any agreement arrived at between the Congress and the League. The preamble was to state clearly that the Congress on behalf of the Hindus enters into an agreement with the League representing Mussalmans the terms of which were to be specified.
>
> Mr. Jinnah in the course of talks is reported to have also mentioned that all Ministries should be formed afresh and that Muslim Ministers in the newly formed Cabinet should be nominees of the League.
>
> Mr. Bose consulted Congress leaders present in Bombay and it looked as if negotiations should terminate at that stage. After prolonged discussions and consultations Congress leaders however decided to state clearly the Congress position in a memorandum, which was ultimately handed over to Mr. Jinnah.
>
> The memorandum stated inter alia, that Congress as a national institution recognised the need for satisfying the communities living in India that their rights were safe in its hands. In pursuance of this principle the Congress was willing and ready to discuss and come

to an agreement with the league, but it was impossible for the Congress to reduce itself to the level of a communal organisation. As regards the demand that Muslim Ministers should only come from the League the Congress took the stand that it was prepared to extend the present Congress ministries with a view to including representatives from the Muslim League but the demand that the present ministries should be dismissed and new ones formed was not acceptable. The Congress did not ask for any representation in the Punjab and Bengal Ministries, but only stated what it was prepared to do in Congress Provinces. Mr. Jinnah then wanted time to consult the League Council before he proceeded any further.

It appears that during Mr. Gandhi's last interview with Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jinnah expressed a desire that until the negotiations concluded the Congress flag should not be made to fly on public buildings. There was also some talk regarding the singing of "Bande Mataram."—(*A.P.*)

Assuming that the above is a faithful summary of the conversations between the two leaders, one is at once struck with Shri Jinnah's characteristic unwillingness to give anything in writing. How can he possibly do so and lose the advantage of adding fresh "points" to his fourteen or twenty-one already before the public?

Shri Jinnah wants Congress to settle terms with him on behalf of the Hindus recognizing him as the representative of the Mussalmans! So Congress must admit that it is a mere Hindu communal organization and that the Moslem League alone represents the Moslem community. Two patent falsehoods are to be embodied in the preamble before Shri Jinnah can proceed further.

At his bidding all Congress ministries are to be re-formed and the Muslim members thereof must be nominees of the Moslem League. A rather tall order.

As regards the alleged Congress reply, we do not find it possible to praise the willingness of the Congress to enlarge the present Congress ministries in order to take in Mussalman members nominated by the Moslem League, that is, by Shri Jinnah.

In the first place, who will pay these additional members? Not certainly the Congress leaders. The present number of ministers is in all provinces quite sufficient for the conduct of provincial state affairs—in some there is a superfluity of ministers, and the coffers of no provincial government are full to overflowing. Has Congress any moral right to waste the taxpayers' money even to a small extent to satisfy Shri Jinnah?

In the second place, it being well known that the Moslem League is not the sole representative of the Moslem community, supposing Congress agreed to take in some additional Muslim members as ministers, where is the guarantee that some other Moslem organization, new or old, will not demand a similar concession on its behalf? Oliver Twist has had many re-incarnations and may have yet more.

As regards the Congress flag, it was extremely merciful of Shri Jinnah that he demanded only a temporary and provisional, not a permanent, discontinuance of its flying on public buildings and that he did not demand the flying of the Moslem League flag in lieu of or in addition to it.

Regarding the singing of "Bande Mataram" we have nothing to add to what we have already written.

The demand that in the preamble it should be stated that Congress was entering into the agreement on behalf of the Hindu community as its representative was perhaps also meant to undermine the position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the principal organization of the Hindu community.

It need not be made plain that Shri Jinnah does not want one united Indian nation or people, but two main separate "nations."

It may be observed here incidentally that it may be that Congress has not hitherto consulted the Hindu Mahasabha with regard to any Hindu-Moslem unity agreement, not because it is hostile towards it or considers it of no account, but only to avoid complicating matters further. A *Moslem* League is trouble enough, why invite fresh trouble by consulting Hindus, Christians, Sikhs, etc., also? That may be the feeling of Congress leaders.

Congress Working Committee and the Frontier "Teacher-Abductor"

The public cannot have forgotten the case of the Frontier teacher Abdullah Shah who was concerned in the abduction of the girl Ram Kuar and who has been re-instated by the Frontier ministry in his post of teacher. The Congress Working Committee had this case under its consideration at its last meeting in Bombay. It has simply asked the Frontier Premier to hold a judicial inquiry into the case, as if the conviction of the man after open trial by a competent court and the upholding of the conviction by the Appellate Court were not sufficient!

In the past history of many countries, peace was obtained by a King giving away a sister or a daughter *in marriage* to a victorious monarch. But, however humiliating to the defeated such peace might be, the damsel was given away in marriage, not dishonoured in any way. It is to be hoped that to wink at dis-

76396

honour done to womanhood is not the latest idea of having peace between two parties.

The Tribune of Lahore, which is nearer the Frontier than most of us and which is not hostile to the Congress, observes:

> The decisions of the Congress Working Committee with regard to the action of the Frontier Government in re-instating a teacher who had been convicted of an offence involving grave moral turpitude will not, we are constrained to say, give satisfaction to the public. The facts of the case have already been set forth in these columns. In essence and in substance, though not in form, it is on all fours with the C. P. case; and it might have been expected that having definitely decided that the C. P. minister responsible for the premature release of the C. P. prisoner should go, the Working Committee would at least have expressed its frank and unequivocal disapproval of the action of the Frontier Government in this case. This is exactly what it does not appear to have done. All that it did was to direct the Premier to hold a judicial inquiry through the machinery of the Government to see whether the re-instatement of the teacher was legally justified. In the Frontier case, as in the C. P. case, the issue that is predominantly involved is not a legal but a moral issue, and no judicial inquiry is needed to enable the Government to come to the right decision on that issue. A person convicted of the offence of which the individual concerned in this case was convicted is the unfittest person in the world to be entrusted with the duty and responsibility of a teacher.

Government of India Act to be Amended ?

For some time past there have been rumours that, in order to induce Congress to work the federal part of the British-made constitution of India in the same way as the provincial part is being worked by the Congress ministries, thē British Government may amend the Government of India Act in some particulars. This rumour may not be entirely unfounded. British imperialists must have been by now duly impressed with the undoubted strength of Congress and its hold on the people of India. What Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel has told the British public and their own personal friends in private conversation must have strengthened this impression. It may be that, when Lord Linlithgow goes home on leave, he, and the provincial governors who have already reached England or will go there ere long, will be consulted as to the probable amendments required. Perhaps it is one of the objects, if not the main object of their visit.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the Congress leader, may have gone to Britain as India's unofficial ambassador to prepare the ground. What he has been saying in public has been cabled to India. But it is certain that this does not constitute the whole of the activities of this able diplomat. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is also going to England. But he goes with other objects. And he is not the man for half-way houses and compromises.

There have been rumours, too, of another, so-called, Round Table Conference in London; and it is said Mahatma Gandhi has been invited to take part in it.

It is probable that there is a modicum of truth in these rumours. So, it would not be untimely to discuss what amendments would be required to make the British-made constitution acceptable to Indian nationalists. Indian publicists have repeatedly enumerated them. Some are of a radical character, some not so. We ourselves have written on the subject on many occasions. Even our last May number contained a note on How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable. Hence, so far as this journal is concerned, repetition of the points is unnecessary.

But two amendments we must insist upon. All the sections of the Act based upon the Communal Decision must be deleted or radically changed. Congress, our greatest national organization, has called it anti-national and anti-democratic. If an opportunity comes for pressing amendments upon the British Government, Congress should demand that it be set aside.

As it has done the greatest injustice and the greatest wrong to the Hindu community, all representative Hindu bodies, particularly the Hindu Mahasabha, ought to actively agitate against it in India and send a strong deputation to England to agitate there and place the Hindu case against it before the British public, Parliament and Cabinet.

The Indian National Liberal Federation is also a national organization and has repeatedly protested against the Communal Decision in its resolutions. It should renew its activity in this respect now.

The other important amendment required in order to make the Act acceptable is as regards the chapter on "Discrimination". India should have as much power of discrimination to safeguard her own interests as the British Dominions and the independent countries of America, Europe and Asia have. Nothing less can satisfy Indians. We cannot allow our country to be sucked dry by foreigners. Political Swaraj and economic Swaraj are both vitally important and necessary.

And, of course, dyarchy at the centre must go, all subjects being placed under the charge of responsible ministers.

Object of Mr. Nehru's European Tour

Allahabad, May 26 (Delayed).

"I am not going to Europe for a pleasure trip, though I love pleasure trips. I am not going there to recoup my health, because my health is quite good even now. As for meeting my daughter she could have come to India if it were only to see her. Therefore my chief object in visiting Europe at this juncture is to study the European situation as the Indian problem is not separated from the world problem and we have to keep in touch with the world problem to fulfil our mission which we have taken in hand for emancipation of India and whatever we can contribute from our side for a solution of the ills present in various struggles going on in many parts of the world."

Thus said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a party given in his honour this evening by the Allahabad City Congress Committee on the eve of his departure to Europe.

Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon who spoke on behalf of the City Congress Committee said that Pandit Nehru's visit just now to Europe was most opportune on account of the various world problems. He had no doubt that Pandit Jawaharlal who by his very name shined with his sincerity and devotion to country's cause, would come out successful in his mission of study and travel which would benefit India by the information and knowledge of his. His visit, Mr. Tandon observed, would also raise the status of India in the estimation of the world which was very necessary for the solution of world problems to which India could no more remain as a passive spectator. He wished safe return to Panditji and a successful journey.—(*U. P.*)

No More Provinces to be Constituted ?

Recently the Under-Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that the British Government had no intention to constitute more provinces. In spite of that pronouncement those who want a separate Karnataka province and a separate Andhra province have been carrying on their agitation in favour of the constitution of such separate provinces. There is no finality in politics, no settled fact.

What Bengalis want is not a new province. They want that all the Bengali-speaking areas adjacent to the province of Bengal, which were at sometime or other parts of their province and are integral parts of the home of the Bengali people, should be given back to the province of Bengal. They now form parts of the provinces of Assam and Bihar. Biharis got a province of theirs in 1912. No Bihari-speaking area lies outside Bihar. Oriyas have got a province of their own by the new Government of India Act, and they are agitating for the inclusion in their province of whatever Oriya-speaking tracts still lie outside it. There is no just reason then why the desire of the Bengalis should not be fulfilled. Congress has passed a resolution in favour of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar province being transferred to Bengal. And, as we have said, the pronouncement of the Under-Secretary of State for India does not go against the fulfilment of the desire of the people of Bengal.

Bengalis all over India should be up and doing.

Linguistic Provinces

What we have written in the foregoing note does not mean that we are not conscious of one drawback of dividing India into many provinces on a linguistic basis. The advantages do not require recounting in detail. The advancement of education is facilitated, cultural progress is made easier, administrative work is smoothened, —and so on. Let us dwell a little on the other side of the medal.

Many languages are spoken in India. Even the principal ones number more than a dozen. And they have growing literatures of their own, embodying their culture. When India comes to have a national language—whatever it be, even then these languages will continue to be used and these literatures go on developing.

The people of India have thus got to learn to live amicably like one people, though consisting of separate groups speaking different languages. If there be multilingual provinces, then we get the opportunity there of serving apprenticeship in the art of fraternizing with persons speaking languages different from our mother-tongue. But in mono-lingual provinces there is much less of this opportunity and much greater linguistic isolation and separation.

We should be distinctly in favour of multilingual provinces if the biggest linguistic group in such provinces or the group whose name the province bears, did not seek to discriminate against other groups as regards educational facilities, employment in the public services and industrial and commercial openings. Unfortunately, while in the bigger provinces, this discriminatory spirit is not in evidence, in some of the smaller ones it is very much so.

If the re-distribution of areas on linguistic lines eased the situation a little in this respect, then that would be an additional argument in favour of linguistic provinces.

Prosperity of Bengal Landholders

The district of Bakarganj, with its headquarters in Barisal, is said to be the granary of Bengal. Thence comes the following bit of news, indicating the prosperity of the landholders of the district :

> Barisal, May 22.
>
> It is reported that as many as 303 permanently settled estates and 516 Khas-mahal tenures could not pay off the Government revenue due for the last March "Kisti" and have been classified as fit to be advertised for sale by auc-

tion. The number is reported to be the highest and the amount of default the heaviest in this district in recent years.—(*U. P.*)

Czechoslovakia

The tact and firmness of the leading Czech statesmen of Czechoslovakia, and the fact of Britain, France and Russia having given indications that they would not remain unconcerned lookers-on if Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, appear for the present to have prevented a German-Czech war. But the danger is not quite over yet.

River Physics

Professor M. N. Saha has written in this journal more than once on the subject of river training and generally on river physics. For the industrialization of India and for facilitating inland water traffic the importance of the study of river physics and of research relating to it, cannot be exaggerated. The subject has been recently drawing public attention. This has led us to publish in this issue a synopsis of a symposium on river physics specially prepared for the occasion by Dr. Saha himself. We have no doubt it will be found instructive and interesting.

"Herr Funk Carries Out Predictions by Dr. Das"

Under the above caption Mr. Lemuel F. Parton, a well-known American journalist, has contributed a note to the *New York Sun* of the 8th March last, in which he writes, in part:

> About eight months ago this writer quoted an interesting prophecy about Europe, made by his friend, Dr. Tarak Nath Das, lecturer at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Das said that within a year or less England would lure Italy away from its German alliance by a shrewd deal in credit and raw materials. There have been some interesting developments in that line, and another prophecy of Dr. Das is pertinent today. He said that, after Mussolini began to bargain, Germany would begin to make overtures to the democratic Powers, which happens to have everything that the absolutist Powers need.
>
> So here today is Walther Funk, Germany's new Minister of Economics, bidding for United States trade, suggesting a world plan for international currency stabilization, and announcing that "we will leave nothing undone to promote trade relations with foreign countries." Herr Funk was appointed to his present post in January 15, and at that time there were at least two European correspondents who saw in the reorganization of the ministry a move by Germany to bargain rather than shoot its way out.

Oxford Municipality Fights Lord Meston

The Calcutta Corporation and consumers of electricity in Calcutta know to their cost how high the rates charged by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation were in former years and are even at present. Lord Meston is the president of this corporation. He occupies a similar position in the Oxford Electric Company. It is interesting to note that, as an article published in *Science and Culture* for May last shows, Oxford Municipality has been fighting practically the same Lord Meston about its supply of electric power. The article shows that as the result of the fight, the Oxford Municipality was able to reduce the electric charges to one-third of the rates charged by Lord Meston's concern. The article also shows how capitalistic intrigues have been hindering the development of even such places as Oxford in free, independent and democratic Britain.

How much more strenuous will the fight against foreign capitalists in India have to be if this country is to make sufficient progress in industries and generally in economic conditions.

Capital Versus Labour in Cawnpore

The struggle between capital and labour in Cawnpore continues. How we wish it could be brought to an early close peacefully with justice to both parties, instead of being fought out to the bitter end!

A Lesson from Australian Defence Plans

[Special Correspondent to *New York Times.*]

Sydney, Australia.

> Between $70,000,000 and $75,000,000 will be spent on defence by Australia this year. . . . .
>
> All spheres of defence will be covered by the new plan now being prepared by the Government's Advisers, but the chief points are bettering naval and aircraft protection and strengthening the country's position as a manufacturer of munitions.
>
> The steadily expanding range of military aircraft has meant increasing concern in Australia. Each advance in design of military planes brings Japan's bombers, hopping off from the near-by Caroline or Marshall Islands, within easier range of one of the longest and most unprotected coasts in the world. To give greater security the Government means to post anti-aircraft batteries at strategic points along the coast, and it is now considering providing dwellers in the largest cities with gas masks.
>
> In addition, the Australian Navy—never built up to pre-war standards, when it had a battle cruiser, four light cruisers and six destroyers—is to be reinforced. . . .
>
> First objective of the expanded defence plans is the security of main ports against sea and air raiders. . . .
>
> MAKING OF MUNITIONS
>
> When the Australian Defence Council, composed of naval, military and air chiefs, under the chairmanship of the Federal Minister of Defence, met in mid-March it considered a scheme to expand munitions production in this country. . . . .

Last year Australia spent $57,500,000 on defence; two years ago the total was $40.000,000. With the vote of $70,000,000 this country falls into line with the recent move of Prime Minister Chamberlain to make over Britain's plan of rearmament.

Australia's population is less than 1/30 of that of India. But the Australian people are free and, therefore, when they spend money for national defence, they train Australians to take charge of all branches of national defence including air forces and navy. India has virtually no navy although we are told that India might be a prey to Japanese imperialism. We are also told if the British forces and military control be removed from India, some time, then the country may be a victim of attack by land by Russia or some other nation. What can Indian statesmen do to increase Indian national efficiency in the field of national defence? We can give no definite answer.

Externment of Some Released Prisoners

Two Kakori prisoners, whose home is in Bengal, were recently released from prisons outside Bengal. They came back to Bengal, but have been externed from the province by the Government of Bengal.

They had not been doing or planning to do anything unlawful here. They were externed evidently because of their past record. But for that they had already undergone punishment. Why then this fresh punishment, and that without any fresh trial?

In some provinces some men in power, or in possession of influence, appear to have made up their mind that even Bengalis with a clean record and with satisfactory educational qualifications must not be allowed to make a living there. Such being the case, Bengalis whose past record is not satisfactory must find the problem of keeping body and soul together very difficult in such provinces. Hence, it would be easy to suspect them of "bad livelihood" or no ostensible means of living at all, and extern them on that ground alone. Should that happen and they be externed from outside Bengal also, where are they to go? Would it not be more humane to keep them in prison for life?

We have said, it would be very difficult for such men to make a living outside Bengal. That was not to suggest that it was easy for educated Bengalis to make a living in Bengal. It is not. What we meant was, if a man had to die, it might be some consolation for him to die in the midst of his near and dear ones.

Sino-Janapese War

The people of China have been putting up a very brave fight and are on the whole regaining lost ground. That is happy news.

The Japanese, however, have not thrown up the sponge. They are about to use their powerful navy to the full against South China. On the sea China is no match for Japan. But after landing anywhere the Japanese are sure in the long run to meet with stubborn resistance.

The reshuffling of the Japanese Cabinet shows that Japan's plans have not been on the whole successful. The reshuffling has been obviously made for a more successful campaign. But it is a question how long Japan's financial resources will last.

Palestine

Palestine is far from being quiet. The British Government evidently intend to cope with the unrest and disturbances there by repression, some of the methods followed being those made use of in Bengal.

Spain

That the rebels in Spain have succeeded to the extent they have and have been going on with their campaigns are due in great part to the help they have been receiving from Italy and Germany in men and materials. But that the republican government of Spain have been fighting against such tremendous odds is due entirely to the courage, patriotism and tenacity of purpose of the loyal Spanish population.

Britain's War Preparations

London, May 27.

The old reluctance to join the army has disappeared and the best men in the kingdom are joining. At some depots full records of enlistments are being registered weekly, declared Mr. Hore-Belisha, in a speech at Devonport.

He mentioned that the country was now spending a million sterling a day on rearmament.

In anti-aircraft there are 40,000 men compared with 5,800 in 1936.

Although the rush of recruits was unprecedented in the last two months, all men had been provided with accommodation, equipment and training. The weekly intake in the regular army was twice the last year's figure. —(*Reuter*).

Some Bengal Cabinet Decisions

Darjeeling, May 28.

It is understood that the Cabinet has sanctioned a sum of two and half lakhs of rupees for the Youth Welfare Scheme. This scheme contemplates the appointment of 25 physical instructors, who will go round the schools and besides looking after the physical well-being of the students will organise inter-school sports and games.

The Cabinet, it is learnt, has sanctioned seven and a half lakhs of rupees for the establishment of a first class Commercial College in Bengal on the lines of the Sydenham College of Bombay. There is a suggestion to name the college after an eminent industrialist of the province.

The Cabinet is understood to have decided to observe one week a year as the "Water Hyacinth Week" when organized efforts will be made all over the province to destroy the pest.—(*United Press*).

The special problems of the districts of Bankura and Birbhum have not been receiving any attention of the Cabinet, so far as our knowledge goes.

Honouring the Peaceful Brave

World Events for May 1st writes:

May 30th is Memorial Day. The Peace Heroes Memorial Society, continuing its sixteen year effort to demilitarize this holiday, will hold its annual service of remembrance for heroes and heroines of peace. After a program of hymns, readings and an address, the group will place flowers on the grave of a policeman, a fireman, a rail-roader, a factory worker, a nurse, and a scientist who lost their lives in the performance of their duties, and of a woman who died in childbirth. Headquarters of this group are in Cincinnati, but these exercises are being held in many parts of the country.

Persons interested may obtain a copy of the publication, "Service of Remembrance for Heroes and Heroines of Peace" by writing to the Secretary of the Peace Heroes Memorial Society, Abraham Cronbach, 842 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

It is seldom, if ever, that mothers dying in childbirth are honoured as heroines—not in any case in India, where their number is enormous.

Lord Zetland's Word of Caution Anent Federation

London, May 28.

An important statement respecting Federation was made by Lord Zetland at the Bombay dinner.

After paying tribute to the services rendered to Bombay by Lord and Lady Brabourne, Sir Roger and Lady Lumley and congratulating Lord Brabourne on his appointment as Acting Viceroy during Lord Linlithgow's leave, Lord Zetland said,

"Let me say a word as to the future. One of the greatest achievements of Britain in India has been the gift of unity of her peoples. In spite of the immense differences in race, religion, language and culture, her people are stirred today as never before by the consciousness of nationhood and our task is to prepare in the constitutional sphere a dwelling place for this new consciousness.

"There are, I know, criticisms of the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act on the part of both the Princes and those who speak for British India. Yet I should hope that room may be found within the framework of the Act to accommodate the reasonable requirements of both the provinces and States.

"I can understand, for example, the views of those who will represent the provinces in the Federation as a result of the election, that some elements of popular choice as distinct from pure nomination should enter into the selection of those who represent the Princes. Well, that is for the Princes themselves to decide. There is nothing in the act to prevent it; nor will the Paramount Power be found standing in the way of any Prince who seeks to temper the rigid autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system, as indeed some at least of the Princes are tending more and more to do today.

"But here let me put in a word of caution. The fact that the Viceroy is shortly coming home on leave has given rise to speculation. I have seen it suggested that he is coming home to discuss with His Majesty's Government changes in the Federal structure embodied in the Act, and I should fear that silence on my part in the face of such suggestions might be assumed to indicate my concurrence with them.

"Let me say at once, then, that so far as I am aware there is no foundation for any such suggestion. The Federal provisions of the Act were the outcome of prolonged and exhaustive examination and discussion over a term of years, and in my view there is not the least likelihood of His Majesty's Government or of Parliament being willing to consider before even Federation has come into operation any alteration in its structure.

"Both the Viceroy and I are ready at all times to listen to comments on Federal provisions of the Act, whether by the Princes or by those who speak for British India, but within the framework prescribed by Parliament there is in my view ample scope for providing people of India with a degree of political cohesion which they have never before possessed in all the agelong epochs of their history.

"Let it not be said of India when this generation stands at the bar of history that they discarded lightly an occasion which if it be not now grasped may never recur."—(*Reuter*).

The speech is characteristic of the superior British imperialist. He will humiliate himself *vis-a-vis* strong independent nations and their dictators, but his pose is that of adamantine firmness in the presence of a people subject to them.

The oft-repeated talk of the generous gift of unity which Britain has made to India has become so nauseating that we had better say nothing more about it.

Lord Zetland's speech shows that the British Government has felt the necessity of some changes. But he has not been able to say what he has said, in a gracious manner He reminds Indians as the arbiter of their destiny not to ask for the moon, not to expect too much. They may have some crumbs, if they are sufficiently humble in their supplications and sufficiently moderate in their prayers. All the changes must be within the framework of the constitution, which is sacrosanct.

John Bull is in a particularly generous mood: he will not interfere if any ruling prince "seeks to temper the autocracy of bygone days with a more liberal system" by introducing some elements of popular choice as distinct from pure nomination.

Finally, there is the threat that, if Indians of the present generation do not eagerly clutch at the British-made scheme of federation, they may never have such a good thing again. But this does not seem to have stampeded any Indian political party into a mood of eager acceptance of the proffered gift.

Transactions of the Bose Research Institute

The publication of this, the eleventh (1935-36) volume of the Transactions of the Bose Research Institute of Calcutta, by Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., just received, has a melancholy interest. This is the last volume of which the great scientist passed the proofs. He did so on the 20th November, 1937, and breathed his last three days later. The date of publication of the volume is May 9, 1938.

The frontispiece bears a fine portrait of Sir J. C. Bose sitting in front of one of his marvellous instruments.

The volume has an eight page introductory chapter by Sir J. C. Bose.

There are twelve papers in this volume on biological, biochemical, genetic, anthropological, and physical subjects, by S. C. Das, B. K. Palit, A. Guha Thakurtha, B. K. Dutt, H. N. Banerjee, N. C. Nag, A. K. Pain, H. K. Nandi, Sasanka Sekher Sarkar, Arun Kumar Dutta, Radhesh Chandra Ghosh, and R. C. Majumdar.

The illustrations, which are many, are excellent.

What Hindu Mahasabha Stands For

From a speech delivered last month at Ajmer by Mr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, president of the Hindu Mahasabha, one can get some idea of what the Hindu Mahasabha stands for. A summary is reproduced below.

The president of the Hindu Mahasabha began by referring to the questions frequently put to him by persons who doubted whether the Hindu Mahasabha was a national body.

> He explained that the aim of the Hindu Mahasabha was practically the same as that of the Indian National Congress, namely, the achievement of absolute political independence. But the Swaraj envisaged by the Hindu Mahasabha was different from that contemplated by the Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha wanted that, in a free and independent India, every community should have equal rights and privileges. It did not demand more rights for the Hindus because they formed the majority and it was prepared to give equal rights to the Muslims including the protection of their language and culture. If the Congress had also stood for this principle, he would have been the first to join the Congress.

Clarifying the difference of outlook between the Mahasabha and the Congress, Mr. Savarkar said that

> while the latter tried to differentiate between th communities, Hindu and Muslim, the ideal of the was to recognize only a common citizenship in merit alone counted. To prefer a Muslim matricu a Hindu graduate was not nationalism but commun He claimed that, in this respect, the Hindu Maha was more national than the Indian National Congress.

Continuing Mr. Savarkar paid a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, M Subhas Chandra Bose and other Congress le ers for creating a spirit of awakening in th country.

> But he did not see eye to eye with them in th attitude towards the Muslims which attitude characterized as 'anti-national'. He said that Mr. J wanted to keep the Muslims as a separate e and wanted the Congress to recognize the exis of two nations in India. The Hindu Maha did not want the Indian nation to be so di up, but the Congress leaders were forcing the H to have their separate entity. If the Congress did consider it communal to negotiate with the Muslim L gue, why should it neglect the Hindu Mahasabha? T Congres, asserted Mr. Savarkar, had gained strength a attained its present position by the sacrifices made b Hindus. He further averred that the sacrifices, if a made by the Muslim community in the cause of the f dom of the Motherland were negligible, while every of the soil of India was covered with the blood of Hindus who had laid down their lives in the fight the freedom of India. The Hindus loved the Cong but not so the Muslims. As a matter of fact, by g out of its way to meet the Muslim League, the Cong had itself proved that it was predominantly a H organization.

Mr. Savarkar went on to point out ve forcefully that, if the Hindus were in a majori ty in India, it was not a gift of the Muslim and the Hindus were not obliged to them this circumstance.

> On the contrary, the Hindus had every reason t feel proud of themselves and take credit for the that they had been able to maintain their majority spite of every effort of Muslim Kings to convert into a minority. The Hindus had strength enough resist any onslaughts. They were the primary race Hindusthan and Hindu culture had been recognized one of the highest among mankind. To the Hi India was not simply their Motherland but their Land, the land of their forefathers, the land of Ganges and the Jumna. The Muslims on the cont did not even consider India as their Mother and were constantly dreaming of their Pakistan.

In this connection, Mr. Savarkar referr to an utterance of Maulana Shaukat Ali to th effect that, if India did not become free, th Muslim would not lose anything because the had other Muslim countries to which they wo migrate, but the Hindus had no other land go to in such a case.

> Mr. Savarkar, by way of reply to Maulana Sh Ali, requested him to clear out of India bag and ba without the least possible delay and leave the Hi to their fate. Because the Hindus had no other try where they could go, it was all the more ne

116858

r them to fight for the freedom of India and they ld never think of leaving their Motherland but would ntinue to fight for its independence until their object s achieved.

Mr. Jinnah was claiming that the Congress ld not win Swaraj without the help of the slims but Mr. Savarkar was not prepared accept this claim.

The Hindus, he said, would continue to fight for r country in spite of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Fazlul who were emitting fire and brimstone against the dus. In the present age of democracy, there was ys the rule of the majority; the Hindus were in a ority in India and they had, therefore, every right rule their country. The Hindu Mahasabha wanted ing more for the Hindus than what was their right. is, said Mr. Savarkar, was not communalism. If this communalism, was not, he asked, nationalism also munalism in relation to humanity. Why should not nkind be considered as one and the world as a whole? the fact was that there was a Hindu nation and a du culture and if any community fought for its itimate rights, it could not be accused of communalism. Muslim League was communal because it demanded re than what was right for the Muslims.

In conclusion, Mr. Savarkar said that the Hindus would never leave the Congress because hey had worked and sacrificed the most for he Congress.

The Hindu Mahasabha was not against the Congress nd was prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with it all national matters. The Indian National Congress as a great organization but the Indian nation was upreme. The Indian National Congress was only a eans to an end, the Indian nation. The Hindu Maha-bha would continue to exist even after India was free cause it would be necessary even then to safeguard ndu interests and to prevent encroachments upon Hindu hts. He exhorted the Hindus not to feel ashamed in lling themselves Hindus and to prepare themselves for rifices in the cause of the Hindu nation.

Mr. Savarkar said that, on his own part, he was ways prepared to go ahead of any person who called mself a nationalist to sacrifice his all for the Mother-nd.

Hindu Mahasabha on Unity Talks

The Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee s passed a long resolution on the Bose-Jinnah ity talks of which the concluding paragraphs e quoted below:—

"The Working Committee reiterates as emphatically possible its protest against any attempt on the part of Indian National Congress to enter into any agreement atsoever with the Muslims in the name of Hindudom a whole. It will be pure misrepresentation to call it a ndu-Muslim agreement and cannot be binding on ndudom as a whole unless and until the Hindu Maha-ha which alone represents the Hindu community is nsulted on the issues raised and sanctions such agree-nt under its own hand and seal.

"The Hindu Mahasabha deplores the fact that evasions the Congress in not maintaining a purely nationalist itude and pondering to Muslim communalism indefi-ly postpones the building up of a strong united nation and perpetuate the stronghold of British Imperialism on the people of India.

"The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, sternly enjoins upon the Congress to keep apart from any attempt to settle the communal question as by its anti-Hindu and notoriously pro-Muslim attitude it has ceased to be qualified for the task.

"Finally the Hindu Mahasabha warns the Government not to acknowledge any such Congress-League agreement as a Hindu-Muslim settlement, or to proceed to frame any constitutional changes on that basis."

Sir Manmathanath Mukherjee on the Shareef Case

The following classic pronouncement is taken from Sir Manmathanath Mukherji's report on the Shareef case:—

"Although in exercising clemency the authority concerned is moved by considerations not merely of justice but also of expediency and broadly speaking takes a much wider outlook of the entire situation than what a court of justice is permitted to do, yet if the limits within which clemency may be legitimately exercised are transgressed, the clemency is bound to have its repercussions on the moral foundations of the entire social structure, weaken the prestige of the authority concerned and bring into disrepute the administration from which the clemency proceeded. Looked at from the standpoint of the community at large, punishment of a crime affords them a sense of security which they lose if the punishment is remitted on a ground which is wholly unjustifiable. The view of the Hon'ble Minister that the offence was of a technical nature is entirely unsupportable; and the way in which the clemency in the case of Zafar Hussain was brought about, *viz.* by the remission, in the first place, of the sentence in respect of three pimps and procurers as regards whom any clemency was entirely out of the question, must be severely deprecated."

The Question of India's National Language

The *Bihar Herald* writes:

"We have noted not without some misgivings that there is a movement in Bengal for dislodging Hindi from the position of the national language of India."

After noticing and admitting the force of some of the arguments of the protagonists of Bengali, it observes:

"But what is play to the Bengalis in Bengal may well be death to the Bengalis in Bihar. It is the sacred duty of every Bengali who means to stay on in Bihar to learn to speak and write not simply Dr. Suniti Chatterji's bazaru or basic Hindi but very, very good Hindi. In no other way can they win over the hearts of their Bihari brethren and hold their own in the economic struggle . . . Even for our brethren in Bengal, the agitation against Hindi is distinctly suicidal. Its only certain result will be to oust the Bengalis more and more from positions of leadership in the Congress. When Madras and Orissa are making Hindi a compulsory second language it is idle for the Bengalis to cavil at it. They do not realise that other provinces are stealing a march over them. The majority of the population in Bengal are Muslims. Though their mother-tongue is Bengali they do not object to Hindusthani. Mr. Fazlul Huq can speak English, Bengali and Urdu with equal ease. So can many other Bengali-Muslim leaders. Why should the Bengali-Hindus who parade their intellectual superiority so much fail to do something which the backward Muslims do not find difficult? Let the Bengalis follow the glorious example of Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose who can speak Hindi as well as anyone else in India."

The Modern Review has allowed different views on the question of India's national language to be expressed in its pages in order that the public should know them. But personally the editor of this journal does not believe that the bulk of non-Bengalis would favour Bengali even if the case for it were very much stronger than it is. He has told Bengali audiences so in some of his speeches to them on some occasions, mentioning his reasons, which need not be repeated. Personally he holds that on the whole Bengali is best fitted to be the national language of India.

As for Bengalis in Bihar learning Hindi, certainly they should do it, at least in their own interest. Bengalis dwelling in different provinces of India will find it to their advantage to learn the languages of those provinces.

Whether Hindi be or be not ultimately adopted as the national language of India, for purposes of business it ought to be learnt. When we were in Germany 12 years ago we found Pandit Tarachand Roy of the Panjab teaching Hindi in Berlin University. The Germans, understanding the commercial advantage of knowing Hindi, had engaged him to teach it.

Whatever may happen in future, under present circumstances, no public man can make his influence felt in the Congress unless he can speak Hindi well.

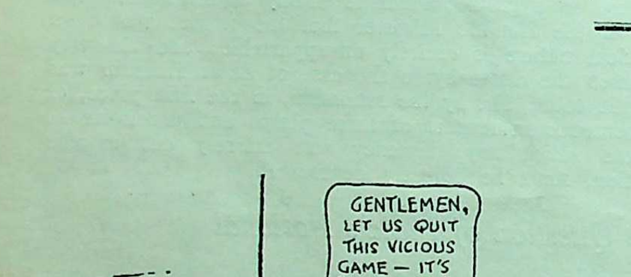
Finally, Hindi has a literature for which alone it would be worth one's while to learn it.

As regards Bengali Mussalmans, we have to state it as a mere fact that their foremost Bengali organ, *Azad*, is in favour of making Bengali the national language of India.

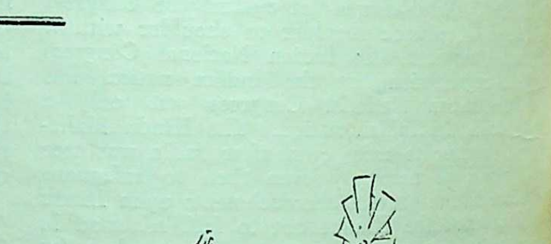
Purloining From Our Pages

A Bombay paper has lifted an article from our last April issue without acknowledgment.

We have no detective on our staff to find out all who may be similarly guilty, as it is not our intention to pillory all plagiarists. It is only by chance that plagiarism of this sort meets our eyes.


GENTLEMEN, LET US QUIT THIS VICIOUS GAME — IT'S SO WICKED AND SINFUL!
INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY FOR WORLD TERRITORIES
J.B.
WORLD WAR GAINS
BRITISH EMPIRE

The big winner wants to stop



The Union

INDIANS ABROAD

Indians, at home or abroad, generally fight a losing game. They do not fight, unless of course it is forced on them by the pitiless world. And, even when they have to, they do it rather in an amateurish manner, more to lose than to win. The Indian abroad, however, must shed off some of his virture of quietism—he has to be more alert, more active, more ready to defend himself in a world of strange faces and hostile forces. He is to make his way in an unknown part of the globe and he must hold himself there. The law of life—and the law of self-defence—he learns in that new world, which is not friendly to him. This perhaps accounts for the fact that the greatest Indian fighter of the century—truly Indian too as a man of peace—has had his first training in South Africa. Who knows how much the Indian struggle owes in this respect to the Indians abroad? Yet, victory seldom graces our long suffering, we know, whether in India or overseas. The Zanzibar Indians' success, therefore, comes to all Indians as a relief—and a message of hope.

ZANZIBAR SETTLEMENT

At last a settlement has been arrived at between the Indians and the Zanzibar authorities and in general the Government had to yield to the clove traders over 50% of their demands. The Secretary of the Indian National Association, Zanzibar, addressed the following letter to the Congress Office, Allahabad, thanking handsomely the Congress and informing it of the terms of settlement of the dispute.

"I am enclosing herewith the text of the agreement on the clove dispute reached between the Indian community and the Zanzibar Government as a result of negotiations carried on for the last three weeks. The agreement on our side is subject to confirmation of the Congress. The credit of any settlement goes to the Congress and India for the marvellous support given to the Zanzibar Indians. The Zanzibar Indian community owes a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose and Sardar Vallabhai Patel for organising and intensifying boycott. The terms of settlement have given satisfaction to all sections of the Indian community at Zanzibar. The Indian community highly appreciated your untiring efforts on our behalf in this fight."

POINTS FROM AGREEMENT

The main items of the agreement are as follows:—
"The monopoly of purchase by the Clove Growers Association is entirely given up. There is only to be a licence system for persons desiring to deal in or export cloves. The Clove Growers Association will enter on the market as any other dealer, except that it will fix the minimum price. The Association will not also sell direct to overseas markets so long as the normal flow of exports is maintained. There is only one stipulation that the exporter will buy fifty per cent of cloves, that he exports from the Association. The Government of Zanzibar will invite the Indian National Association of Zanzibar acting in consultation with the Chamber of Commerce to submit a panel of names from which British residents will select an Indian representative to serve upon the Board of Management of the Clove Growers Association and the Advisory Committee. Indian traders will also have the benefit of buildings and marketing centres near the depots of the Clove Growers Association upon the payment of a fee for their use. The Clove Growers Association will neither employ buying agents, nor grant Credit facilities for purchase of cloves, nor any increase of the number of Association's buying depots is contemplated. From the terms, it is understood that the Indian trader will thus be completely free to carry on his trade and there is no danger of his being ousted by the Association."

The decision on the Agreement is still pending. So far however the Agreement is a concession to demands of Indian traders in Zanzibar.

We congratulate the Zanzibar Indians heartily on their victory, however partial. They have proved their worth and proved as well that right, even when that is on the Indian side, may sometimes win. The Indian National Congress, which valiantly took up the case of these traders, and went so far as to organise a boycott of clove in India of course deserves our congratulation. The Secretary, Foreign Department, A. I. C. C., may legitimately write as follows:

"I welcome it as a major achievement of the Congress foreign policy," said Doctor Rammanohar Lohia commenting on the terms of the Agreement. Continuing he said, "Throughout the equatorial belt of the British empire where Indians live and work and trade, justice and freedom are being fought for and I am happy the Congress is in a position to further this fight."—(*U.P.*)

The Government of India too did not let down the Indian case, we should recognize, and stood by the Zanzibar Indians, and deserve all praise for that. More courage, more faith in their strength, and a determination not to take things lying down—this must be the message of Zanzibar to all Indians abroad.

KENYA HIGHLANDS

Zanzibar has won the fight that was forced on it, Kenya Indians are unwillingly being pushed into one just about the hour. The whole land question in Kenya is now coming ahead.

It will be discussed in the next session of the Kenya Council, arising out of the Bills which the Government published to implement the recommendations of the earlier Commission. A memorandum of the Kenya Government was laid on the table, and the Bills, it is stated, will be shortly introduced to form Land Boards for Native and European Reserves. "The White Highlands from which Indians are being debarred will have more or less the seal and approval of law." "The question will not be subject to further discussion," points out *The Kenya Daily Mail* (April 24, 1938) "as was promised to the Government of India in the White Paper of 1923." With regard to the Highlands the memorandum proposes:

> As regards the Highlands a Notice giving a detailed definition of the boundaries of the Highlands will be published shortly. This will subsequently appear in a Schedule to the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance and in due course the Highlands Order in Council will define the Highlands by reference to that Schedule except as provided in the Crown Lands Ordinance and the new Native Lands Trust Ordinance the boundaries so defined will be unalterable.
>
> This Order will provide for the establishment of a Highlands Board consisting of the following persons :—
>
> (a) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of the Colonial Secretary who shall be the President of the Board;
>
> (b) the person for the time being lawfully discharing the functions of the Commissioner for Lands and Settlement who shall be Vice-President; and
>
> (c) five persons not holding office in the public service of the Colony four of whom shall be chosen from time to time by the European Legislative Council and one of whom shall be nominated from time to time by the Governor.
>
> FUNCTIONS OF HIGHLANDS BOARD
>
> The proposed functions of the Board will be to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the land situated in the Highlands and in particular to make representations to the Governor when in the opinion of the Board, anything in relation to the administration, management, development of control of these lands is not in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands. The Board will also be required to give or withhold its consent in all matters in which its consent is required by any Ordinance for the time being in force in the Colony; and provision will be made requiring the Governor to consult the Board on all matters relating to the disposition of land within the Highlands.

No provision, it is seen, for Indian representation is made and the land interests or requirements of the Indian community in Kenya are entirely ignored. The powers of the Boards are such that "they practically become the bodies to use the veto powers of the Governor." Yet, successive ex-Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Foreigners, as pointed out by the Indian representatives in the Kenya Legislative Council, "assured the Indian community essential safeguards about their future in regard to the control and administration of the Highlands." To take only two of them, the one of the then Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, came in 1935, and the other from Mr. Ormsby-Gore only last November. Mr. Ormsby-Gore's statement in the Commons ran as follows:—

> "It is not intended that the Order-in-Council defining the boundaries of the Highlands area shall include any provision involving legal or administrative discrimination on the basis of race or nationality in connexion with the occupation of land in that area. The issue of the Order will not affect the policy which had been followed since 1906."

In vain would one point out the declaration of Mr. C. E. Mortimer, Acting Commissioner of Local Government, Lands and Settlement, as quoted by *The Statesman* correspondent (April 14, 1938), running as follows:

> "Such an unequivocal statement leaves the policy of H. M.'s Government on this point beyond all doubt, and I trust the honorable mover will accept that statement as the declaration which he desires and that it will go far to dispelling the unhappy phantoms of uncertainty and disquietude to which reference has been made."

The present authorities are determined to squeeze out the Indians and Africans. 'Racial discrimination' is a term apparently meant for application against Indians—in India or abroad.

KENYA AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It was only in last April that the Council of State in Delhi accepted Mr. Ramdas Pantulu's resolution on the Kenya position:

> This Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take prompt action not only to prevent the issue of the proposed Order-in-Council by His Majesty's Government implementing the recommendations of the Kenya Land Commission but also to remove the ever-increasing disabilities imposed on Indians in Kenya, specially in pursuance of the so-called administrative practice which prevents Indians from acquiring and occupying land in the Highlands by grant, transfer or lease and which is now sought to be legalised and so widened as to shut out Indian settlers both from the African reserves and the European Highlands and to discriminate against them in favour of even non-British European settlers.

The Govenment of India readily accepted the resolution with great pleasure.

> Sir Jagdish Prasad, replying for Government, stated that it was and had always been the policy of the Government of India to safeguard the honour and interests of Indian nationals abroad. He quite appreciated that the implications of the proposed Order-in-Council would be to give moral acquiescence to the "administrative convenience." The Government of India had already represented to the British Government the strong feeling in India on the subject.

The Government of India, therefore, must be on their trial now. It is a fight against them. Indeed, the Deputy Leader of the European elected members in the Kenya Council, Major F. N. Cavendish-Bentinck, concluded his speech on their resolution, asking to give effect to the Kenya Land Commission Report, with the following significant words:

> "As far as the White people are concerned, threats from the Government of India leave us cold. We don't want racial troubles, but if they come I know who is going to win."

The European imperialists would certainly now fail to remember the service of the Indians in defence of the East Africa during the Great War. The interest of Kenya would also hardly count, though the Indian leader Mr. Pandya may point to that,

> Umbrage was taken by the European representatives of the Legislative Council at the fact that Mr. Mortimer could not undertake to fix "the qualifying adjective 'white' or 'European' before the word 'Highlands' in the proposed Order-in-Council."

COMMUNALIST ABROAD?

It is the more tragic therefore to read, in the face of the above, the following in a leader of the *African Tribune* of Mombasa, Kenya:

> Reactions of the recent Indian elections in Mombasa are now being felt. In a recent article, the *Tribune* referred to the "gentlemen's agreement" whereby one Muslim and one Hindu were to stand for election as a guarantee of mutual good faith between the two great communities and an indication of the harmony that prevailed between them. Unfortunately, this excellent arrangement was broken by some self-interested party of the contract with the result that two Hindu not Indian representatives were returned to the Legislative Council, the election being carried on totally on communal basis.

SOUTH AFRICA

South African Union is in the throes of an election in the middle of May now.* It is not devoid of interest for the Indians. The United Party, with Generals Hertzog and Smuts as their leaders, stand for a more liberal outlook in which racialism plays no part, at least openly. The Nationalist Party of Dr. Malan of course is frankly a 'racialist' party. The two pronouncements quoted below (from the *Statesman*) will speak for themselves, and give us an idea as to how the Indians would fare under the respective Parties if they come to power.

> Generals Hertzog and Smuts of the United Party, in their manifesto to the South African people, said: "We want a victory that will make this country safe for us and our children against the disintegrating forces of mere party divisions and racial strife." General Hertzog further said in his first election speech: "Division with its anti-South African, anti-British, anti-Jewish, anti-Native policy,— a policy that is inherently anti-everything from which political capital can be struck—is a policy of despair, carried on the wings of selfishness and hate, eating out of its own entrails and promoting its own destruction."
>
> The Nationalist Party manifesto which was signed by Dr. D. F. Malan, Dr. N. J. van der Merwe and Mr. J. G. Strydom, runs, in part, as follows: "The Party would abolish the Cape Native Franchise, keep surplus natives from the towns and introduce residential segregation. A stop would be put to the wholesale buying of land for natives, and the native would be left to acquire land by his own initiative and in accordance with his real needs. Segregation of non-Europeans would be enforced in industry, with a quota system of employment where desirable. Cape coloured voters would have separate representation. The Party would prohibit mixed marriages and the employment of Europeans by non-Europeans."

THE INDIAN POSITION

The Indian position in South Africa is neither strong nor happy. The list of their grievances will be as long as the list of their shortcomings. We learn from the *Indian Opinion*, whose 'call to youth' on the grounds we heartily endorse:

> The Indian in the Natal and Transvaal Provinces has not the franchise—that bulwark of all democratic countries—and he must need therefore to be always on the alert. The Indian labours under tremendous difficulties both in Natal and Transvaal. Employment is difficult to obtain. The Natal Railway System which at one time employed several thousands of Indians and which owes a great deal to them for its development, now employs only a few hundred. The White Labour Policy is driving our men to the streets. Notwithstanding the prosperity that South Africa is now enjoying, the economic condition of our people has not changed for the better. "Equal pay for equal work—a clause which beautifies the Capetown Agreement, is not worth the paper that it is written on." The State which should set an example by paying the Indian an economic wage is, constantly in breach of the formula. The wages that are being paid to the Indian employees in the Railways and Harbours, will send any civilized country to shame. Our Teachers who are in the employ of the Natal Education Department, are paid niggardly. Our graduates at the Sastri College who put in as much work as the European staff, are paid much lower than their European confreres. These are naked truths that our youth must face. What is going to happen to the hundreds that the Sastri College turns out every year? Is the Indian youth going to sit with folded arms and Micawber-like, wait until something turns up?

AGENT-GENERAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Rama Rau, the new Agent-General in South Africa arrives in Natal about the same time. He succeeds to some great name and to a difficult task. We would wish him all success, and, happy and loving welcome from his countrymen in South Africa.

G. H.

Indians in Mauritius

THE new session of the Legislative Council has been opened today, 12th April, by the new Governor, Sir Bede Clifford. In a very long address His Excellency has referred at great length to the political and economic needs of the Indian population and he will shortly lay before the council a plan for the revision of the constitution whereby the interest of all classes of the Indian people will be fully represented. In anticipation of those reforms His Excellency has taken a very bold step in appointing two Indians as members of the Legislative Council in the place of two European members (one official and the other non-official) who are now on leave. The two members are: Messrs. Abdool Latiff Osman and Seeparsad Seerbookun, both of them being small planters. The former is the elder of Mr. A. R. M. Osman—the first Indian to be appointed as magistrate in this colony, now acting as substitute Procureur General. Referring to the new members, Sir Bede, in his speech, says,

---

*The elections have since returned the United Party with a clear majority.

> "But to remove any justification for the charge that the Government is out of touch with, and contains no representative of the working classes, I have decided to nominate two representatives of the small planters and labourers to the vacancies caused by the absence, this Session, of the Commissioner of Police and Mr. Robinson. I have deliberately selected for these posts, men who belong to the agricultural class and I have pleasure in welcoming them to the Council today. I am sure they will show that even if they are inexperienced in public and political affairs and have had lesser opportunities for education than some of us, they are nevertheless capable of acquainting us wtih the outlook of their people on all matters directly affecting their interest"

With these appointments, the number of Indian members on the Legislative Council is brought to four. The other two are the Hon'ble R. Gujadhur now on leave in India and the Hon'ble G. M. D. Atchia, Mayor of Port Louis. At no time more than two of our people sat on that Council.

The report of the Commission of Enquiry that was appointed to enquire into the unrest on sugar estates that occurred in August of last year has also been laid on the Council table. It is a voluminous publication covering more than 250 pages in which all the facts relative to the strike of Indian labourers have been fully stated.

We can only publish the summary of the principle conclusions and recommendations.

IMMEDIATE AND REAL CAUSES OF THE UNREST

(1) The immediate cause of the outbreak of the unrest was the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane carried out by the directions of the Manager of Sans-Souci Estate Co., Ltd. This cut itself would not have brought about such a big strike and such a widespread manifestation of discontent had there not been other causes at work as well. The real cause that brought about the outbreak of the strike was the cumulative effect upon the workers of Dr. Cure's labour campaign and his speeches delivered to audiences of Indian and other workers on Sugar estates on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party which he founded, assisted by his associates, Mr. Anguetil and Pandit Sahadeo. At the same time, a general rise in the standard of living of the Indian inhabitants in Mauritius has been an important element in causing discontent amongst Indians with their present lot.

INTERFERENCE AND INTIMIDATION

(2) During the course of the strike, interference with men working on their way to work definitely took place, but no evidence has been placed before the Commission to show that systematic intimidation or threats or reprisals were ever addressed to workers to induce them not to work. There is, however, evidence of what the Commissioners call "mass fright" as a result of which numbers of persons left their work, as they were afraid of outsiders coming after them, and this as a result of false rumours. There was no organised form of intimidation directed by a central or local organisation for the purpose.

ARMING OF ESTATE PERSONNEL

(3) The estate personnel on the majority of the estates were armed with a view to defence, shortly after the outbreak of the unrest. This is deprecated, although in a crisis similar to that through which the Colony has just passed all persons in any way likely to be concerned are entitled to have the maximum amount of police protection available at their disposal.

THE SHOOTINGS AT UNION-FLACQ AND L'ESCALIER

(4) The enquiries of the Commission into the shootings at Union-Flacq and L'Escalier show that:

(a) active preparations were made beforehand by the factory management of Union-Flacq Sugar Estate to arm and to open fire, in defence of life and property, should any hostile mob enter the estate;

(b) the pointing of rifles at the crowd of members of the estate personnel was a provocative act on their part, though this was not the cause of the rush on the factory and the firing which ensued;

(c) the firing took place owing to the fact that the factory staff were, at the moment firing took place, in fear of their lives owing to the hostile action of the crowd in the estate yard;

(d) that firing could have been avoided had the Police been present in suffcient numbers to deal with the stiuation and it is unfortunate that Police in sufficient numbers did not arrive until just after the firing had taken place;

(e) the Manager refused to allow one of the lorries available on the estate to be used as an ambulance to take the wounded labourers to hospital, an act greatly to be deprecated;

(f) the shooting at L'Escalier by the Police was inevitable.

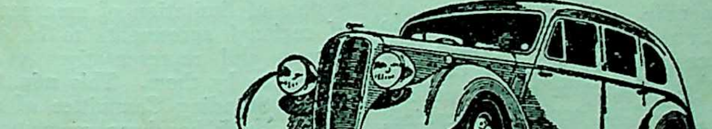
SPEECHES OF DR. CURE IN THE COUNCIL OF GOVERNMENT AND ON BEHALF OF MARITIUS LABOUR PARTY

(5) The speeches of Dr. Cure in the Council of Government, while an elected member for the Plaines Wilhems Division, and his own account of the speeches delivered by him during the course of his campaign on behalf of the Mauritius Labour Party, compared with the verbatim reports and notes taken by the Police, show that Dr. Cure has carried on a systematic political campaign on behalf of labour. Certain statements made by Dr. Cure at his meetings were of a nature likely to be exacerbate racial feeling and intensify colour

MORE THAN
1 in every 3
TEN HORSE-POWER CARS NOW SOLD
Are
HILLMAN
MINX

Official registration figures recently issued shows that of all 10 h.p. cars now sold throughout the United Kingdom, the MINX accounts for no less than 33.7% of the total — and this against some sixteen different makes.

Distributors :
WALFORD TRANSPORT LTD., 71-73, Park St., Calcutta.



prejudice and occasionally, highly inaccurate statements were made by him without any trouble being taken to verify whether they were correct.

The Societe de Bienfaisance des Travailleur de l'Ile Maurice

(6) The constitution by Dr. Cure of the Societe de Bienfaisance des Travailleurs de l'Ile Maurice was carried out principally to enable him to lodge a complaint with regard to, an alleged failure by Great Britain and Mauritius to implement international obligations with regard to labour. This object was not made known to the competent authority by Dr. Cure when he applied for the incorporation of the Societe de Bienfaisance as a friendly society under the Friendly Societies Ordinance of 1874. The resulting legal position might with advantage be investigated by the Government's legal advisers. The Mauritius Labour Party have sent a student of economics named Jomadhur to England to act there as a representative of the Labour Party, with a view to getting into touch with labour leaders in order to secure greater recognition by the British Government of the aims of the Mauritius Labour Party. The necessary expenses incurred by Mr. Jomadhur from the funds of the Societe de Bienfaisance and this appear to be *ultra vires* the powers and constitution of the Society.

Amendment of Ordinance No. 22 of 1874

(7) The Government's legal advisers should be invited to consider the possibility of altering the terms of ordinance No. 22 of 1874 under which Friendly Societies are constituted in order that power may be given to an outside authority to investigate the affairs or finances of any Friendly Society.

Political Causes of the Unrest

(8) Several witnesses, in addition to Dr. Cure, have appeared before the Commission and are unanimous in stating that some of the causes of the unrest are of a political nature and arise out of the fact that the present electoral system results principally in the return of representatives of one section of the community only. The Commission have carefully borne these representations in mind and have come to the conclusion that one of the causes of the present unrest is political discontent. The Commission abstain from making any specific recommendation on the political aspect of the unrest, as they are aware that the question of adjusting political representation in Mauritius is already engaging the attention of His Majesty's Government in England.

Grievances of Small Planters

(9) Small planters generally complain that they do not receive sufficient sugar in return for canes which they send to the mills to be crushed. As a result of their investigations, the Commission have come to the conclusion that small planters in Mauritius, generally speaking, receive more generous treatment in respect to their canes than any other Colony or Country. They recommend that a Committee of experts be set up to determine the minimum amount of sugar to be received by small planters from the factory, such amount to increase with the increase in the sucrose content of their canes, and that a Standing Committee of small planters should be set up, the Chairman of which should be the Director of Labour, to supervise the application of the decisions of the Committee of Experts.

Cut of 15% in the Uba Cane

(10) The complaint of the small planters with regard to the cut of 15 per cent in the Uba cane is justified in the sense that they received no specific notice, until they had brought their canes to the weighbridges in the ordinary course, that the cut would be carried out. On the other hand, the amount hitherto paid by estates for the Uba cane appears to have been too high. The actual amount which contributes a fair return should be determined by the Committee of Experts, the setting up of which is recommended to determine what is a fair amount to go to planters in return for their canes, based upon the sucrose content of such canes. No cut however should be made of the 1938 crop. Thereafter, a progressive reduction in the amount given in respect of the Uba cane should be made extending over a period of years, if the findings of the Committee of Experts, show that the deduction is in fact justified. At the same time, the Department of Agriculture should continue the experiments, they have been making to find a cane to replace the Uba cane.

Relations of Small Planters with Cane Dealers

(11) Another complaint of small planters is in connection with cane dealers or intermediaries. Their complaint that they are forced by the estates to deal through a certain cane dealer whether to do so or not is justified, especially when the operation of this constraint is examined in the light of the limitation of Area system. On the other hand, cane dealers, play a part in the present financial organization of the sugar industry in advancing *faisance valoir* to small planters in circumstances where neither the factory nor a Co-operative Credit Society would do so. The evil part of this system is that which deprives small planters who are under no financial obligation towards the cane dealers, of their freedom to send canes to the factory of their choice, under their own name or that of their authorised representatives and on terms arrived at in direct negotiation with the factory, either personally or through their authorised representatives. The general principle to be observed is that the small planter must not be adversely affected, nor his liberty of action taken away, by arrangements entered into by parties unknown to him.

Small Planters and Limitation of Area System

(12) A further complaint of small planters is against the limitation of Area system. In principle the Commission agree that as matters stand at the present time, it is in the interests of the sugar industry as a whole to avoid ruinous competition which would result from outbidding each other for small planters' canes. On the other hand, when agreements are entered into between estates for limitation of area, the small planters, either individually or through their representatives, should be consulted. The system of limitation of area should be operated by means of regional agreements to be entered into between mill-owners and representatives of small planters on terms agreed to by them. This might be carried out by means of the Standing Committee of small planters, the setting up of which has been recommended in direct negotiation with the representatives of estate Managers.

Co-Operative Credit Society Sugar Factory

(13) The Commission investigated the possibility of the creation of a Co-operative Credit Society Sugar Factory but upon examination of all the factors involved came to the conclusion that any increase in the number of factories would be bound to result in a diminution in the amount of small planters' canes available to supply the factories already in existence, and that being so, decided that they are unable to support any such proposal.

Small Planters and the Agricultural Bank

(14) The Commission recommend that if possible the limit of Rs. 5,000 contained in the Agricultural Bank Ordinance of 1936 should be reduced to Rs. 1,000, is

See

JAPAN

GEM OF THE EAST

Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land — and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY

JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

order to ensure that small planters may benefit by long term mortgage loans under the terms of the Ordinance.

WEIGHING OF CANES AT WEIGHBRIDGE

(15) The Commission recommend that small planters should be allowed in all cases to check the weighing of their canes upon arrival at the weighbridge, and that periodical inspections of the weighbridges should be carried out by Government Inspectors. The weights and the weighbridges should be tested at least once a year by a Government Inspector and stumped by him to the effect that both are correct. A representative of the small planters should be present at each weighbridge at the time the canes are weighed to certify that the weight of each consignment of canes delivered at the weighbridge is correct.

PAY OF ESTATE SERVANTS TO BE INCREASED

(16) The Commission recommend that the pay given to estate servants at the outbreak of the strike should be increased in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike, to the extent of 10 per cent in respect to cash wages, without prejudice to any decision arrived at by those entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing machinery.

PAY OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE INCREASED

(17) The Commissioners have come to the conclusion that all things considered the average day labourer is underpaid. They similarly recommend that in cases where no increase was made during or after the strike, wages of casual labourers should be increased by at least 10 per cent without prejudice to any decision come to by those persons who will eventually be entrusted with the duty of implementing the wage fixing michinery.

PAYMENT OF CASUAL LABOURERS TO BE MADE BY ESTATE

(18) The Commission recommend that payment of the wages of casual labourers should be made in each case by the estate direct and not through the entrepreneur. The names and full details of all casual labourers should be kept by the estate and the amount and remuneration of all tasks should be made public.

AMENDMENT OF WORKMEN COMPENSATION ORDINANCE

(19) The Commission recommend the amendment of the Workmen's Ordinance of 1931 so that the period within which notice of an accident may be given shall be extended to six months and that notification of such accident by employers should be made compulsory.

OLD AGE PENSIONS, SICKNESS INSURANCE, WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

(20) The Commission recommend in principle the institution of old age pension and sickness insurance schemes, and the making of better provision for the maintenance of widows and orphans, though these schemes will obviously require careful investigation before adoption.

TRADE UNIONS

(21) The Commission are in favour of the establishment of Trade Union and the introduction of legislation into the Council of Government to that effect.

ADOPTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF A MINIMUM WAGE

(22) The Commission recommend the adoption of the principle of a minimum wage and the application of a sliding scale of wages above the minimum fixed. They also recommend the appointment of wage fixing committees, including representatives of employers and employed, presided by a person having a knowledge of labour questions in relation to the sugar industry.

CONCILIATION BOARDS

(23) Conciliation Boards composed of employers and employed should be set up with the object of composing peacefully any difference which may arise between them.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE AND ENACTMENT OF A NEW LABOUR ORDINANCE

(24) The Commission recommend the establishment of a Department of Labour and Social Welfare to deal with all questions of labour and such matters as old age pensions, sickness insurance and supervision of the welfare of widows and orphans. The carrying out of the duties of the new Department of Labour should be assured by fresh legislation, and the enactment of such legislation and the repeal of the Labour Ordinance of 1922 are recommended. The appointment of an English official with Indian experience to take charge of the Department for an initial period of eighteen months is recommended, after which he should be replaced by an English official having experience of labour conditions in Great Britain, who should be assisted by two English labour experts to be appointed at the same time as the acting Director of Labour, and who should work under his guidance and inspiration. After the departure of the acting Director, the person appointed from England would finally assume direction of the new department.

MAURITIUS SUGAR SYNDICATE

(25) The committee of the Syndicate might be strengthened by the inclusion of small planters.

THE INCREASE IN WAGES POSSIBLE

(26) The present economic position of the sugar industry is such that an increase in wages can be made.

THE ESTATE MANAGERS

We cannot conclude our survey of the labour problems confronting the sugar industry in Mauritius without a reference in general terms to those men who are responsible for the day-to-day work of running the sugar estates. We have had the advantage of hearing the evidence of many of the estate managers and in general have been favourably impressed both by the frank way in which they spoke and by the obvious grasp they had of the facts and technique of the industry. Most of them have spent a life time in the occupation of growing the sugar cane and manufacturing sugar and we doubt so far as facts and technique are concerned, whether there is much left for them to learn.

Nearly all the above recommendations will be accepted by Government. The Labour Department has already been established and a Director of Labour has come from the Malaya Federated States to take charge of that service. The Commissioners are of opinion that the Indian Government has always taken a paternal interest in the progress of Indian labourers outside and in support of their belief, they refer to the coming to this island of Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh to enquire into the conditions of Indians on behalf of the Indian Government. There is every likelihood of a change for the good in the state of Indians of Mauritius and they are very hopeful of the administration of Sir Bede Clifford. 1938 is likely to be our *annus mirabilis* writes a correspondent of ours from Port Louis, Mauritius.

H. K. HAZAREE SINGH

April 12, 1938.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY LAKSHMINARAYAN NATH, PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA

NEW (2nd) EDITION

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, M.R.C.S. (Lond.), I.M.S.; Lt.-Col. K. R. KIRTIKAR, F.L.S. I.M.S.

Revised, Enlarged and Greatly Re-written

By Rev. FATHER E. BLATTER, S. J., Ph. D., F. L. S. and

Rev. FATHER J. F. CAIUS, S. J., F. L. S., M. S. C. I. (Paris)

With the Collaboration of Dr. K S. MHASKAR., M. D., M. A., D. P. H., D. T. M., etc.

Complete in 8 volumes

Letter Press, Size 7″×10″, in 4 Vols.
Price Letter Press 4 Vols. Rs. 120.

Plates, size 10″×12½″, in 4 portfolios
Price Plates, 4 Portfolios, Rs. 200

PRICE COMPLETE SET Rs. 320

This book contains Botanical descriptions, vernacular names and names in foreign languages as far as could be available, properties, uses and habitats of over 1900 plants used in medicine by the medical profession all over the world. The work is useful to Botanists, Medical Men, Drug Manufacturing Chemists, Forest Officers and all those interested in the development of the economic resources of India.

Professor Suessenguth of the *University of Munich* writes in ***Botanisches Centralblatt (Jena),*** among other things as follows:

"In the **New Edition** the editors have modernized the nomenclature in keeping with the present position of Systematic Botany. The descriptions of the plants have been taken from the contemporary botanical literature. The therapeutic effects of the different species have been specially attended to. This **extraordinarily** detailed work will be fundamental for the appraisal of all Indian drugs."

RISE OF THE CHRISTIAN POWER IN INDIA

Second Edition, Revised and Illustrated.

A Big Volume of 1011+xvi pages of about the size of *The Modern Review*

With 120 Illustrations and Four Maps

The Portrait of Sivaji, in colours, is from an old painting

PRICE Rs. 15/- ; POSTAGE AND PACKING Re. 1-8 ; PER V.P.P. Rs. 16-12.

Has been praised in **The Tribune, The Hindu, The Hindustan Review, The Sind Observer, The Leader, Unity** (of America), **The Christian Register** (of America), **The Servant of India and the Japan Chronicle.**

Major B. D. Basu's

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN

Praised in **The People, The Modern Review, The Leader, The Servant of India, Advance, The Hindustan Review, The Mysore Economic Journal, The Indian Nation, The Amrita Bazar Patrika, etc.**

Price Rs. 10. Postage Extra

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN INDIA UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

SECOND EDITION

BY MAJOR B. D. BASU, I.M.S. (Retired)

Excellent printing & get-up. Cloth, gilt letters. *Price Rs. 2 As. 8 net.*

Highly praised by—THE TRIBUNE. THE HINDUSTHAN TIMES. FORWARD. THE HINDU OF MADRAS. THE GUARDIAN OF MADRAS. NEW ORISSA, and others.

The Second Edition of this Remarkable Book has been recently Published.
It is an improvement on the First.

To be had of:
THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE, Calcutta Or of Dr. L. M. BASU, 49, Leader Road, Allahabad.

REGISTERED No. C. 472

3000 Years'

Old Hindu Formula

Works A Miracle:-

(1) European gentleman with 10 years' baldness grows full head of new hair in 14 days.

(2) Indian gentleman with 18 years' baldness grows new hair to the length $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in 30 days.

76896

Please write full details of your case to:

Mrs, KUNTALA RAY,
208, Bowbazar St.,
CALCUTTA.

3 months course at the rate of Rs. 15 p.m. in advance.

110858

Checked
Any other

Gurukul Kangri Library
Access on
Class on
Cat on
Tag etc
Checked
Any other

Compiled
1[illegible] 9-2000